W. G. McCARTHY, Prop.

The Lindsay

Gainesville, Texas
12/6/1923

Dear Dr. Alexander,

The load I sent you yesterday from Dallas, I think is being distributed rather widely in Texas and Oklahoma.

The Women's auxiliary of the K's met at the Oriental Hotel in Dallas yesterday in a room near mine. One Mr. Butcher purported to be from Atlanta was present at this meeting, and was evidently attempting to settle some differences. He and one of the lady(?) members stood in the hallway near my room, and the differences became so intense that the lie was passed several times. They are having real trouble here.

W. G. McCARTHY, Prop.

The Lindsay

Gainesville, Texas

The lord I sent you was found in one of the Hotel elevators yesterday by an elevator boy who gave it to me. They plead guilty to practically every charge made against them, and attempt to avoid responsibility by the flimsy excuse that some one else is doing the same.

Austin College at Sherman will also line up with us in offering this course in race relations.

Sincerely yours,
E. M. Castleberry

M. Price

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY

VOLUME 179 NUMBER 6

JUNE, 1947

90th YEAR OF CONTINUOUS PUBLICATION

WHAT PRICE PREPAREDNESS?

by CORD MEYER, JR.

Zealots have been telling us that if we are to win the struggle for the world, we must prepare the country at once for atomic warfare. This Marine veteran, who was wounded in the fighting in the Pacific, and who returned to serve as an Aide to Commander Harold Stassen at the San Francisco Conference, adds up realistically what it will cost us to disperse our industries, to move cities underground, and to build up our stockpiles for atomic bombardment. — THE EDITOR

PEACE through preparedness for war is the promise that is now being held out to the American people by our elected officials and military leaders. We are continually exhorted to remember that aggression is still a possibility and that our only guarantee of safety lies in armed strength. In this second year of "peace," President Truman has called for a military appropriation of more than eleven billion dollars. After grave warnings from the Secretaries of the War, Navy, and State Departments, this appears to be one item in the President's budget that the Republicans will not attempt to cut, although it is almost one third of the total.

Similarly, Marshal Stalin has warned the Russian people that "it is necessary to be constantly vigilant, to protect as the apple of one's eye the armed force and defensive power of our country." In the Soviet Union, the expected reconversion to the production of consumer goods has been delayed in favor of further expansion of the heavy industries which provide the sinews of war, with particular emphasis on the development of atomic energy. The American and Russian governments are locked in competition for the arms, allies, and strategic bases that each insists are essential to national security.

How are these claims that peace and safety can be assured through competitive arming to be reconciled with the known facts concerning the new weapons? The scientists have been attempting to reach an apathetic public with the knowledge that there is no effective defense against atomic bombs. Two or three bombs are sufficient to destroy even the largest city, crippling or killing most of its inhabitants. They can be delivered by long-range bombers, so mere distance is not the protection that it was.

There is no safety in the fact that we enjoy a temporary monopoly on atomic weapons. Many of the most able scientists insist that within two or three years Russia and a number of other nations may be manufacturing atomic explosives, whether or not we divulge our technical secrets. In the immediate future, Americans will live in justifiable terror of an atomic attack that can devastate our cities and industries at a single blow, just as the people of some other nations already fear such an assault by the United States.

The spectacular quality of the atomic bomb explosion has obscured the equally significant information that there are other new and inhumanly destructive means of warfare available today. Their existence is worth mentioning not because

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IRO

PREPARATORY COMMISSION
FOR THE

INTERNATIONAL REFUGEE ORGANIZATION

TEAM 1062 **APO 178**

August 15, 1947.

Dear ~~Rev. Lester~~

As a fellow member of the Workers Defense League, I want to call your attention to the plight of the 660,013 Displaced Persons still in Germany. You have heard about them. I have worked and lived with them for the past 18 months, first with UNRRA, now with IRO.

I recently wrote the governors of each state in regard to Displaced Persons, with the idea in mind that state political leaders should become aware of the problem. Some governors answered very encouragingly. Others preferred to „pass the buck", saying immigration was a federal problem.

By nationality, Displaced Persons in the U.S. zone number:

		U.S. yearly Quota
Latvian	41 782	236
Estonian	13 453	116
Lithuanian	27 056	386
Polish	58 359	
Jugoslavian	5 408	845
Polish-Ukrainian	57 976	
Stateless	18 607	?
Jewish	124 193	
Others	8 718	Germany 25.957
Total 30 th April, 1947	355 552	England 65.721
		Austria 1.413

Total for US, British un French zones 30 th April, 1947
660,013

In my camp of 1020 Latvians, 694 desire to emigrate to an Anglo-Saxon country, i. e. U.S., Canada, Australia, or South Africa.

I think the best solution will be to permit as many Jewish persons as desire, to enter Palestine. (I know this is a big problem and too detailed to delve into here. But, as I also have worked in a Jewish camp of 3000 for the past 10 months, I'm sure that these people will only rescue themselves from their inferiority complex in an environment which they themselves choose.)

And most of the remainder of these refugees from bolshevism should be taken in the western hemisphere. Just as political refugees of the Revolution of 1848 lead by Karl Schurz, and presently lead by Willkie, Eisenhower, etc., have made a great contribution to our democratic institutions, so I visualize a like contribution by these victims of bolshevism if they can once get to US, Canada, etc. To hear their stories of suffering and torture by the bolshevics will quicken the appreciation of all of us for our hard-preserved liberties.

I hope you will do what you can to talk it up for the Stratton bill pending in Congress. Under existing regulations, there are thousands of vacancies on the German, English, and Russian quotas to the US, and in addition many thousands of unused numbers during the war. But the Baltic, and Slavic groups under IRO care have infinitesimal quotas. For exemple: 40,000 Latvians for a yearly quota of 236, or 100,000 Jews, 55,000 Polish-Ukrainians and 50,000 Poles for a yearly quota of 6,000 for Poland.

So this is to inform you of the situation. I could write a book about the constructive things many are doing while waiting here in exile; and I could write at length about the psychological deterioraton of people who have broken off all roots with the past and have no security to grip on to for the future.

Yours truly,

Samuel Snipes

Samuel Snipes
Camp Administrator
IRO Team 1062
Leipheim, Bavaria
APO 178, PM, NY.

Home address
Lincoln Highway
Morrisville, Pa.
USA

PREPARATORY COMMISSION
FOR THE
INTERNATIONAL REFUGEE ORGANIZATION
TEAM 1062 APO 178

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Dear ~~Mr. Knox~~

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INTERNATIONAL REFUGEE ORGANIZATION
TEAM 1062 APO 178

August 15, 1947.

Dear ~~Mr. Silverman~~

As a fellow member of the Workers Defense League, I want to call your attention to the plight of the 660,013 Displaced Persons still in Germany. You have heard about them. I have worked and lived with them for the past 18 months, first with UNRRA, now with IRO.

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THE PLANET

VOLUME 1, NUMBER 6 • PUBLISHED BY WORLD REPUBLIC PRESS • OCTOBER 1, 1947

Southern Regional

U. S. TO PLAY IMPORTANT ROLE IN EUROPEAN ECONOMICS

Rest of World Dependent on Our Production

The gravity of the European economic situation is currently manifested in expressions of opinion that a complete break-down is overdue. The logical deduction from this is that the reasons offered for Europe's financial and economic difficulties have been more or less superficial—not incorrect, but simply not realistic. The United States has found itself increasingly involved in the situation, and now must continue as the most important factor in resolving it. This will necessitate the solution of immediate problems, which in turn will mean temporarily abandoning the work toward the goal of a freer world trade.

The position of Great Britain in the economic life of Europe is admittedly of strategic importance; her current instability is reflected not only there but over the entire world. The strong complaint is that there exists a world-wide shortage of dollars which hampers world trade, which undoubtedly is true; and that obstruction is felt directly through Britain to Western Europe. The United States, accepting the idea that nations did not have enough dollars, negotiated a loan of three and three-quarter billion dollars so Britain could have a backlog of security for her post-war reconstruction. One provision in that loan agreement has given rise to an incident which revealed the true cause for European economic chaos. That clause, insisted upon by the U. S. over British protest, stipulated that on July 15, Britain would allow other nations to convert their sterling credits into dollars. The reason for this was to increase the stability of the pound sterling so it again could become an international currency. Instead, other nations made a run on the Bank of England, converting their credits in order to have dollars to spend themselves, since Britain was producing nothing they could import. In a little over a month, half a billion of the U. S. loan had gone for conversion; that practice has now been temporarily suspended. As a result of this, the dollar shortage was, at first, blamed even more soundly than before as the root of the evil. Gradually, however, it is becoming recognized that this shortage is not a cause in itself, but the result of a more fundamental malady. The fact is that Britain, and many other countries, simply cannot produce enough to restore the balance of trade. The purpose of the British loan was to stimulate production; less than half a billion remains of that sum now, and production is lagging. What is left must go for keeping the British people alive. The Dominions can be of little assistance: Canada must have dollars for her wheat, Australia is committed to sending food shipments to India, and the colonies cannot supply what is needed. Therefore, it falls to the United States to come to the rescue again. Only this time, things will be conducted somewhat differently. The next loan to Britain will be controlled much more closely than the previous one.

The development of Greek aid has put the U. S. firmly in the Hellenic saddle, not only economically, but in every other important way. Fortunately, as a result of the collapse of the Tsaldaris regime and the formation of the Sophoulos government, that position may now become more tenable. In Germany, preparations are underway to open the Ruhr to production by the Germans themselves. Also, a plan is in the outline stages by which the German people will be made responsible to a much greater degree than at present for producing foodstuffs for themselves. This line of action is the sum and substance of Secretary Marshall's plan for European reconstruction—the United States cannot continue as the sole support of failing countries; they must be taken off relief by helping themselves.

This still leaves two important questions unanswered. Great Britain cannot look to the Dominions or the colonies for assistance, and it is obvious that the British Isles cannot support its population. Food rations have been cut to below war-time levels; imports of raw materials and machinery must be continued if there is to be any hope of increasing production; and a recent drive to recruit more labor was a flat failure. What, then, is Great Britain to do? A great deal of blame is being placed on her lag in coal production, resulting from political difficulties. But it is doubtful if increased coal output alone would provide the answer.

The other important question is the effect the whole situation will have on the United States. Lack of production in Britain and the resultant decrease in dollar reserves are forcing other nations out of British and American trade. Suspension of sterling conversion has hit Argentina and Brazil as well as Western Europe and the Middle East, and has left them without a source of dollars. Consequently, their imports from the United States will be cut, vitally affecting this nation's economy. The immediate problem is what to do with increasing production in the U. S. in the face of decreasing foreign markets. The long range problem remains the development of free trade, now indefinitely pushed into the future.

The political factor is very important in both Britain and Germany. Any definitely controlled financial assistance in the future is bound to bring the U. S. into the political activities of both countries, as it did in Greece. That is the price, and the challenge to be more successful than in Greece, that this country faces in carrying out its current obligations.

The Key to His Problem?

Cartoon used by permission of the Christian Science Monitor, 1 Norway Street, Boston 15, Mass. Artist—Carmack.

PEACE FRONTS OF THE WORLD

We demand an investigation. J. Edgar Hoover ought to to take his feet off his desk and catch the first train to New York City. It is only a short ride from Manhatten to the scene of a dangerous conspiracy.

Mirrored in the waters of a lagoon Mr. Hoover will discover the one powerful organization of possible subversive character he has not publicly investigated. He should do so immediately. Standing beside a lake called Success is the largest Communist Front outfit anyone could find anywhere—the United Nations, so called. Why no one has yet pointed this out is beyond understanding.

In the halls of the UN the United States must actually co-operate with the Soviet Union by contractural agreement. The two katzenjammers follow like rules of procedure and abide by the same regulations. In a continuous round of talk and veto, veto and talk the U. S. must aid and abet doctrinaire Kremlin tongue-lashing at "scheming" capitalist society. Our nation makes this possible, if not inevitable, by just being present in the *corpus de nations.* Only upon rare occasion do Washington and Moscow agree about anything. The Indonesian cease fire order was such a notable moment, although it singularly lacked eminence as a basic cause of Soviet-American friction.

It is amazing that certain of our daily pulp chains have not caught on to the situation in the Meadows. Of course, the independent *Chicago Tribune* has always and ever maintained that the UN is nothing but fiasco and poppycock, stating in no uncertain terms (aprapos of Secretary Marshall's UN proposals) that we must not "relinquish" an iota of sovereignty to foreigners.

It *is* difficult to decide how to get out of taking part. I know one fellow (an erstwhile anti-globalonist, Niknar by name) who spends between nine and five every day trying to devise ways in which we can separate ourselves from the Russians, much as the earth broke off from the sun.

J. Edgar might investigate that one, too.

—PHILLIPS ROUPP.

Editorial:

MISTAKEN FOR BROTHERS

Secretary of State Marshall's speech of September 17th to the opening session of the General Assembly tersely stated new U. S. policy. Washington has decided to utilize the UN for coming maneuvers in the "cold war."

This is a drastic departure from the "Truman Doctrine," which ignored the UN and delt a serious, if expected, blow to its prestige. Now our challenge to the U.S.S.R. has been delivered in the arena of Flushing Meadows. Although Secretary Marshall called upon the UN as a whole to take action through the General Assembly, it appears obvious that, over and above altruism, there is a cynical *modus vivendi* for this sudden all-out rush into the arms of the blind-folded Lady of Success.

On the surface of the movement for strengthening and amending the Charter of the United Nations appears to be composed entirely of idealistis realists, men like Cord Meyer, Norman Cousins and company. A deeper probe would reveal professional hypocrites and sycophants who regard this as a convenient vehicle for consolidation of U. S. power, a capturing of the UN by the State Department and the forcing of the Russians to the door of departure. These opposites have been mistaken for brothers.

While Russia attacks the United States in Italy, we, in turn, attack Russia in the United Nations. Attack is followed by counter-attack as Vishinsky opens fire.

But it is because of this, not in spite of it, that the Soviets must remain in the UN if we are not to destroy the only means of effective contact with them on a common level, even if it is only the level of talk. As Clarence Streit says, "War begins only when nations cease to talk to each other."

The course of the next few months will ascertain the definite outcome of this U. S. surge toward powerful leadership in the international organization. At this time it is difficult to evaluate Mr. Marshall's basic motives for this new move.

We can understand better, however, the thinking of some of the career men on the Secretary's staff and that of rightist politicians who have come out for a "strengthening of the United Nations." Their reasons for advocating a strengthened UN are separated by a wide breech from those of world federalists who also demand a shot of adrenaline for the gasping body. It is a safe bet that the former group does not have in mind a swift evolution of the UN into the ultimate of world government. Tricky vision makes both parties look as though they are on the same bandwagon.

They are not.

Federalists know that the hour for ultimates has long since arrived.

PLANET LIFE

—Cord Meyer Jr.

Among the signs of strength shown by the growing World Government movement is the emergence of public leaders whose fame rests almost entirely upon their activities on behalf of the World Government idea.

Foremost among such leaders in this country is Cord Meyer, Jr., recently elected President of United World Federalists. Meyer, graduated from Yale in 1943, first came into prominence when he was selected as one of two youthful advisors to Commander Harold E. Stassen at the San Francisco Conference in 1945. By that time Meyer had already made a notable record in the 22nd Marine Regiment in the South Pacific.

The San Francisco Conference provided Meyer with first-hand evidence of the futility of diplomatic maneuvering as a means of securing and stabalizing world peace. A short time later the *Atlantic* published his article, *"A Serviceman Looks at the Peace,"* one of the most powerful brief statements of the World Government case. This piece was the first of many by Meyer to gain wide circulation among world-staters as effective literature for use in the cause.

Meyer's activity, however, has not been confined to writing. He developed into a powerful and original speaker. He has also taken an active part in the American Veterans Committee since its early days, and deserves a large part of the credit for the increasing swing toward a definite World Government commitment on the part of that organization. On the strength of his World Government work, he was elected to the top governing body of AVC at their convention in Milwaukee.

After the San Francisco Conference, Meyer began work in the Graduate School of Philosophy at Harvard. His thesis, which promises to be one of the best works in the World Government literature, is to be published this fall.

The accomplishments of Cord Meyer should give the swelling number of indefatigable workers in the name of world law the assurance they all need from time to time that their labors, far from being in vain, are producing a positive effect on the thinking of the American public.

—Stephen Benedict.

World Republic Endorses Montreux

Dual Program Seen as Basis for Co-operation of U. S. Peace Groups

Saturday, September 20—World Republic held its annual assembly in an all-day session at Ricardo's Restaurant in Chicago. Some sixty delegates and alternates from regional offices and local chapters were present. A report was made on the convention of World Federalist groups which met recently at Montreux, Switzerland. The declaration drawn up at Montreux, calling for action on a two-fold program to achieve world government, was endorsed by the vote of the delegates, representing the membership of World Republic.

On the basis of a report by Paul Andrews, Public Relations Director of World Republic, and subsequent committee work, a six month's program was adopted. The plan calls for a series of "Congresses on World Security" to take place in this country under the sponsorship of organizations interested in promoting peace. Several views of world affairs and various solutions to world problems are to be presented in seminars. Emphasis is to be placed on special local interest on certain days of each "Congress," but the general public will be encouraged to attend every session. Progress of friendly relations with World Citizenship Movement, since the joint meeting in Oberlin, Ohio, was reported.

It is to be hoped that World Republic can effectively present the need for joint all-out effort on the part of World Federalist groups in the United States, for the sake of productive action and wide-spread publicity.

Local Charters Granted

The meeting of the National Assembly of World Republic ended with a banquet attended by all present at the earlier sessions. Speakers were Sidney Harris, *Daily News* columnist, and Dr. Henry E. Stanton, atomic physicist at the University of Chicago.

Local charters were presented to the following chapters: Lake View, Ill., Hyde Park, Chicago; Manchester College, Manchester, Indiana; Northwest Chicago; Rogers Park, Chicago; Willmette, Ill. Charters for the Berwyn, Ill., and Woodstock, Ill., chapters had not been made out.

Marginal Notes:

Sec. of State Marshall's proposal for an additional commission to handle the bunglings of the Security Council seems to be a step in the right direction. We certainly hope it is not an attempt to force Russia from the United Nations.

It is an improvement in that something is being done for compensation to the death blows of the veto. The people are still being by-passed as nations continue their mud-throwing.

* * *

Next year the political parties of the United States will announce their candidates and platforms. I wonder if one of these groups will have the courage to announce candidates for the positions as different delegates to the United Nations. True, these positions are filled by appointment and not popular balloting. I personally feel though, that if a party announces such candidates, the effect will be productive.

This could keep a segment of the voter's mind on the international situation, and the partially realized but definitely existing interdependance at that level, while the force of the tide is toward the level of national situations. In addition, of course, it is a good suggestion that such offices should be elective so that we voters may express our wishes in matters where our welfare is at stake.

* * *

Now that a robot plane has spanned a large segment of water we wonder what the impression the American mind will be. Chances are it will approximate, "Boy, do we have something on the others." Such a conclusion, that we have something over the others, is quite erroneous in more ways than one. There is nothing basically new in guided missiles and this is no advancement when the Nagasaki-type bomb is already obsolete.

* * *

Special orchids and congratulations should go to Dr. Robert Hutchins and The Committee To Frame A World Constitution. Knowing full well that such a document is fully necessary, this group, headed by Hutchins, is clearing ground that will save much deliberating by any body that will have such composition for its task.

—Don Miller.

Larmeroux:

Events Call For World Citizenship

(*Editor's note:* At the recent Montreux Conference, M. Jean Larmeroux, French educator, was elected President of the Council of the World Movement for World Federal Government. The following article is a condensation of a recent writing of M. Larmeroux as translated from the French by Ellen Haskell.)

The world is divided into various sections called states. These states are sovereign and their power is not limited except as they wish. Therefore, in important international questions they are prone to give their assent, then at the last moment, refuse it; they can give it, then take it away; they can, having given it, hold it of no account.

In order to pay the financial consequence of war, in order to raise indispensable armies, in order to encourage industries necessary for war, the states slowly bring about their ruin. And, in order to diminish the onrush of this catastrophe, they overload their subjects who founder in a state of general misery.

The balance sheet of man's effort to better his lot has been adorned, in the course of the last few years, with the powerful influence of the atomic bomb, which will solve the military problem in conditions neighboring the absolute.

It will suffice therefore, to open one's eyes and to consider the world, in order to see that, having achieved the height of absurdity, it has enveloped itself in agony.

The nations occupy themselves with modifying frontiers, with replacing people, with changing regimes, while science laughs at their efforts and prepares with the sublime indifference of the absolute and according to the direction of its efforts, either the end of the world or the happiness of man.

The only remedy to such a tragic situation is to reduce the national sovereignty of each state for the profit of a supranational sovereignty.

Those who object that such a program is too grandiose and that it will be difficult to realize, commit an error. There are those, who, time after time, have doubted the human intelligence and the power of science. They have doubted steam, electricity, aviation and the radio. Always they have doubted, and everything, and always the outcome has proved them wrong.

That which we wish to realize will be realized with certainty; because in this age of speed and science, the frontiers are an anachronism, the customs barriers a childishness, the diversity of moneys a stupidity. In short, the obsolete world survives by itself, but it is a world which is dying and which already smells the corpse.

A new world will be born, the conception of which can be opposed by nothing, because its arrival is in the nature of things. The world is one. It moves toward an infrangible unity. In fact, civilization has developed by leaving the stage of the clan, the tribe, feudalism and independent villages, in order to arrive today at the system of nations. And we have now arrived at the superior stage calling for the unification of continents, where each country is no more than a province of the land, and each man, a citizen of the world.

If this transformation of the world is not accomplished, men will die beforehand by the tortures of war. Is it not wiser, since this unity is in the evidence of nature, since no thing nor person can prevent it, to save ourselves untold suffering and to create immediately an organ of safety—a world government?

World Republic Elects Board

At the meeting of the National Assembly of World Republic the following were constituted the Board of Directors for the following year: Prof. William Byron, Rev. Fred Carney, Rempher L. Whitehouse, Robert L. Young, Richard Carter. Prof. Byron has not accepted.

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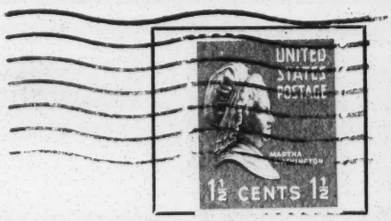

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SOME ASPECTS OF THE DISPLACED PERSONS PROBLEM

April 7, 1948

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Division of Public Liaison
Department of State

I.

FACT SHEET ON THE INTERNATIONAL REFUGEE ORGANIZATION

By the end of the last war, the western Allies had found almost eight million displaced persons in Austria, Germany and Italy. All but one million were repatriated to their homelands. Those remaining refuse to return because they are not in sympathy with the ideology of their nations' governments or because they fear religious or political persecution.

Recognizing that the nature and solution of the refugee and displaced persons problem constitute an urgent matter which is international in scope and character, the United Nations provided for the establishment of the International Refugee Organization. Its Constitution was approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 15, 1946. Under the terms of the Constitution, however, the IRO will not come into being until fifteen members of the U.N., whose contributions total at least 75 percent of its first year's operational budget, have adhered unconditionally to the Constitution.

As of April 5, 1948, although more than 76 percent of the budget had been subscribed, one member was needed to bring the IRO proper into existence. The following countries have signed the IRO Constitution. Those starred have adhered unconditionally to it.

*Argentina
*Australia
*Belgium
Bolivia
Brazil
*Canada
*China
*Dominican Republic
*France
*Guatemala
Honduras
*Iceland
Liberia
*Netherlands
*New Zealand
*Norway
Panama
Peru
Philippines
*United Kingdom
*United States

Until the International Refugee Organization itself comes into being, its functions are being carried out by a Preparatory Commission which has been operating since July 1, 1947. On that date, the Preparatory Commission took over the functions of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees and the pertinent functions of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA).

Responsibilities

Responsibilities

PCIRO has six responsibilities: (1) repatriation; (2) identification, registration and classification; (3) care and assistance; (4) legal and political protection; (5) transportation; and (6) resettlement and reestablishment in countries able and willing to receive displaced persons and refugees*.

Accomplishments

There are now approximately 634,000 refugees being cared for by the Preparatory Commission. Practically all of them are maintained in camps and assembly centers in Germany, Austria and Italy. During the first six months of PCIRO operations (through December 1947), 35,435 displaced persons were repatriated and 92,236 were resettled by PCIRO and other agencies. Among the nations accepting displaced persons have been the United States, United Kingdom, France, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, the Netherlands, North Africa (French), Peru, and Venezuela. It should be noted, however, that despite the fact that 127,671 have been removed from PCIRO's care during the period under consideration, the number receiving care decreased only from 688,110 to 633,680.

This is because PCIRO could not take over all groups of D.P.'s at one time and is still in the process of assuming responsibility for the remaining groups.

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*Briefly stated, the IRO Constitution defines the term "refugee" as follows: (1) a person, outside of his own country, who was either a victim of Nazi or Falangist persecution or a pre-war refugee; (2) a person, outside of his own country, who, as a result of events subsequent to the outbreak of the war, is unable or unwilling to avail himself of the protection of the Government of his own country; (3) persons who, having resided in Germany or Austria, and being of Jewish origin or foreigners of stateless persons, were victims of Nazi persecution and were detained in or were obliged to flee from and were subsequently returned to, one of those countries as a result of enemy action, or of war circumstances, and have not yet been firmly resettled therein; (4) Unaccompanied children who are war orphans or whose parents have disappeared, and who are outside of their own countries. The term "displaced person" applies to a refugee who was forced to leave his own country as a result of official action by the Nazi or Fascist authorities.

Budget

PCIRO's budget for 1947-1948 was approved at a figure of $115,645,000, scaled down from a proposed figure of $155,860,500 due to lack of membership. The budget provides for:

Administration.....	$16,500,000
Care and Maintenance.....	80,480,000
Resettlement.....	14,020,000
Repatriation.....	4,500,000
Short-term loans.....	145,000

Administration

The administration of the Preparatory Commission is under the direction of the Executive Secretary, William Hallam Tuck, who maintains a staff of about 300 persons at the headquarters in Geneva.

PCIRO operations are administered from field mission offices located in Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Germany (the American, British and French zones), Canada, Czechoslovakia, China, France, Italy, Egypt, the Netherlands, Poland, the United Kingdom, the United States, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia. Employed in these offices are about 1,700 internationally recruited and 2,400 locally recruited staff members.

OCCUPATIONAL SKILLS OF DISPLACED PERSONS

The report on the occupational skills of 330,000 refugees in assembly centers of the Preparatory Commission for the International Refugee Organization, located in Germany, Austria and Italy, prepared by Mr. William K. Shaughnessy of the United States Employment Service, indicates that these refugees have a wide variety of skills.

Among the male displaced persons, the largest group is that of skilled workers, with agricultural workers second and professionals third. Percentage figures follow:

Major Areas	Total Males Classified	% Skilled	% Agricultural	% Professional
British Zone, Germany	85,888	27.8	35.1	9.0
US Zone, Germany	90,507	34.8	17.5	10.3
French Zone, Germany	14,431	26.6	39.1	10.4
Italy	14,656	42.0	23.2	10.2

Skilled male workers are found in sixty occupations, varying from airplane mechanic to woodworker. The following statistics are representative:

Occupation in which there are large numbers of skilled male workers among D.P.'s	Total in U.S. zone, Germany	Total in British zone, Germany
Tailor	4,890	1,568
Shoemaker, saddler	4,269	2,782
Locksmith	3,317	2,695
Carpenter	2,252	1,723
Auto & truck Mechanic	1,863	1,637
Butcher	1,698	1,153
Electrician	1,398	1,042
Baker	1,331	964
Woodworker	1,220	1,117

There are also significant numbers of such highly skilled workers as tool makers, machinists, structural steel workers, plumbers and masons.

It is not surprising that there are large numbers of skilled and agricultural male workers among the refugees since a great many of them were selected for forced labor by the Nazi authorities because they possessed needed skills and had the physical capacity to perform under strenuous work schedules.

Large

Large numbers of male professionals are found in the following occupations. The British Zone of Germany is used as an example.

Profession	British Zone of Germany numbers Reported
Teacher, Professor	1,410
Civil Engineer	469
Musician	456
Clergyman	451
Lawyer	422
Agronomist	421
Physician, Surgeon	419
Mechanical Engineer	355
Singer, Actor, Dancer	281
Architect	265
Electrical Engineer	227
Artist, Sculptor	210
Chemist	207

The remaining male refugee workers are classified as clerical, service, semi-skilled and unskilled. Their numbers are relatively few.

Among the women displaced persons, there are many agricultural, domestic and professional workers. The two leading groups of professional women are nurses (3,495) and teachers (4,590). Among the skilled female workers are 14,238 seamstresses. In the domestic service classification are 18,064 women.

III.

EMPLOYMENT OUTLOOK FOR DISPLACED PERSONS

Prepared by the U.S. Employment Service
Technical Service Division
Analysis Section
March 4, 1948

Any discussion of the effect that the entry of displaced persons would have on the labor market of the United States must include the number who are to enter and the extent to which they will disperse geographically and industrially throughout the country. In his testimony before the Subcommittee on Immigration of the House Judiciary Committee, Mr. Philip Hannah, Assistant Secretary of Labor, pointed out that historically the United States has benefited from immigration and that further benefits could be expected from the admission of displaced persons. In view of the completeness of Mr. Hannah's testimony, it seems needless to further elaborate this point.

The United States now has an employment level of 57 million workers and a labor force of approximately 59 million. Even if nearly 600,000 additional workers were to enter, the labor force would be increased only one percent. Thus the number of entrants being discussed represents but a few tenths of one percent of the American labor force. An increase as small as this would hardly be noticed in the labor market.

With the current high level of business activity and with unemployment at a level of only approximately two million, it is to be expected that in some occupations and even in some industries and areas there is a stringency of labor. Such is the case. For example, the most recent analysis by the United States Employment Service showed that of 110 important labor market areas in the country only 29 had a substantial labor surplus; in 28 areas unemployment was at a minimum level; in 31 areas there was a "slight" surplus of labor and in 32 areas a "moderate" surplus. This analysis was based upon total unemployment in the area compared with the labor force of the area. Even within areas of substantial unemployment the workers available frequently do not meet the skill requirements of employers and it is difficult to recruit workers with particular abilities and qualifications.

Mr. W. K. Shaughnessy's report on the occupational skills of refugees in the assembly centers of the Preparatory Commission for the International Refugee Organization,

while

while indicating the problems of obtaining a uniform standard inventory of occupational skills, presents a breakdown of such skills for some 330,000 refugees. According to this report most of the classified workers are male and among males, skilled workers, and agricultural workers are the two largest groups, with the professional group third. The occupational skills possessed by refugees are, according to Mr. Shaughnessy, varied, and represent a rich source of labor supply.

A gneral discussion of the present labor market situation in the United States with respect to broad occupational groups is presented below.

Professional and Managerial Occupations--The United States could profit from a larger supply of professional and managerial workers. More doctors, nurses, dental technicians and similar professional workers are currently needed. Shortages also exist in some areas for mechanical, electrical and civil engineers. Draftsmen are in generally short supply. Teachers are also needed but local residence requirements would probably limit employment opportunities in many areas. Such research professionals as chemists, physicists, and various types of engineers can make a great contribution to the United States, if they have particular skills and abilities. Numbers have already been recruited to aid American military and business research.

Clerical and Sales Occupations--There are widespread shortages of workers in many of the occupations in this group, including stenographers, typists and general clerical workers. The general high level of business activity indicates that additional administrative and commercial help may be needed.

Service Occupations--This group of occupations includes workers engaged in domestic, personal, and protective service. There is a widespread and acute shortage of domestic workers and no immediate prospect that supply will approach demand. Similarly, such occupations in the personal service group as cooks, hospital attendants, kitchen workers and laundry workers are also difficult to recruit.

Agricultural Occupations--One of the three large groups of refugees consists of those with agricultural experience. Although currently at a seasonal low, there are now over 7 million workers in agriculture in the United States. During the seasonal peak this number will rise to approximately 10,300,000. The need for agricultural workers is

indicated

indicated by the fact that as many as 65,000 foreign workers were imported for agricultural work at the peak of operations in 1947.

Skilled Group--Skilled workers also constitute one of the three largest groups of refugees. Workers in these groups have a variety of specific skills. There are definite shortages of some of these skills such as tailors, seamstresses, and automobile and truck mechanics in this country, and a general stringent supply in other occupations. The high level of business activity in this country, following a long period during which normal apprenticeship training was at a low ebb, has resulted in an under supply of workers in many of the skilled occupations. Reports from employers continually indicate difficulty in recruiting needed skilled workers, even where such skills are not in actual short supply.

Semi-Skilled Occupations--Generally speaking, the same comments made with respect to the skilled occupations apply, although to a much lesser degree, to semi-skilled occupations. Most industries in the United States are operating at a high employment level and, with some exceptions, could use additional workers, if they were readily available.

17- Immigration

Illegal Mexican Immigration

". . . wholesale violation of the laws . . . systematic exploitation . . . American levels depressed . . . social problems for the community . . . that is the situation today."

GLADWIN HILL, *New York Times.*

Extension of Remarks of

Hon. Paul H. Douglas

of Illinois

in the

Senate of the United States

April 9, 1951

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Illegal Mexican Immigration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS

OF ILLINOIS

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a series of five articles by Gladwin Hill, dealing with the illegal Mexican immigration into Southwest United States, which appeared in the New York Times March 25 to 29. Notwithstanding the estimated cost of printing these articles is $430.50, it is most timely that the economic and sociological problems analyzed in them be now brought to the attention of Senators and Representatives. The Nation's manpower needs are becoming acute. The agreement with Mexico is up for renewal. Legislation is about to be reported out in the House and Senate. The report of the President's Commission on Migrant Farm Labor has just emphasized again the grave consequences of our neglect of this situation. And the so-called wet-back traffic affords alarming opportunities for the entry of Communist spies and saboteurs.

The New York Times has again performed a significant public service in arranging for this survey and printing its findings on this problem.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times of March 25, 1951]

MILLION A YEAR FLEE MEXICO ONLY TO FIND PEONAGE HERE—ILLEGAL MIGRATION ACROSS 1,600-MILE BORDER BY SEASONAL SLAVE LABOR DEPRESSES LATIN AND UNITED STATES LEVELS ALIKE

(By Gladwin Hill)

SAN ANTONIO, TEX., March 24.—A visitor to the Southwest today has to make a double mental adjustment to comprehend the conditions he finds.

First, he has to think back 20 years to prohibition days, when wholesale violation of the laws of the United States was being ignored, tacitly sanctioned or overtly encouraged by a large cross-section of the population.

Second, he has to project himself in imagination back a full century to the days of slavery, when the systematic exploitation of an underprivileged class of humanity as cheap labor was an accepted part of the American social and economic order.

Then the observer has to compound mentally these two diverse anomalies and conceive of their existence in 1951.

For that, in effect, is the situation today in the Southwest, and in parts of the deep South and the far West as well, arising from the ceaseless and steadily increasing tide of illegal immigration from Mexico into the United States.

This illegal immigration now amounts to more than 1,000,000 individuals a year. They sneak across the thinly patrolled 1,600-mile border between Brownsville, Tex., and San Diego, Calif., in an unending hegira from Mexican unemployment and wage levels as low as 40 cents a day, seeking farm work and any other labor available in this country.

Some 500,000 of these wetbacks—so-called because of those who swim the Rio Grande, the Texas-Mexico boundary—were caught by the United States Immigration and Naturalization Services' border patrol last year and put back across the international line.

The estimate of a total traffic of 1,000,000 is conservative, based on the surmise that for every one caught there is one who isn't caught. Most immigration officers would concede a more likely average of 5 or 10 to 1, and for some areas responsible estimates go as high as 100 to 1; in such a reckoning many of the total would be not different individuals, but repeaters who recross after having been deported.

There are fewer than 900 border patrol officers to guard the whole 1,600 miles of boundary, and sometimes the deportees get back into the United States before the deporting officers do. Some Mexicans have been deported as many as 20 times, only to return again and again.

SOME RETURN, SOME STAY

A large number of wetbacks regularly slip back into Mexico after seasonal farm work ends. But tens of thousands of others have remained in the United States, managing to settle down in semihiding in hundreds of communities along the border, or becoming transient laborers and filtering northward over the western half of the country all the way to the Canadian border.

Technically every one of these wetbacks is an illegal alien, the same as a foreigner who slipped through the paradoxically tight immigration patrols at Ellis Island—a violator of the Federal law, subject to imprisonment.

But because the bulk of this immigration is tidal, advancing and receding with the regularity of the seasons, it has come to be taken for granted, both by the United States border population and the Nation at large.

Superficially, the wetback traffic is just a picturesque cat-and-mouse game on a grand scale between a mass of amiable Latins and an overwhelmed border patrol.

In actuality, however, a year's study of the situation by this correspondent, ending in a recent 5,000-mile tour of the border area, shows it to be a phenomenon whose real economic and social implications should shock the average American when fully known and comprehended.

PEONAGE AND SLAVERY

The impression is widespread that these Mexicans simply come over as a regular essential and harmless supplement to the domestic harvest forces.

The fact is that they are attracted by the glittering prospect of high American wages, and in many cases actively recruited by large-scale ranchers or their representatives, only to work for wages that have been described by United States immigration officers as tantamount to peonage and under conditions compared on the same authority to antebellum slavery.

"This traffic in contraband labor actually is worse in its elements than either prohibition or slavery," a nationally prominent figure in the Southwest commented a few days ago. "Prohibition involved only traffic in alcohol. This is traffic in human beings. And in slavery some responsibility, at least, was acknowledged for the release of the slaves. Here there is none."

The wetback, a penniless fugitive, has to take whatever wages are offered, which, because of the multitude of wetbacks available, usually are at a bare existence level or below it. His traditional housing is the crudest form of shack or hovel, wherever he can find it, or just the open air. His status denies him access to regular community legal and welfare agencies. If he doesn't like his situation he can go back where he came from. There are thousands of other hopefuls south of the border ready to take his place.

AMERICAN LEVELS DEPRESSED

Aside from the abuses to which these Mexicans themselves are subject, the traffic in wetbacks has manifestly baneful effects on the citizenry with which they mingle.

In many sections of Texas, Arizona, California and other areas they depress the general standards of wages and working conditions below the accepted American levels. Instead of supplementing the domestic labor force they undercut it, taking jobs from tens of thousands of native citizens, farm and urban workers alike.

In the agricultural field, particularly, the resulting native displaced persons have to join the great stream of migrant labor that fans out annually northward all the way from New York to Oregon, working a good deal of the time for substandard wages and working conditions and, in turn, taking jobs from resident local workers.

From a sociological standpoint, the wetback traffic has obliterated the border completely, transforming the 3,000,000 Spanish-American citizens of the Southwest—many of whose families have been in the area for centuries—into a cultural peninsula of Mexico, retarding their assimilation, in the opinion of experts, by a generation or more, and perpetuating and aggravating some of the worst conditions of health, education and social, economic and political unintegration that can be found in the country.

Finally, the wetback traffic has engendered, in somewhat the way prohibition did, an atmosphere of amorality and warped thinking which demonstrably extends from the farmer exploiters of wetback labor through their communities and local and

State officials, to the highest levels of the Federal Government.

IT'S OUT IN THE OPEN

Although this may sound sensational, the remarkable thing is that there is no secrecy about the situation. Despite an elaborate legendry that has grown up to screen it, and occasional efforts to dissimulate the facts, most of the details are matters of formal public record or common knowledge in the region.

The main problem in inquiring into it is to preserve one's sense of proportion and avoid entanglement in the falsework of rationalization that has grown up over the years to justify the system and maintain it.

The wetback situation is of particular pertinence at this time. The defense emergency has evoked official proposals for the importation of hundreds of thousands of workers from outside the continental United States.

Before Congress is a draft extension of the 1949 agreement between the United States and Mexico, which expires in June, governing the so-called "importation" of Mexican farm workers under contracts which in actuality have degenerated into the legalization of wetbacks.

Before President Truman is the initial report of the special lay commission he appointed last summer to investigate the problems of migrant farm labor and the wetback evil.

Also, it has lately been realized that the wetback traffic offers a wide-open avenue for Communist spies to enter the country. There is no public record of any having been caught lately. But immigration officers acknowledge that every year at least a handful of Europeans, some of them with Communist backgrounds, are netted among the wetbacks, and that in cold fact Joseph Stalin might adopt a perfunctory disguise and walk into the country this way.

Legal immigration into the United States from Mexico—on which there is no quota limit—involves such complications as fees, literacy standards, job assurance, and consular approval. It is much easier to sail, wade, or swim the Rio Grande, seldom more than 100 yards wide, or just to walk across the largely unfenced dry sections of the border.

Such an illegal crossing is a misdemeanor the first time and a felony after an initial deportation, subject to 2 years' imprisonment and $1,000 fine. But the wetbacks numbers largely defy prosecution.

Detention facilities and court dockets are so crowded that anything beyond quick deportation of first offenders has had to be abandoned. The latest authoritative analysis indicates that only about 25 of every 10,000 caught are prosecuted.

So the influx has snowballed. In the San Antonio immigration district, the largest of three covering the border, the number of apprehensions—generally conceded to be in direct proportion to the total traffic—has jumped from 43,000 in 1945 to 215,000 last year.

In the Los Angeles district, covering California and western Arizona, they jumped from 4,000 in 1943 to 230,000 last year. And the traffic is mounting steadily. The Los Angeles district's apprehensions in January and February of last year totaled 19,500; for the same period this year they were 33,800.

The wetback traffic dwarfs the legal contracting of Mexican labor under the international agreement, and has become almost inextricably enmeshed with it. At the moment, according to the United States Employment Service, there are about 28,000 contract Mexicans in the country. Most of them were not imported at all, but are exwetbacks who were rounded up north of the border, processed at border immigration and consular stations, and given legal work permits under guaranties of somewhat better conditions than those accorded wetbacks.

Once across the line, the wetback passes himself off as one of the 3,000,000 citizen Mexican-Americans. The main centers of wetback labor are the large-scale cotton, citrus, and vegetable ranching areas of Arizona, and the Imperial and San Joaquin Valleys of California.

In lesser numbers wetbacks can be found seasonally on farms in Utah, Colorado, New Mexico, and other parts of the West, and over in Arkansas, Mississippi, and Missouri. Every week or two a planeload is shipped from Chicago back to the border.

Employment of wetbacks, although from a realistic standpoint tantamount to harboring a fugitive, has been held by the Federal courts to be not a punishable offense because

of the omission in the 1917 version of the immigration laws of any specific penalty.

[From the New York Times of March 26, 1951]

PEONS NET FARMER A FABULOUS PROFIT—ILLEGAL MIGRANTS FROM MEXICO WORKING RICH SOIL OF WEST, A BONANZA TO EXPLOITERS—PAY 15 TO 25 CENTS A DAY, AND MANY RECEIVE FOOD ALONE, WHILE SHELTER IS A HUT, A THATCH, OR THE STARS

(By Gladwin Hill)

BROWNSVILLE, TEX., March 25.—The lower Rio Grande Valley is the heart of the 1,600-mile wide border belt stretching from Texas to California into which more than 1,000,000 Mexicans annually infiltrate illegally in quest of work.

Here, amid such towns as Waslaco, Donna, Harlingen, and McAllen are some of the most fertile and productive cotton, citrus, and vegetable lands in the country.

The lower Rio Grande Valley comprises principally three counties, Cameron, Hidalgo, and Willacy, with 300,000 population. Their only fractionally cultivated gross area of 3,000 square miles, although constituting only 2 percent of the total area of the State, yields some 15 percent of its farm income.

In this relatively small area on an average day during last year's harvest peak, according to a careful study by two leading southwestern sociologists, about 100,000 wetbacks were working. A check of 14 farms taken at random by Dr. Lyle Saunders of the University of New Mexico and Dr. Olen Leonard of Vanderbilt University, disclosed that 93 out of every 100 workers were illegal Mexican aliens.

THROUGHOUT WHOLE AREA

In lesser concentrations as the distance from the border increases, but still in swarms of thousands, other wetbacks can be found in the harvesting and thinning seasons in the Salt River Valley of Arizona, the Imperial and San Joaquin Valleys of California, and many other sections of the West and South—legally fugitives from justice, but beneficiaries—or victims—of skimpy border protection, grasping farmers and an apathetic public.

Over the whole area there are many farmers and farm associations that, because of special circumstances or plain scruples, do not use "wetbacks"; but for the average farmer such a course means bucking an entrenched cheap-labor system.

In contrast to visions of affluence conjured up by the wide disparity in United States and Mexican living standards, the "wetback" finds himself under a system of wages governed entirely by what the traffic will bear.

Farmers acknowledged to the President's Commission on Migratory Labor last summer that they paid field hands as low as 15 cents an hour. According to the Saunders-Leonard study, the prevailing hourly wage for "wetbacks" in this valley last year was 25 cents an hour.

TWENTY-SIX-DOLLAR COTTON PICKERS

Although cotton was selling at exceptionally high prices, the cotton picking rate in the valley was at its lowest in some time, $1.25 a hundred pounds—at which, it was calculated, the average picker might earn a maximum of about $26 for a 7-day week.

Hourly rates like 25 cents do not necessarily indicate the real wage level in a particular situation, because they may be replaced by piecework rates that are less, or by day rates based on a theoretical 8 hours that in practice may stretch out to 10 or 11 hours.

Gross wages, moreover, are often subject to deductions for meals, commissary purchases, and special assessments, such as the common practice of charging workers for binding wire for vegetables, a practice obviously implying either a paring of the nominal wage or profiteering on the wire.

Two cases reported last summer at McAllen were a father, mother, and two children who had worked 4 days for a net of $6.50 and an inexperienced cotton picker who after 3 days' work was told he had just earned the food he had eaten.

SOME GET NO CASH

It is not extraordinary for "wetbacks" to report having worked for weeks only to be told that there was no cash due them. In such a circumstance the "wetback" has little scope for argument; the farmer can just turn him into the immigration authorities for deportation.

A few days ago I talked with a "wetback" named Felix Moreno who had come into El Centro, Calif., to get help in collecting $47 he said a nearby farmer owed him for 10 days of carrot-bundling. He was 1 of 50

"wetbacks" in a crew of 65. A typical "wetback" in many respects, Moreno was 24 years old and had a wife and year-old child back in Mexico.

Last fall he had taken more than a month's Mexican wages to buy a train ticket from Santiago, Guanajuato, 800 miles south of the border. He had walked across the line in the desert and worked intermittently in cotton and vegetables in the 6 months since. In his pocket he had 20 cents.

Aside from wages, the "wetback" gets nothing. His lodging is seldom better than an irrigation ditch-bank or hut improvised from junk or thatch. The worker housing situation in Lower Rio Grande Valley ranches was tersely summarized in a report published by the University of Texas last December:

"No housing facilities exist."

Southwestern farmers have two principal explanations for the wholesale resort to labor that is contraband but the employment of which, because of legal technicalities, is not subject to prosecution.

One is that "local labor is not available."

It is true that, under present arrangements, peak harvest labor requirements often exceed the immediate local supply. The University of Texas survey, made by Prof. Eastin Nelson and Prof. Frederic Meyers, found, for instance, that in the Lower Rio Grande Valley seasonal cotton labor needs fluctuated from 5,000 to 125,000 against a permanent total labor force of only 38,000.

However, the same study found that an adequate supply might well be drawn from within the State of Texas if adequate monetary and other considerations were offered.

Observing that "much of the agricultural labor in the valley is performed by illegal entrants from Mexico," and tactfully skirting the question of wages with the notation that they were "low" even in comparison with other parts of Texas, the Nelson-Meyers report continued:

"The valley has an opportunity almost unique in a largely agricultural area of providing steady year-around jobs for a permanent resident labor force * * * (but) no such stable and desirable conditions exist, and the reasons for their lack lie plainly in the instability created by the continuous traffic back and forth across the Rio Grande.

FACILITIES UNNECESSARY

"The living standards which Mexican nationals are willing to tolerate, and the fact that so many of them are only temporary residents, have made it unnecessary for valley farmers to provide housing, sanitary facilities and other nonwage perquisites adequate to retain a permanent resident farm population."

During the last few years while the "wetback" traffic has been increasing at a rate of 50 percent or more a year, there has been more or less constant farm unemployment in the Southwest.

In the face of purported shortages of labor in Texas, every year around 100,000 residents of the State take to the road, joining the migrant farm-labor stream to the States north, west and east, where lessened "wetback" competition brings more adequate compensation.

Granting the possible occasional need for foreign labor, there is machinery under the United States-Mexico agreement of 1949 for the legal importation of workers under contract. But the farmers do not like this, because contracting involves minimum wages—ranging currently from 40 cents an hour for Texas to 60 cents for California—and guaranties of housing, insurance, and other conditions that make it far more expensive than "wetbacks." Consequently, legal contracting has remained minute in comparison with "wetback" employment.

Although wetback employment is such an established institution that Rio Grande Valley newspapers refer to it baldly as "cheap labor," farmers often argue that any greater labor costs would put them out of business.

CAN BE DONE

There is telling evidence in contradiction of this contention. For virtually every case where a crop is being produced with wetback labor, instances can be found of the same crop's being produced competitively—often in less favorable areas—with legal Mexican contract labor or domestic labor.

At the time farmers in the lower Rio Grande Valley were paying $1.25 for cotton picking, farmers in California's San Joaquin Valley—300 miles north of the border—were paying $3—and making impressive profits. Similar differentials customarily exist in citrus and vegetable production,

despite California's more costly distance from eastern markets.

Even within Texas, at a time when daily wages for cotton chopping (thinning) in the valley were about $2.25 the Nelson-Meyers report said, "in the northeast Sandy Lands of Texas they were $3, in Corpus Christi and the coast prairie areas they were $4, in the rolling plains $5, and in the high plains $5.25."

The Saunders-Leonard study indicated that valley farmers were able to realize upwards of $5,000,000 extra profit on their cotton crop last summer by their illegal-labor wage rates. This comfortable differential possibly throws light on the fact that during 1949, when the farm income of the State as a whole was declining 8 percent, according to statistics of the State Department of Agriculture, valley farmers were able to increase their income by 7 percent.

[From the New York Times of March 27, 1951]

PEONS IN THE WEST LOWERING CULTURE—ILLEGAL MIGRANTS FROM MEXICO FORM VAST UNASSIMILABLE BLOC OF POPULATION—ALL STANDARDS DECLINE—HEALTH, EDUCATION, DEMOCRACY IN AREAS WHERE WETBACKS WORK ARE DEPLORABLE

(By Gladwin Hill)

EL PASO, TEX., March 26.—The annual invasion of the United States by more than 1,000,000 illegal Mexican border-jumpers, long regarded by some as merely a quaint regional phenomenon of the Southwest, is emerging as a prime factor in some of the worst economic and social conditions in the Nation.

It is a matter of extensive public record that the 3,000,000 Mexican-American citizens of the Southwest are one of the most underprivileged segments of the population, in earnings, health, education, and equality of treatment.

The wetbacks, whose influx in its present proportions is a development of recent years, did not originate these conditions. In the opinion of a large number of expert observers, however, their presence has done much to perpetuate and aggravate them.

"From a cultural standpoint," states Dr. George Sanchez, head of the department of history and philosophy of education at the University of Texas, and probably the foremost student of regional interracial affairs, "the influx of a million or more wetbacks a year transforms the Spanish-speaking people of the Southwest from an ethnic group which might be assimilated with reasonable facility into what I call a 'culturally indigestible' peninsula of Mexico.

NULLIFIES INTEGRATION

"The wetback migration tends to nullify processes of social integration going back 300 or 350 years, and I would say at the present time has set the whole assimilation process back at least 20 or 30 years."

It is the Mexican-American citizens whom, primarily, the wetback cheap-labor invasion deprives of jobs and, through broad economic pressures, pulls down to its own primitive living standards.

It is the wetbacks, as parties to an informal system of peonage, who inexorably tend to set the level of the far from frictionless relations between the Mexican-Americans and the Anglos.

"No citizen who wants to live in even a minimum of comfort and decency can compete with the wetback wage scale," Dr. Sanchez and Dr. Lyle Saunders, of the University of New Mexico, said in a recent report of the University of Texas' continuing study of the Spanish-speaking peoples, a project of the Rockefeller Foundation's general education board.

"With an oversupply of cheap, unprotected labor always present, organization of workers is impossible, individual bargaining is futile.

"There are only two choices: work for what the wetback works for and live as he lives, or leave the area. Many accept the former alternative. Those who can, choose the second and become displaced persons. Either choice results in undesirable conditions for the individual and social problems for the community."

IN THE WAKE OF POVERTY

"For those who stay and attempt to compete, there is poverty and all the evils associated with it: disease, ignorance, child labor, crime and delinquency, lack of concern with civic affairs, slum conditions, and always the weight of a deadened, passive, apathetic population to be carried on the shoulders of other elements of the community.

"For those who leave, there are similar problems of health, education, welfare, and housing—problems that affect those migrating and those in the communities to which they go."

The second alternative is exemplified in the annual migration of around 100,000 Texans, along with thousands of farm workers resident in other wetback States, to other harvest areas of the Nation in quest of remunerative work.

It is possibly more than coincidence that the number of migrant farm workers who course the Nation annually has been independently estimated at 1,000,000—on the order of a conservative estimate of the number of wetbacks who annually breach the border.

The sources of this migration vary in many cases in direct proportion to the presence of wetbacks. In the lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas, the heart of wetbackland, where as many as 100,000 wetbacks may be working at one time during the harvest peak, a recent survey showed that of 15,000 families, 8,000 had hit the migrant trail during a 2-year period.

NOT MERELY AGRICULTURE

The dislocations are not confined to the agricultural field. Wetbacks filter into every occupation from culinary work to the building trades. Practically any labor union in the 1,600-mile border zone from Texas to California can cite local instances of wetback competition in its field.

An analysis of a group of 160 supposedly agrarian wetbacks picked at random from among a summer's deportations by Dr. Saunders disclosed nine bricklayers, seven truck drivers, three miners, two factory workers, two welders, two weavers, a painter, a barber, a blacksmith, a butcher, a shoemaker, and a policeman.

A check of a single residential block in El Paso, Tex., one day last summer turned up three wetbacks doing craft work—a painter, a carpenter, and a carpenter's helper—working at rates from 57 cents an hour down to 37 cents.

In southwest Texas, wetback competition is so strong that even such nationally powerful unions as the teamsters' and the building trades' are only sketchily organized. An organizer for the American Federation of Labor in the area acknowledged sadly that even loyal union members had got in the habit of working on jobs beside wetbacks without protest.

The approximately 1,250,000 Mexican-Americans in Texas comprise one-sixth of the State's population. In many parts of southwest Texas they are predominant in the population.

COMPARATIVE DEATH RATES

Among the Anglo-American population, the 1946 death rate from diphtheria was 1.81 per 100,000 population; for the Spanish-speaking people, a synonym for Mexican-Americans, it was 6.47; the Anglo-American whooping cough rate was .64, the Mexican-American 5.73; the tuberculosis death rate was 25.4 for Anglo-Americans, 159 for Mexican-Americans.

In San Antonio, the largest city of southern Texas, the tuberculosis death rate among Anglo-Americans is 40, among Negroes 50, and among Mexican-Americans 150.

General conditions worsen as you progress into the wetback country. In Hidalgo County, one of three that make up the lower Rio Grande Valley, a United States Public Health Service survey of 3,103 resident Spanish-speaking families comprising 16,782 persons, disclosed that in 1947–48, 9.8 percent had annual incomes below $500, 41.6 percent below $1,000, 68.3 percent below $1,500, and 82.9 percent below $2,000.

In Hidalgo County in 1949, the infant death rate among Spanish-speaking people was nearly five times that among the non-Spanish speaking. In 1949, Hidalgo and adjacent Cameron County, although containing only one-thirtieth of the State's population, accounted for one-fifteenth of all the State's meningitis, one-twelfth of its typhoid and diphtheria, one-seventh of its dysentery, and one-fifth of its malaria.

EDUCATIONAL DEFICIENCIES

Comparable educational deficiencies characterize the region. The farm-worker migration from Texas customarily starts in the early spring, months before the school year ends, and the workers do not return until fall, after the school year has started.

Among families who do not migrate, and who are faced with making livings under the competition of wetback wages, child labor is

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so common that in some parts of west Texas the public schools remain closed for an extra month while the fall harvest is on. They remain open an extra month at the end of the year, but this evidently is a minor compensatory factor. In the three valley counties, a recent University of Texas study disclosed, in the age bracket 6 to 17, more than 40 percent of the children were absent from school on a given day.

"It seems perfectly plain from the figures that a fairly large percentage of the scholastics belong to the labor force in some degree * * * and that a fairly large percentage of (children above 14) belong regularly to the labor force."

The United States Public Health Service survey of 3,103 Hidalgo County Spanish-speaking families disclosed that 53 percent of their members had no formal schooling, 75 percent had less than 3 years, only 15 percent had from 3 to 6 years, only 1 percent had completed high school, and only 1 out of 1,000 had attended college.

Of those persons over 21, 45 percent had no schooling, only 2 percent had completed high school, and only 2 out of 1,000 had attended college. Sixty-seven percent could not speak English, and 39 percent were illiterate even in Spanish. For comparison, the latest available State statistics on education among the over-all population of the same county show that 54.6 percent had completed five grades or more, and that 20.6 percent had completed high school.

The retarded assimilation of the Spanish-speaking people, the University of Texas report stated, is revealed in second and third generation citizens who do not speak or who are not fluent in the language of their country, in poor school attendance records and low educational attainments, in abnormally high concentrations in unskilled occupations, in the persistence of separate, segregated institutions, and in subjective out-group feelings toward non-Spanish-speaking citizens.

Despite all the problems of assimilation, Dr. Saunders concluded from a recent study of the valley, it is conceivable that a mutually satisfactory adjustment involving a considerable cultural and perhaps even biological blending of both groups might have been reached had it not been for the continual inflow of large numbers of wetbacks.

"For the wetback embodies most of the elements necessary to reinforce the stereotyped notions of the Anglo through which he sees or fancies he sees undesirable characteristics in the Spanish-speaking group, and tends to assign to all Spanish-speaking people the characteristics he thinks he sees in the wetbacks. * * * poor, uneducated, unskilled, underfed and frequently unclean.

DISCRIMINATION RAMPANT

Although the Texas courts have held that Mexican-Americans are white and therefore not subject to the same level of segregation as Negroes, they are still subject to extensive discrimination—both organized as in certain public housing projects, and informally. A typical example reported by Dr. Saunders is that where Anglo-American stenographers get between $150 and $250 a month, and average about $167, the standard scale for Mexican-Americans, despite their convenient bilinguality, is $100 to $150.

Although constituting some 16 percent of the population of Texas, Mexican-Americans account for only 2 percent of the enrollment in the State's 4-year colleges and universities.

Consonant conditions obtain, in varying degrees, throughout the Southwest.

Possible illumination of the correlation between the status of the wetbacks and that of the Mexican-Americans is provided by a comparison of their role in public affairs, in the States of Texas, New Mexico, and California. In all three States, Spanish-speaking populations have been established for more than a century. In New Mexico, the Spanish-speaking people constitute a larger proportion of the over-all population than in the other States—about half—but from a governmental standpoint their concentration is no greater in various areas than in important sections of Texas and California.

In the latter two States, prime termini of the wetback influx, you can search the rosters of State, county and local legislative and administrative personnel through hundreds of names without encountering one that is Spanish.

In New Mexico, which has only 100 miles of border contiguous to Mexico and where there is relatively little farming to draw

wetbacks for practically every Anglo-American in public office—including the State's representation in Congress—you can find a person of Latin extraction.

[From the New York Times of March 28, 1951]

SOUTHWEST WINKS AT WETBACK JOBS—ETHICS CAST ASIDE AS GROWERS ACCEPT PEONAGE IDEA AND BRIDLE AT INTERFERENCE—FEDERAL SANCTION NOTED—BORDER PATROL OFFICERS REPORT PRESSURES FROM WASHINGTON TO "GO EASY" IN RAIDS

(By Gladwin Hill)

EL PASO, Tex., March 27.—The rise in illegal border-crossing by Mexican wetbacks to a current rate of more than 1,000,000 cases a year has been accompanied by a curious relaxation in ethical standards extending all the way from the farmer-exploiters of this contraband labor to the highest levels of the Federal Government.

Although wetbacks are fugitives from justice, southwestern cotton, citrus, and vegetable growers have come to the fixed view that there is nothing wrong in employing them, harboring them or even in actively recruiting them across the international boundary.

Further, they have come to feel they have a vested right in the traffic. Any more than the normal token interference with it by the Immigration Service's skimpy border patrol—with less than 900 officers for the 1,600-mile expanse from Texas to the Pacific Ocean—brings an outraged hue and cry from communities thoroughly indoctrinated with the farmers' attitude.

A year ago, in a special drive, border-patrol officers were concentrated temporarily along the Rio Grande and in 1 month increased their apprehensions from 16,490 to 24,415.

GESTAPO TACTICS CHARGED

Newspapers of the lower Rio Grande Valley immediately accused the Immigration Service editorially of "siding with Mexico" and described valley farmers as "justifiably resentful" at having their scheme of things thus disrupted.

A barrage of feature articles followed, describing in emotional verbiage the purported separation of families by the deportation of border jumpers (an exigency specifically exempted in the immigration laws); and dire conditions allegedly created on the Mexican side of the border by the congestion of deportees (which Mexican officials promptly denied).

The border patrol, long known for its anomalously amicable relations with both the farmers whose fields it periodically raids and the Mexicans it deports, was accused of almost as heinous a roster of outrages as was laid to the Nazi Government, in headlines such as: "Says border patrol uses Gestapo methods." * * * "Illegal search and seizure is issue" * * * "Valley Legion scores acts of border patrol." * * * "Crime against humanity."

Representative LLOYD M. BENTSEN, JR., Democrat, of Texas, member of a prominent valley farming family, took the floor of Congress to demand a full-dress investigation of a report that border patrolmen called at a house in Mission and questioned the occupants "without a search warrant."

SOCIAL SECURITY CARDS ISSUED

Communities have become so accustomed to "wetbackism" that in the leading "wetback" areas of Texas, Dr. Lyle Saunders, University of New Mexico sociologist, recently reported after extensive first-hand study of conditions, "almost anyone who needs help of any kind will hire a wetback—farmers, contractors, businessmen, housewives, city governments, county governments, and even the International Boundary Commission." In this, Texas does not differ substantially from the wetback areas of Arizona, California, and other Western States.

On the hallowed bureaucratic principle of the left hand's not knowing what the right hand is doing, while the Immigration Service struggles with the wetback influx, the Social Security Administration freely issues cards to wetbacks on which they have little chance of collecting benefits, but which are handy for pseudo-identification. Wetbacks get draft board cards for the same purpose, giving worthless addresses. State employment offices in many places—quasi-Federal agencies—refer wetbacks to employment opportunities right along with citizens.

A leading California labor contractor, asked by the President's Commission on Migratory Labor where he located the wetbacks in which he admittedly trafficked, replied

blandly: "From the State employment service."

The notion that wetback labor is both proper and indispensable has become so firmly implanted in southwestern communities that its accompanying evils are taken as a matter of course.

WETBACKS LINKED TO CRIME

The (Lower Rio Grande) Valley Express last March quoted District Attorney Jack Ross, of Edinburg, Tex., as saying that in the previous year as much as 75 percent of the convictions in certain major crime categories had been against wetbacks and that since the stepped-up drive against them crime generally had dropped off 50 percent. The newspaper added, without comment, that local police in several valley cities reported such petty crime as pilfering and drunkenness had dropped sharply.

About the same time the San Benito (Tex.) News reported blandly: "It was quite a weekend in San Benito. Only a few habitual drunks got into jail. The round-up of wetbacks may worry San Benito district farmers and cut down receipts of beer joints, but it is a blessing to local police. 'No petty thefts, few fights, no burglaries, and everything peaceful with most of the wetbacks gone, at least for a time, is the police view."

Sheriff Robert Ware, of Imperial County, California's leading wetback area, asked by this correspondent if wetbacks constituted any particular law-enforcement problem, said, "No, they don't give us much trouble. They're mostly quiet, law-abiding people who just want work." A few minutes later he acknowledged that of 135 inmates in the county jail, he estimated 25 percent were wetbacks.

The public record offers extensive evidence of tacit or active Federal sanction of the wetback traffic all the way from the border patrol to the White House level.

ARREST TRENDS ANALYZED

Some responsible regional observers have noted a curious inverse correlation between the rate of the border patrol's apprehensions, which vary widely seasonally, and local demands for wetback labor. One way or another, these sources suggest, the border patrol functions less as a law-enforcement agency than a checkvalve, restricting illegal immigration to the level of active public alarm. No corruption of border-patrol officers is implied. It is just, these observers explain, that after apprehension activities have gone so far, as in last year's special Rio Grande campaign, pressures, public and pri- v ·, build up to dampen the border patrol's ardor.

Some immigration officers deny this, contending that they consistently and conscientiously do as well as they can with their skimpy resources to stem the wetback tide, and that fluctuating apprehensions simply reflect fluctuations in the overall wetback migration rate.

Other officers differ. One after another testified before the President's Commission on Migratory Labor that the border patrol was subject constantly to invisible but emphatic pressure exerted from farm quarters through Washington and relayed through Immigration Service channels, to go easy on the wetback round-up.

This was epitomized in the testimony of the late Grover C. Wilmoth, veteran director of the El Paso Immigration District. He said:

"All we need is a go-ahead signal and we can enforce the law 90 to 95 percent. With a little additional men and equipment we could do an efficient enforcement job. It's a disgrace to this country that her laws are openly flouted and evaded. The farmers once were ashamed of using wetbacks. Now they have come to the point where they believe they have a vested right in these illegal workers. They go to their Senators, their Congressmen, the Attorney General, or the President to complain."

It was in Mr. Wilmoth's district, during the 1948 Presidential campaign, that there occurred the notorious "El Paso tea party." The supply of Mexican labor had not been sufficient to satisfy farmers of the area.

As reported by Art Leibson of the El Paso Times, "When President Truman came to El Paso for a campaign address, the problem was laid before him by cotton men and by Texas and New Mexico Congressmen. Soon after his train moved east through Texas, there was a meeting of top immigration officials at El Paso." What went on behind the scenes is still a matter of equivocal explanation by immigration officials. What

happened openly was that—in outright violation of United States commitments, according to the subsequent protest of the Mexican Government—border-patrol officers turned their backs for 48 hours while some 7,500 wetbacks streamed across the river unhindered to fill the farmers' wants.

A similarly questionable incident occurred only a month ago in California. Some ranchers rounded up one hundred-odd wetbacks some 30 miles north of the border and took them in chartered buses to the immigration station at Calexico. The ranchers and the border patrol were in the midst of a still mysterious proceeding evidently aimed at legitimizing these workers for transportation to ranches in the north, when representatives of the National Farm Labor Union, AFL, intervened and protested to the local Mexican consul that the law was being violated. Although the district headquarters of the Immigration Service still contends that the proceeding was in full compliance with regulations, the union's protest had sufficient validity so that the operation was halted and the wetbacks returned to Mexico.

AGREEMENT CALLED A TRAVESTY

The most conspicuous official hypocrisy regarding wetbacks has been that surrounding the United States-Mexico farm labor agreement of 1949, one of the periodical extensions of which is now before Congress. The professed aim of this agreement was to eliminate the wetback traffic by providing for the recruitment of Mexican farm labor below the border and its orderly importation into the United States for maximum work periods of 1 year where real shortages of domestic labor were duly certified by the United States Employment Service.

After 18 months of its operation, however, many close observers feel that the agreement manifestly has worked out as a travesty on this intent.

The agreement opened with a solemn declaration of representatives of the United States State Department and the Mexican Foreign Ministry deploring the wetback traffic of Mexican workers, which has mounted steadily and no appreciable steps have been taken to reinforce the border patrol.

The agreement then offered an incentive to border jumping by providing that wetbacks should have preference in hiring under the contract system. Such priority was limited to wetbacks in the United States at that time, but this deadline for absolution from law violation has been extended over and over. Last summer the legalization of wetbacks in the United States before July 26 was authorized. When this did not produce enough cheap Mexican labor, the preference was extended to all wetbacks in the country before October 20.

CROSS BORDER IN RITUAL

Of the first 98,000 laborers contracted under the agreement in the fall of 1949, 78,000, by acknowledgment of the Department of Labor's Bureau of Employment Security, were wetbacks who were legalized.

Nominally this legalization process consists of the wetbacks voluntarily surrendering and returning to Mexico for subsequent recruiting.

As it works out in practice, the wetbacks are rounded up in the United States and taken to legalization centers on the border, where as part of their processing they go through the formality of momentarily crossing the Mexican line—a ritual that has become known as "walking around the statue."

Of 28,000 Mexican contract laborers now in the United States, virtually all were wetbacks legitimized in this way.

Article 6 of the agreement affirmed that Mexican nationals should not be contracted to work "in localities where Mexicans are discriminated against because of their nationality or race." They have been put to work in such localities.

Subsequent articles said Mexican contract labor should be paid the prevailing wage rates for a given area, that this should not be promised on wetback-wage scales, and that the contract labor should not displace domestic citizen labor.

These stipulations, if complied with, observers agree, would virtually have precluded contracting, since farm wages in key areas of the Southwest are geared to the wetbacks' minimal compensation to such a degree that domestic citizen workers by the hundred thousand are frozen out of the market. This was circumstantially corroborated when contract minimums of 40 cents and 60 cents an hour were adopted under the agreement, respectively, for Texas and California, for

identical work—reflecting accurately the differing concentrations of wetbacks in the two areas.

The final irony of the agreement was a stipulation that contract workers should not be provided to employers of wetbacks, and that any employer found to have wetbacks should have his contracting privileges withdrawn.

This again, if complied with, virtually would have eliminated key areas of the region, wetback employment is so prevalent.

In one day recently the farm-labor union supplied United States and Mexican officials a list of eight large vegetable ranches in the immediate area of El Centro, Calif., employing wetbacks, the most prominent being the firm of O'Dwyer & Mets, headed by Frank O'Dwyer, brother of William O'Dwyer, United States Ambassador to Mexico. Immigration officers seized 300 wetbacks on that ranch. The union demanded that its contracting right be withdrawn.

Six weeks have elapsed, and as this was written the regional office of the United States Bureau of Employment Security in San Francisco acknowledged that no action had been taken. It said an inquiry was under way. The first step in the inquiry was a so-called hearing at El Centro of parties in the case.

The hearing was an unannounced private conference on a Sunday night between a lawyer from the Employment Security Bureau and representatives of O'Dwyer & Mets.

When this correspondent sought to interview Mr. O'Dwyer, the latter referred him to Mr. Mets. Asked where Mr. Mets could be seen, Mr. O'Dwyer said, "He's in Washington."

[From the New York Times of March 29, 1951]

INTERESTS CONFLICT ON WETBACK CURE—EVEN BORDER POLICE DISAGREE ON MEASURES TO STEM FLOOD OF MEXICAN LABORERS—NATIONS' PACT IN DISPUTE—UNIONS SEE A MOVE TO CUT PAY BY FARMERS WHO OPPOSE UNITED STATES RULE ON CONTRACTS

(By Gladwin Hill)

LOS ANGELES, March 2.—Almost every segment of the Nation's population interested in the wetback problem has a simple straightaway solution for it.

The trouble is that because of conflicting interests, no group's solution is very satisfactory to anyone else.

Even experienced officers of the United States Immigration and Naturalization Services, targets of a mounting barrage of criticism as illegal crossings of the Mexican border have mounted, are in wide disagreement about the most effective measures.

Some contend that simply augmenting the border patrol's present skimpy facilities—with a nucleus of less than 900 men to guard the 1,600 miles from Texas to the Pacific coast—might largely stem the tide of upward of 1,000,000 Mexicans who annually cross the line to work for minimal wages and who depress both economic and social standards in the Southwest.

Others contend that it would take a large standing army to make the border impregnable, and that the problem should be tackled from another angle.

Most concur that stiffening the present penalties for illegal entry—up to a year's imprisonment for the first offense and 2 years for a repetition—would be useless against the horde of amiable wetbacks who, by their numbers, overwhelm the facilities for apprehension and prosecution.

THE POLITICAL FACTOR IS CITED

Some think that if the immigration laws could be fixed up logically to make it an offense to employ wetbacks, who are technically fugitives from justice, it would eliminate their chances of getting jobs, and along with that the incentive for sneaking into the country.

Here again immigration officers disagree about the political practicality of such proposals. Some think that Southwestern farmers, with their vested interest in cheap wetback labor and their influential lobbies, would surely try to scuttle such steps. One immigration officer of exceptionally long experience, however, said: "They wouldn't dare to oppose it, because that would focus public attention on their system."

Members of Congress, whipsawed between the constant farm pressure for alien labor and the obvious need to do something about the wetback traffic, ratified the 1949

agreement between this Nation and Mexico for the importation of Mexicans under contract. A periodical extension of this agreement is now before Congress.

This agreement has not pleased anybody particularly. By providing for preference in job recruiting to wetbacks already in the United States, it has probably acted as an incentive to border-jumping, which has increased at a rapid rate ever since the agreement became effective.

FARMERS DISLIKE THE PACT

Farmers dislike it for many reasons. Requests for labor to be imported have to be filed 60 days in advance. With the principal Southwestern crops of cotton, citrus, and vegetables, it is often difficult to predict precisely so far ahead just how many hands are going to be needed, when and for how long.

Also, minimum wages—ranging from 40 cents an hour in Texas to 60 cents in California—and housing, insurance, transportation, bonds, and other requirements under the contract system, raise the cost of this labor. In some cases, farmers have averred, actually above the cost of domestic citizen labor.

Farmer objections to transportation costs and complications have brought about the virtual scrapping of the original concept of recruiting labor in the interior of Mexico, where there was a dearth of local employment opportunities, in favor of recruitment right at the border through the legalization of wetbacks.

A return to recruiting south of the border is one of the principal proposals in connection with extending the international agreement, now under debate. Another is for resumption of active participation by the United States Government—as during World War II—in the transportation and allocation of the imported labor and in the handling of certain of the moneys involved.

This is objected to as quasi socialism. There is also palpable concern in farm circles that Government management of alien labor would soon extend to allocation of domestic labor. Such a step, it may be noted, might nullify the traditional contention that domestic labor is not available, a contention that farmers use to justify the employment of alien labor, legal and illegal.

In contrast to such proposals, influential farm quarters long have been advocating what they habitually refer to as a simple crossing-card system, but which critics call simply legalized wetbackism.

Under this system, Mexicans would receive border passes to circulate in the United States, confined in theory to areas of farm labor shortages, and to work without any of the burdensome guaranties of minimum wages, housing, insurance, and transportation required under the present contracting system.

Organized labor in the United States, as expressed in repeated declarations particularly of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates, would approach the problem from the other end.

It contends that the agitation in the United States since World War II about obtaining alien labor generally has been an oblique effort to undercut American workers, predicated on illusory shortages of domestic labor. These shortages are said to result from a refusal to offer adequate wages.

This contention is at least partially corroborated by a recent study at the University of Texas, previously cited in these articles, which concluded that the labor needs of certain key farm areas could, with adequate inducements, be filled entirely from within the State. This is contrasted to the present situation in which wetbacks pour in by the hundred thousands, while domestic workers leave the State regularly in similar numbers to seek more adequate wages elsewhere.

The National Farm Labor Union, the AFL's principal affiliate in the field, contends that domestic labor shortages should be established by public hearings in the areas in question instead of by the present unilateral certification by Federal-State employment offices, whose personnel may be subject to local pressure from farmers.

Secondly, the union advocates on the question of what is the prevailing wage for given work in a given area—a critical factor in considerations both of the availability of domestic labor and of the terms that should be accorded alien labor—that this wage be

similarly arrived at in open hearing rather than as now, in the uncertain realm of administrative decisions.

If these two conditions were met, labor maintains, many of the current problems would be dispelled because underlying them is a simple reluctance to pay adequate wages.

With these conditions met, it is contended, domestic citizen labor would be forthcoming; and even on the condition, quite foreseeable in the current war emergency, that alien labor were needed, a frank approach to wage and cost economics would eliminate the present haggling and complications that attend the contract system.

From labor and independent observers of the wetback problem, including educators, economists, sociologists, and welfare and church agencies, the suggestion also has come that the wage chiseling that underlies the wetback influx might be obliterated by applying Federal minimum wages to agriculture, at least in cotton, which is a Government-subsidized crop around which much of the wetback traffic revolves.

Farmers have long contended that minimum wages in agriculture are unworkable. But a minimum wage has long been in effect under an exceptional Federal law for the sugar-beet crop.

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Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 82d CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Liberalized Immigration Bill Introduced

Senator Lehman and 14 Others Submit Bipartisan Proposal To Ease Quota Limits, Remove Discriminatory Provisos, Set Up BIA Board

REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Saturday, October 20, 1951

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, on behalf of myself, the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. HUMPHREY], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. BENTON], the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. KILGORE], the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. KEFAUVER], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. MOODY], the Senator from Montana [Mr. MURRAY], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DOUGLAS], the Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON], the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. LANGER], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE], the Senator from Iowa [Mr. GILLETTE], my colleague, the senior Senator from New York [Mr. IVES], and the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. HENDRICKSON], I introduce for appropriate reference a bill to make certain basic revisions in our immigration laws, chiefly designed to bring the quota system up to date, and remove the ancient relics of racial discrimination and discrimination against women from our immigration code. I ask unanimous consent that an explanatory statement of the bill by me be printed in the RECORD.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be received and appropriately referred, and, without objection, the explanatory statement will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 2343) to amend the immigration laws so as to eliminate discrimination based on race and sex; to provide for the use of unused immigration quotas; to provide nonquota status for parents of citizens, orphans, and alien members and former members of the Armed Forces; and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. LEHMAN (for himself and other Senators), was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

The explanatory statement is as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR LEHMAN

This bill, of bipartisan sponsorship, is the result of long study and review of our immigration laws. It is the product of consultation with and deliberation among more than 30 voluntary agencies and great religious groups and organizations which are concerned with immigration and the handicaps to its orderly and humane functioning.

Under the terms of this bill, the outmoded system of quota distribution, devised in 1924, and based on our population in 1890, would be modified so as to permit the orderly entry into the United States of the same number of persons already provided for by law, namely, 154,277 annually. This number, as originally laid down in our immigration law of 1924, which has never had a basic revision, is now inflexibly allocated among national origin groups, largely from Western Europe.

Thus, of the total number of persons annually eligible to enter the United States as immigrants under our quota laws, more than one-third of the total, or 65,721 quota numbers are allocated to persons of British descent and citizenship. Other large quotas are available for natives of France, Ireland, and other countries of northern and Western Europe.

These quotas are not being fully used. There is no prospect of their being fully used. Meanwhile, quotas for persons from southern and Eastern Europe—the ones who really need asylum, the ones for whom the United States could really provide home and haven, are far oversubscribed and mortgaged far into the future.

This is especially true of Italy, Greece, and the countries behind the iron curtain. Refugees from the latter areas especially, huddled in the overcrowded cities of Western Germany and Austria and Western Europe generally, look desperately across the Atlantic in the hope and dream of somehow finding haven here. These individuals have fled from behind the iron curtain, often at the risk of their lives, seeking the boon of freedom. The least we, in this country, can do at this time is to make room for the admission of some of these refugees to the maximum extent possible under our quota laws, consistent with the requirements and interests of our national security.

Nor do I wish to understate the importance of providing for the admission of numbers of Italians and Greeks who dream vainly now of joining their relatives in this country.

There is also the Middle East, with its refugees, some of whom should have the right to enter this country even under the limitations of our quota system.

Under the terms of the bill we have today introduced, the unused portion of these quotas would be pooled and allocated to persons of other national origins, like Italians, Greeks, Poles, Hungarians, and Arabs—to mention a few.

Under the terms of this bill, preferences would be established for political and religious persecutees, for relatives of American citizens, for relatives of aliens now resident in the United States, and for persons with special skills and talents especially needed in this country.

Under other terms of the bill, nonquota preference would be granted to persons who had served in the Armed Forces of the United States, and to their wives and children, and to orphans who are brought over for adoption by American citizens.

Another provision of the bill would strike out the archaic discrimination based on sex now existing in our immigration laws. Under present law, certain preferences are given to wives of American citizens but not to husbands. This kind of discrimination would be deleted from the entire body of our immigration code.

Still another vital provision would strike out the unsupportable discrimination based on race which now bars persons of certain oriental races from admission as immigrants into the United States under any circumstances.

A further important provision of the bill would establish a statutory Board of Immigration Appeals, to be appointed by the President, subject to confirmation by the Senate, to replace the present Board established by administrative regulations.

Other provisions are as follows:

1. To delete the present exemption of immigration proceedings from the terms of the Administrative Proceedures Act.

2. To make eligible for admission into this country reformed Communists and Fascists who can prove that they are reformed and are now devoted to democratic principles; and also to make eligible individuals whose membership in Communist and Fascist organizations occurred or ended before they reached the age of 16.

I hope that this bill, which does not include, by any means, all the desirable improvements in our immigration laws, will provide a basis for a new approach to the whole subject of immigration. This is vital if we are to discharge successfully our responsibilities as world leaders and to demonstrate to the world that we are sincere in advocating principles based on equality of men of all races and nations.

From a purely selfish point of view, we can use the special skills, talents, and labor of these individuals in our expanding and dynamic economy.

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McCarran's Iron Curtain

BY ALEX. BROOKS

SHORTLY after the First World War the United States went through a period of intense anti-foreign isolationism which eventuated in the Immigration Act of 1924. This act established the rigid and restrictive quota pattern under which we have been operating since. Introducing into our law a racist concept of national origins, it gave large quotas to the Northern and Western European nations, where the pressure to emigrate was slight, and small quotas to the Southern and Eastern countries, where pressure was great. As a result, the Northern and Western quotas have been largely wasted, and European immigration to the United States for the last twenty years has totaled less than one-third of the allowable amount.

Now we have come full cycle again, and current postwar jitters threaten to cause another wave of discrimination and restriction. Unfortunately, little public notice has been given to quietly planned long-range changes which would effectively strangle for many years to come a flow of immigration which only recently was temporarily augmented by hard-won D. P. legislation.

Under the guise of preparing a streamlined and efficient revision and modification of our antiquated immigration laws, Senator Pat McCarran and Representative Francis Walter have presented two practically identical omnibus bills which provide thirteen new grounds for excluding future immigrants, more than twenty new grounds for deporting displaced persons and other immigrants admitted in past years, and a practically undetermined number of new ways of depriving a naturalized American of citizenship. These bills purport to eliminate racial discrimination and to tighten naturalization and denaturalization procedures. Actually, they embody more than a hundred changes which would weaken the rights of immigrants and aliens.

The most blatant hypocrisy of the new bills is their claim to eliminate racial discrimination. They make a gesture in this direction by admitting a sharply limited number of Japanese, Koreans, Indonesians, and Burmese. The Japanese would be given a quota of 185. In addition, all Orientals, many of whom are at present ineligible for naturalization, would be allowed to become American citizens. This would enable 85,000 first-generation Japanese already living in this country to achieve their dream of citizenship.

Though they make this partial concession to racial equality, the bills retain many obsolete and obnoxious discriminations and add a number of new and unwarranted ones. For instance, the retention of the 1920 census figure as a base for determining the rate of immigration perpetuates a discrimination against the Southern and Eastern Europeans, who have contributed the bulk of our immigration in the last thirty years. It is these people who are in dire need of asylum in this country. All their quotas are oversubscribed; some of them are mortgaged into the next century by recent D. P. legislation.

The framers of the Walter-McCarran bills make certain that Orientals will be strictly limited to their quotas by expanding an already enacted racist measure to provide that any immigrant "who is attributable by as much as one-half of his ancestry to a people or peoples indigenous to the Asia-Pacific triangle" is to be charged to the quota of the country of his "ancestry," regardless of his place of birth or citizenship. Total immigration from this group is limited to 2,000 a year. This discriminatory provision, strikingly reminiscent of Hitler's abhorrent Nürnberg laws, was openly fashioned to exclude all but the bare handful of Orientals provided for under stringently limited quotas. Under this rule, a citizen of Great Britain, born in that country of a British father and a Chinese mother, would not be admitted to the United States as a member of the British quota of 65,000 but would be shunted to the Chinese quota of 105.

The Walter-McCarran bills go still farther in discriminating against Negroes. Under the present law immigration from colonies and other dependent areas is charged to the quota of the governing country. Citizens of Trinidad, Jamaica, and other West Indian colonies, most of whom are Negroes, at present have relatively free access to the United States. The new bills stipulate that hereafter not more than 100 persons may enter annually from one such colony. This would have the intended effect of reducing Negro immigration from the West Indies by about 90 per cent.

In order further to enlarge the grounds for exclusion, deportation, and denaturalization, the Walter-McCarran bills eliminate the non-quota status of professors. Restrictions are also tightened against the victims of religious persecution, who were formerly granted an exemption from literacy requirements. A similar exception for close relatives of legally admitted aliens and citizens of the United States has also been dropped.

One of the profound ironies of the Walter-McCarran

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bills is their subversion of certain safeguards against administrative abuse favored by their authors six years ago. Senator McCarran himself hailed the Administrative Procedure Act of 1946, designed by his Senate Judiciary Committee to provide additional judicial checks on possible abuses by administrative officials, as a "widely heralded advance in democratic government."

The Administrative Procedure Act is, in effect, emasculated at many points by the new proposals. Prosecutors, for instance, may also serve as judges in immigration cases. Exclusion or deportation is not based on whether an alien has actually done something wrong but on whether an immigration official is "satisfied" or "has reason to believe" he has. The Attorney General is even empowered to sanction deportation or deprive a resident of his precious citizenship when certain facts appear in his "opinion" to warrant such drastic action.

One of the three liberalizations embodied in the McCarran-Walter bills weakens the absolute bar against the admission of totalitarians set up by McCarran's own Internal Security Act of 1950. Totalitarians actively reformed at least five years prior to their application for admission may come in if their presence here is thought to be "in the public interest." But an alien who at any time after he was admitted to this country has been engaged in a Communist or totalitarian cause, regardless of whether he later acknowledged his mistake and became a valuable member of the American community, must be deported. Finally, the bills would disqualify from citizenship an applicant who had been unlucky enough to belong to a "direct predecessor" of a Communist or totalitarian organization, even one originally democratic in character, from which he later resigned in protest.

At their joint hearings the Walter-McCarran bills met vigorous opposition from representatives of Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish religious groups and of Italian, Czech, and other nationality groups, from the American Bar Association Committee on Aliens and Naturalization, and from other quarters. Some of the more objectionable sections were removed as a result of this criticism; most of them remain.

THE Walter bill was suddenly reported out and scheduled for floor debate two weeks ago. Senators Lehman and Humphrey and Representative Roosevelt, alarmed by Congressional apathy concerning the bill, alerted others. A vigorous effort, headed by Roosevelt in the House, was made to postpone floor debate until Congress could be informed of the widespread organizational opposition to many of the bill's features. As a result, consideration of the bill was postponed. Since then, numerous religious, civic, educational, nationality, and labor groups have urged recommittal so that there may be time to consider thoroughly the more than one hundred amendments being prepared.

In the meantime, a substitute omnibus immigration bill which will almost certainly get Administration support has been introduced by Senators Humphrey and Lehman and Representative Roosevelt. This bill, cosponsored by Senators Benton, Langer, Kilgore, Douglas, McMahon, Green, Pastore, Kefauver, Morse, and Moody, is everything the Walter-McCarran bill is not. It would codify, simplify, and humanize the present law in many ways. It would modernize the quota system by basing quotas on the 1950 instead of on the 1920 census (thus increasing the total quota), and would provide much greater flexibility in the operation of the quota system by allowing for the "pooling" of unused quotas. The previous year's unused quotas would be allocated to immigrants who are relatives of American citizens and of aliens residing here permanently, to those whose services are urgently needed in this country, to victims of religious and racial persecution, and to special-hardship cases. The total flow of immigration would be enlarged by as much as 75,000 each year merely by the intelligent use of the quotas conceived appropriate when our present immigration law was enacted.

Unlike the McCarran-Walter bill, the Humphrey-Lehman-Roosevelt bill actually eliminates all vestiges of racial discrimination. It provides, for instance, for proportional quotas to Japanese, Burmese, Koreans, and other Asiatic groups who at present have no quotas, and also for proportional quotas for such groups as the Chinese, who have been limited to approximately 100. The concept of nationality by ancestry instead of by birth is eliminated.

The H-R-L bill provides the protection against administrative abuse absent from the McCarran-Walter bills. Exceptions to exclusion can be based on special circumstance. By relying to a heavy extent on factual grounds for exclusion rather than on the "opinion" of administrative officials, the bill avoids a large area of potential administrative abuse. Its administrative features are a striking improvement over those of the current law.

The H-L-R bill provides a statutory basis for the Board of Immigration Appeals—assuring its freedom from administrative influence in weighing appeals and reviews in deportation cases—establishes a Visa Review Board within the State Department to handle appeals against the decisions of consular officials, and makes the Administrative Procedure Act applicable to deportation cases. All new powers granted to the Attorney General are surrounded by safeguards.

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IMMIGRATION BILLS PENDING IN CONGRESS

April, 1952

By Rhoads Murphey, Friends Committee on Nat'l Legislation, 1000 11th St., N.W., Washington, D.C.

Four Omnibus Bills designed to revise and codify our immigration laws are now before the Congress. There are two Senate Bills: S. 2550, by Senator Pat McCarran, and S. 2842, by Senators Hubert Humphrey and Herbert Lehman; and two House Bills: H.R. 5678, by Representative Francis Walter, and H.R. 7032, by Representative Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. (An earlier bill by Representative Emanuel Celler, H.R. 6034, is not presently at issue.) The Humphrey-Lehman Bill and the Roosevelt Bill are identical, and the McCarran and Walter Bills are generally similar.

All four bills would permit the naturalization of some 80,000 Japanese residents of the United States, and the admission as citizens of Japanese war-brides and war-husbands, but in most other respects there are basic differences among them.

It is not easy to summarize these bills. We have studied each of them carefully, and have profitted by the analyses of them made by authorities in the field of immigration and by private agencies, such as the American Friends Service Committee, which are engaged in work with refugees and displaced persons.

The McCarran and Walter Bills are Restrictive

It is our considered opinion that the McCarran and Walter Bills are both basically restrictive measures, designed to exclude immigrants rather than to admit them, and specifically to discriminate in a variety of ways against immigrants on the ground of "race". While both bills include for the first time a legal quota for all Asian countries (in most cases this quota is set at 100 annually, including that for India), they provide that a person who is "attributable by as much as one half of his ancestry" to any Asian country east of Persia must be charged to the quota for that country, regardless of his citizenship or place of birth. Both bills would largely cut off non-white immigration from British colonies in the Caribbean by removing nationals of these areas from the never-filled quota of the mother country and assigning them instead a yearly quota of 100 for each such colony. These are only samples of the bills' provisions, but they are characteristic ones.

Both bills would give virtually unlimited power to our consuls overseas to refuse visas to immigrants, selecting from a long list of new grounds for exclusion included in the bills; some of these grounds are regrettable, but at least straightforward: illiteracy (in certain cases), previous jail sentences of five years or more (even though this might have been for "crimes" against a totalitarian state), in certain cases lack of special skills, or possession of skills in which the United States already has an adequate supply. Some of the more ambiguous grounds would allow great abuse by the consular officer: he is empowered to keep out all those who "in the opinion of the consular officer at the time of application for a visa, are likely at any time to become public charges." ; or those who "in the opinion of the consular officer at the time of application for a visa" are likely to engage in immoral practices in the United States. The bills make no provision for review of consular decisions.

Both bills add many new grounds for deportation, and make these grounds retroactive to cover all immigrants who have hitherto been admitted to the United States. Here also vague and general language stating grounds for deportation would be an invitation to arbitrary application by immigration officials, whose actions could be reviewed in many cases only by "the opinion of the Attorney General" rather than by an established board of appeals. Finally, the bills give the President the power to suspend all immigration whenever he feels it is in the national interest to do so. These powers in the hands of individuals could, and doubtless would in individual cases, be used to stifle immigration whenever the official was so inclined.

The Humphrey-Lehman and Roosevelt Bills are Designed to Admit More People

The Humphrey-Lehman and Roosevelt Bills represent another approach. They are designed to admit immigrants, not to keep them out. They provide for the revision of our quota system on the basis of the 1950 census instead of on the census of 1920 as at present, and they provide that unused quotas from any nation (such as the United Kingdom with 65,000 quota spaces, less than half of which are used) shall be placed into a general pool, to be allocated to applicants whose national quotas are over-applied. The net effect of these two changes would be to allow about 210,000 immigrants a year instead of the present 154,000 quota spaces. (Because quotas are not pooled under present law, actual quota immigration has averaged only about 86,000 annually since 1947.

The Bills provide for a Visa Review Board to consider appeals from arbitrary consular decisions, and they set up a Statutory Board of Immigration Appeals. They eliminate all race discrimination. They cancel the debts placed on quotas by the Displaced Persons Act of 1948, whereby DP's entering under the Act were chargeable to the future quotas of their respective countries up to 50 per cent in each year. Under present law, half of the quotas of many central European countries are thus mortgaged to and beyond the year 2000. The McCarran and Walter Bills would not change this.

We believe that the Humphrey-Lehman and Roosevelt Bills are in the best tradition of America, and that they provide a safe, intelligent, and beneficial immigration policy for this country. We believe that you will share our concern for the very important issues involved. America is judged in significant part abroad by its immigration policy. The McCarran and Walter Bills would make that an adverse judgment, with serious and harmful results to our world position and to the friendship with other peoples which is the basic foundation of strength. The Humphrey-Lehman and Roosevelt Bills would help us to keep that friendship, to meet a desperate human need, and to add vigour to our national life by taking in those with the courage and the vision to seek us out.

President Truman in a public statement on March 24 asked Congress to make provisions for the admission of 300,000 European refugees over a three-year period. His statement was printed in the NEW YORK TIMES for March 25, and reported generally in the nation's press as a while. It outlines the need of refugees for asylum, and makes a plea for the United States to answer it as we have traditionally done in the past, to our own advantage. The Humphrey-Lehman and Roosevelt Bills would accomplish this emergency job, and would in addition put our immigration system permanently on a sound and workable basis.

Suggested Action

There is hope that the McCarran and Walter Bills may be blocked and the Humphrey-Lehman and Roosevelt Bills may be passed, IF members of Congress are convinced by their constituents that this is not a minor matter but one on which all responsible Americans have firm opinions. The Walter Bill (H.R. 5678) is expected to come up in the House very soon. The Roosevelt Bill will not come up in the House because Senators Humphrey and Lehman prefer to have an unprejudiced discussion later of their own identical Bill in the Senate. (The Humphrey-Lehman Bill, S. 2842, was the original from which the Roosevelt Bill was taken. It is the outgrowth of many months of study and preparation, and was introduced in the Senate by a bi-partisan group of nine Democrats and three Republicans.) Senator McCarran has indicated that he will press to have his Bill brought up in the Senate in the near future.

Both the McCarran and Walter Bills could probably muster enough votes to pass their respective Houses at the moment. We believe that this is because the people as a whole have not bothered to tell their Congressmen how they feel about the issue, and Congress has therefore been willing to let McCarran and Walter make the policy. The most effective way to alter this situation is to write to your Representative outlining your objections to the Walter Bill, and urging him to vote for its re-committal until Congress and the people have had an adequate opportunity to consider the important problem with which it deals, and alternative solutions which have recently been proposed, such as the Roosevelt Bill, which was introduced in the House only on March 12. It will be helpful also to outline the positive provisions which you feel an immigration law should include, such as those made by the Roosevelt Bill (H.R. 7032).

We suggest that you also write to your two senators urging them to oppose the McCarran Bill and to give vigorous support to the Humphrey-Lehman Bill, outlining in each case your reasons for such a course. So much hangs on this issue, on grounds of national self-interest and on humanitarian grounds alike, that we hope you will be willing not only to write yourself, but to persuade as many others as you can to write too. Letters to Representatives should go to House Office Building, Washington 25, D.C. Letters to Senators should go to Senate Office Building, Washington 25, D.C.

We shall be glad to supply any further information on this matter, and we hope we may have your energetic cooperation.

5-8-52

CLSA Reports

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ANALYSIS OF HOUSE DEBATE ON WALTER OMNIBUS IMMIGRATION BILL H.R.5678

The Walter omnibus immigration bill, H.R. 5678, reached the floor of the House of Representatives on Wednesday April 23, 1952 and in accordance with House Rules was first debated in the Committee of the Whole.

Debate began at an inopportune and unexpected moment. It had been believed that the floor discussion of other legislation would continue throughout Wednesday afternoon and that the immigration bills would not be considered until the following day. Many Congressmen, therefore, who intended to assist personally in the floor fight against the Walter bill were absent from the House on Wednesday.

General Debate

Rep. Walter (D.,Pa) led off. He undertook a point-by-point refutation of arguments urged against H.R. 5678 by the CIO ("although they merely parrot attacks made by various organizations who would like to prevent the enactment of any legislation.")

Specifically, Walter denied that his bill:

1. Needed further study. ("usual sort of an argument that is advanced when there is no logical, valid reason for opposing legislation.")

2. Perpetuates racial discrimination. ("out of the whole cloth. Among the groups most interested in the enactment of this legislation is the Japanese American Citizens League.")

3. Broadens grounds for loss of citizenship. ("simply is not true.")

4. Abolishes statutes of limitations and establishes new retroactive grounds for deportation. ("H.R. 5678 does not do that. The Internal Security Act does, and the Internal Security Act is a part of the law of the land today. It is restated, that is true, in this bill." H.R. 5678 provides new grounds for deportation only to over the case where an illegal immigrant "succeeds in hiding in the United States.")

5. Establishes new unnecessary grounds for exclusion. ("Immigration is rendered difficult [only] for the criminal. If you are opposed to that then you will agree with the CIO.")

6. Restricts judicial review and authorizes arbitrary administrative procedures. ("... instead of our destroying the Administrative Procedures Act, we actually see that it is reinstated in every instance." Walter

recalled the assistance given by the House Judiciary Committee To Ellen Knauff and asserted that H.R. 5678 would prevent a repetition of the injustice done her.)

7. Curtails discretion of Attorney General to suspend deportation or adjustment of immigration status. (Although "The fact of the matter is, the discretionary power ... is enlarged ... rather than limited," there is one situation "that perhaps gives some color" to the CIO's claim. The bill changes the language in suspension cases from "economic detriment" to "extreme and unusual hardship" to put an end to the "racket which has grown up" in which pregnant women visit the United States on temporary visas and then seek to remain here permanently when their children are born in this country.)

Walter concluded by urging his colleagues not to be influenced by the CIO letter which had been sent over the signature of Nathan E. Cowan, director of the legislative department of the CIO. Walter suggested they "call somebody in the CIO, and find out whether ... this letter is the official position of that organization."

Walter's statements were warmly endorsed by Rep. Jenkins (R.,Ohio) and Rep. Graham (R.,Pa.) who announced that the Walter Bill had been endorsed by the national convention of the American Legion. Delegate Farrington (R.,Hawaii) declared that he was "strongly in favor" of the bill principally because it eliminated racial barriers to naturalization.

Rep. Celler (D.,N.Y.) was the first speaker opposing H.R. 5678. Noting that the Immigration Subcommittee had "worked painstakingly" on this bill, Celler observed that H.R. 5678 would have to be "amended materially before I shall vote for it."

Celler urged rejection of that section of the bill which gave broad powers to the President to suspend immigration. He also vigorously attacked the national origins quota system as un-American and urged the pooling of unused quotas citing statistics for 1930-1948 indicating that during that period 2,151,372 quota numbers had been wasted and unused.

Celler continued, "... despite the fact that this is a worthy bill, there are one or two other provisions that stick out like sore thumbs." One of these sore thumbs is the proposed limitation of an annual quota of 100 for colonies and dependent areas. (Under existing law dependent areas may use visas allocated to the mother country. Thus, for example, West Indian Jamaicans now are permitted to enter the United States under the ample British quota of 65,000. H.R. 5678 would permit only 100 Jamaicans each year to enter.) This provision is directed against persons with "darker skins," it is "unfair to a minority race in this land of ours." Celler attacked the pretense that a bill containing this provision eliminates racial discrimination.

(Walter interrupted Celler to remark that the reason for this provision "is a very simple one." The St. Thomas Labor Conference in the Virgin Islands and the Virgin Island Civic Association had written the House Immigration Subcommittee urging this provision to "protect" those islands from large migrations from Jamaica. It is "not designed to militate against the Jamaicans because of their color." Rep. Celler "could not believe" this explanation.)

Celler sharply criticized the Asia-Pacific Triangle provision of the Walter bill. This provision requires that persons - no matter where they themselves were born - who are attributable by as much as one-half of their ancestry to races indigenous to Asian countries should be charged against limited quotas established

for those areas. The practice with all other persons, of course, is to charge them against their quotas of their country of birth. "There is no doubt that many of the peoples of Asia are going to consider this provision offensive." Rep. Celler concluded by urging amendment of those sections of H.R. 5678 which permit ex-communists abroad to be considered redeemed for the purpose of the immigration law after five years of active opposition to communism, but which require ten years of active opposition by ex-communists within the United States.

Rep. Dolliver (R.,Ia.) spoke generally in favor of the bill because it would substantially lessen the introduction of private bills. Rep. Thompson (R.,Mich.), as a member of the House Subcommittee on Immigration commended the bill to the House.

Reps. Addonizio (D.,N.Y.), Rodino (D.,N.Y.), and Heller (D.,N.Y.) each made a long statement presenting detailed reasons for rejecting the Walter Bill. Each attacked the national origins principle and asked for pooling of unused quotas. Each called for enactment of "an immigration bill which will more clearly speak to all the world of what we mean by the idea of American democracy." Heller's remarks condluded "general debate" on the bill.

Walter then requested the bill be considered open for amendment.

Amendments

Some forty amendments prepared and recommended by the Judiciary Committee were adopted without opposition. Almost all were designed to correct clerical and typgraphical errors in the bill; with one exception, none made any significant change in the bill. The following analysis summarizes debate on some of the more important substantive amendments

1. Pooling of Unused Quotas. Celler offered an amendment to pool unused quotas among those countries whose annual visa allocations are under 7,000. Walter led the opposition. He asserted that "adoption of this amendment would have the effect of destroying entirely our theory of national origins." Walter cited testimony by Will Maslow, representing the American Jewish Congress, during Joint House-Senate Congressional committee hearings on the Walter-McCarran bills, as reflecting hostility to the national origins formula. Walter concluded: "It certainly seems to me that if there is to be a departure from our fundamental philosophy, that it ought not to come until there has been a full and complete analysis of the census of 1950. Our committee has requested of the Bureau of the Census that this analysis should be made. They are working on it now. We have been informed it will take upward of a year to prepare the material."

Celler responded by asserting that unless we permit "new-seed" immigration our population will be static by the year 1970.

Rep. Wood (R.,Idaho) rose to oppose the amendment. Entry into this country is a privilege, not a right. The Kefauver Committee proved a "tremendous development of crime" among new immigrants. (Celler checked Wood by reminding him that according to the FBI "there is more crime among the native-born than among the alien.") So far as "the question of racial origins" is concerned, Rep. Wood felt that " -- although I am not a follower of Hitler -- there is something to it. We cannot tie a stone around its neck and drop it into the middle of the Atlantic just because it worked to the contrary in Germany ... I believe that possibly statistics would show that the Western European races have made the best citizens in America and are more easily made into Americans." Wood might not object to new immigration

if "there was some law that could make these people that you ... wish to bring here and put them out on the prairies of the West ..." The trouble is that they remain "penned up among the people of their own kind in the large eastern cities where they do not learn to talk English readily. They read their own newspapers." Rep. Wood "feels very stongly about this." Not that he has any prejudice. "I do not know that I have any opposition to any peoples at all; the only importance with me is whether they are material that will make good American citizens readily; if they are, it is all right with me."

Rep. Hoffman (R.,Mich.) "agreed wholeheartedly with the views so logically expressed by the gentleman from Idaho." Hoffman's information is that "every mother's son of them who lives abroad wants to come here not to contribute to this country but to better himself." Moreover, "as soon as they get here they say our government is no good, our way of life is no good, and they want to change it, just like Anna Rosenberg who wants to take all the boys and girls and put them into the armed services."

Rep. Rankin (D.,Miss.) opposed the amendment. Rankin "of course" is for restricting immigration. "Nine out of every ten of the Communists who have been convicted of treason in this country were foreign born." Rep. Rankin's first duty "is to the American people." They can call Rep. Rankin an isolationist if they want to. Really though, "I am a nationalist. I believe in America first." Rep. Rankin says, "Save America for Americans."

The Celler amendment was rejected by a voice vote.

2. Asia-Pacific Triangle. Celler offered an amendment which would eliminate the racial features of the "Asia-Pacific" provisions by stipulating that only persons born within the Asia-Pacific Triangle would be charged to the quotas for those countries.

Walter opposed the amendment. If adopted "it would make eligible for admission to the United States over two million Orientals on this continent, something that is opposed by the Japanese-Americans in this country." Walter quoted at length from statements by Mike Masaoka of the Japanese American Citizens League in support of his views. ("We reluctantly acknowledge that the political realities which conceived this formula reamin today. Opening wide the doors of immigration to the hundreds of thousands of orientals now residing in Canada and Central South America would threaten to revive the now dead anti-orientalism of the west coast.") On the basis of this statement alone, Walter urged rejection of the amendment. "Nobody knows better than this group what this bill should contain with respect to the admission of Orientals or partial Orientals into the United States."

Rep. Roosevelt (D.,Lib., N.Y.) supported the Celler amendment. He cited other statements by Masaoka in which the JACL attacked the racial discrimination of the Asia-Pacific provision. ("Fears that immigrants of Asian extraction would flood our gates via countries bordering us to the North and South are groundless in our considered judgment, for every nation in the Pan American Union has for many years past either practiced a policy of complete exclusion (which was patterned after our laws in this regard) or rigidly controlled immigration from the Orient.") He cited support of Celler's amendment by the AFL, the Liberal Party of New York, the American Friends Service Committee, National Catholic Rural Life Conference and the American Jewish Congress.

Celler's amendment was defeated upon a division by a vote of 70-25. (A division is a standing vote counted by the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole.) Celler asked for tellers, i.e., a vote in which the Representatives pass between

two tellers and are counted by them. By teller vote his amendment was defeated 102-29.

3. West Indian Quotas. Celler offered an amendment making immigrants born in colonies for which no separate quota had been established chargeable to the quota of their governing country. This would negate the discrimination contained in the Walter bill against Negroes migrating from islands and possessions in the Caribbean.

Walter opposed the amendment. He repeated his assertion that the provision in his bill limiting the availability of mother country quotas to colonial possessions is required to preserve the economy of the Virgin Islands. He denied that there was "a word of truth in the intimation that this language under discussion was designed to prejudice anybody." This provision is included only because it is unfair to give a greater preference to the British colonies than is given to dominions like Australia, New Zealand, India or Ceylon and moreover, the limitation is necessary to "protect" the labor market in the Virgin Islands.

Rep. Roosevelt urged adoption of the amendment "from the point of view of equality for all citizens of the Western Hemisphere."

Rep. Forrester (D.,Ga.) endorsed the statements made by Rep. Wood. Forrester wants aliens and immigrants "to understand and to know it (immigration) is an exalted privilege - a privilege we can grant or deny." Forrester continued that he has "come to the realization that the persons who are being discriminated against in America are the old fashioned Yankee and the old fashioned Southerner." Forrester wanted to say one more thing: "it is strange to me, but the men who are always hollering 'discrimination' I find are living in the most palatial apartments in Washington and driving the best automobiles."

Rep. Multer (D.,N.Y.) supported the Celler amendment. He did "not know whether he would fit into the definition of Yankee or any of the other sectionalistic words used during the course of the debate." He said he did not know whether his parents migrated to the United States because "somebody gave them the exalted right or the exalted privilege to come here" but he did know that the world has not been divided geographically by any divine power. There was no geographical division "when God enjoined us to proclaim liberty throughout all the land whether it be Yankee land or Southern land or Europe or the West Indies." Moreover, he asserted that "no member of this Congress has any right to be resentful because amendments are offered to this bill and no one of us has any right to attack the good faith of any other member for any position he takes as to any portion of the bill or any amendment in it." Multer cited support by Catholic, Jewish and Protestant groups to this amendment.

Rep. Javits (R.,N.Y.) urged adoption of the amendment as a means of reinforcing our foreign policy and holding out "a real hand of friendship to our next door neighbors in the Caribbean when it counts."

Rep. Hoffman of Michigan arose to attack the amendment stating that Celler by emphasizing the importance of "new seed" immigration was expressing "little faith in the present generation of Americans." He asked Rep. Celler whether he proposed "that when people who come here from abroad regardless of their station in life ... or their race, that they should intermarry with those who are here and create a new race of people? Is that your argument?" Rep. Hoffman "goes along with Rep. Rankin in one thing." Over the years he has insisted that if there were any people in this country who needed protection from those who practice discrimi-

nation while condemning it, it was the white Gentiles.

Upon a division the Amendment was defeated 90-22.

4. Expatriation of Naturalized Americans. Walter offered a Committee amendment exempting naturalized citizens who have resided as citizens in this country for more than 25 years from expatriation because of prolonged residence abroad. Walters' amendment permits naturalized Americans after 25 years of uninterrupted residence in the United States to have the same right of permanent residence abroad as native-born citizens. (Under section 404(b) and (c) of the Nationality Act of 1940 naturalized citizens now lose American nationality by remaining away from three or five years. Many liberal groups have attacked these sections as improperly discriminating against naturalized Americans. Although sustained in Lapides v. Clark, 176 F.2d 619, the constitutionality of these sections is being challenged anew in Mendelsohn v. Acheson, now pending in the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals.)

The amendment was accepted by a voice vote.

5. Board of Immigration Appeals. Celler introduced an amendment to give statutory authority to the Board of Immigration Appeals. H.R. 5678 made no provision for the Board of Immigration Appeals. The existing Board has no statutory warrant being created by an internal regulation of the Department of Justice. Celler alluded to the Knauff case as illustrating the need for effective appellate machinery. No one spoke in opposition to the amendment. On a division the amendment carried 32 to 26. This was one of only two amendments carried by the so-called opposition. Note that it was not opposed by Walter.

6. Judicial Review. Rep. Meader (R.,Mich.) introduced a series of amendments which would restore the right of judicial review of administrative decisions in immigration cases. Meader suggested that his amendments were responsive to criticisms made by the American Bar Association of provisions in the Walter bill. Meader referred to testimony offered during Committee hearings by Jack Wasserman on behalf of the American Bar Association. Hoffman questioned the right of those who are not citizens "to appeal to the courts and go on up to the highest court." Meader replied that an alien who has lived here and established a family and acquired property "has rights which should be determined by a court, and not by an arbitrary bureaucratic official."

Rep. Walter opposed the amendment. He reminded Meader that both he and Sen. McCarran had been commended by the ABA because of their efforts to insure judicial review of administrative decisions. Keating asked whether he was to understand from this statement that the ABA had withdrawn its original objections to the bill. Walter replied that he had never heard from the ABA officially and "There was nothing in the hearings except a statement made by a Mr. Jack Wasserman who appeared and said he represented the ABA as well as the American Jewish Congress and other organizations. I don't know whether the ABA took any official action on the position he took." (It should be noted that the following day Meader inserted into the record a letter from the American Bar Association attesting to the authority invested in Jack Wasserman to represent its views on the Walter bill.) Walter opposed these amendments because his bill had already provided adequate safeguards for judicial review -- "perhaps more than these people are entitled to."

The amendment was rejected by voice vote.

7. Visa Review. Rep. Javits (R., N.Y.) proposed establishment by statute of a visa review board. He urged some provision to permit "American citizens or organizations who sponsor an alien to review findings by the local consular officer who is not bound now...except by his own discretion." Graham opposed Javits' amendment because "It would permit every alien to have his case brought to this country for final disposition" and that it would "clog up" administrative procedures and court calendars "for months and months."

Javits' proposal was rejected by voice vote.

8. Census of 1940. Javits proposed an amendment to use the census of 1940 as the basis for computing national quota allocations. Javits, Roosevelt and Celler all emphasized the inadequacy of statistical techniques employed in 1920. In response to a question from Rep. Morano (R.,Conn.) Javits asserted that his amendment would not increase overall figures but would merely bring them up to date. Walter opposed the amendment. He stated that on the basis of 1940 figures Russia, Italy, and Germany would receive increases in quota allocations, while Poland, England and Ireland would suffer reductions. He asked whether "it is a good sound policy of the United States to take immigration privileges away from those nations who fought on our side and give them to our enemies?" He believed that "The only hope for the solution of the problems brought by over-population is the extension of the activities of Provisional Inter-governmental Committee for the Movement of Migrants from Europe (PICMME)." "Certainly we cannot bring them (surplus populations) over to the United States; we cannot absorb them in any significant number and all this maneuvering around and flirting for votes is merely hindering people who seriously want to do something."

Roosevelt pointed out that a reduction in quotas to England by using the 1940 census would impose no real injury. Since, using Walter's own figures, 43,000 British visas annually are unused, "to deprive them of 1300 or 1400 visas could not possibly be construed as an unfriendly act by the people of Great Britain."

Javits asserted that Walter "made a point about Russia and that is supposed to panic the House. Let us see how that works out." Persons now in Russia are imprisoned and cannot get out to emigrate. There are, however, thousands of persons of Russian origin who are violently anti-Communist and who are distributed in countries throughout the world. An enlargement of the Russian quota would assist those persons. Roosevelt asked Walter whether he is opposed to changing the 1920 date in principle forever or whether he does not agree that at some time this date must be revised. Walter replied he did not wish the date to be changed until the submission of a study by the Census Bureau which will take another year to complete.

Javits' amendment was defeated 82 to 23.

9. College Professors. Javits proposed an amendment to restore non-quota immigrant status granted under present law to college professors. Walter opposed the amendment because he felt that "there is no reason in the world why they /professors/ should not be treated just as we treat other specialists such as doctors, nurses, watch-makers." Walter asserted that the change in the present law was made to prevent "a continuance of a racket that this committee has heard about" in which visas have been improperly granted "alleged professors."

The amendment was rejected by voice vote.

10. Extension of Re-entry Permits. Rodino (D.,N.J.) urged an amendment giving discretion to the Attorney General to extend the validity of re-entry permits in deserving cases beyond one year after date of issuance. His amendment would restore discretion granted the Attorney General by existing law. Rodino argued that there might well be circumstances arising while the alien is abroad and which are entirely beyond his control which might delay his return. He cited such instances as the sudden illness of a member of his immediate family, transportation difficulties,etc. Walter opposed the amendment because: "I believe that it is desirable

that every eligible alien be encouraged and persuaded, and perhaps compelled, to become a citizen of the United States as quickly as possible. The adoption og this amendment would encourage people to come into the United States and go right back to where their real allegiance lies. I do not think that kind of person is entitled to too much consideration."

By voice the amendment was rejected.

11. Adoption of Alien Children. Rep. Armstrong (R.,Mo.) urged an amendment which would permit non-quota admission of alien children adopted by American citizens abroad.

Walter opposed the amendment because he felt that this provision might easily develop into a "racket." It would be in the best interests of the United States to decide each one of these cases individually. Many young American couples go abroad and "cannot help being touched by what they see." But "It may well be that after they have been moved to adopt a child and come to the United States with it they might find that a mistake had been made, then what?"

Armstrong felt that because his proposal did not operate save in the case of immediate adoption of a child, there exists no danger that this provision might be used as a "cover" for the illegal importation of children. Rep. Judd (R.,Minn.) replied that despite this provision it was improbable that the United States would ever deport two-year-old children — "once a child is in, it is in. It us much wiser to take care of these cases by individual bills." Walter also pointed out that under the law of most states adoption could not take place abroad since American counts would not assume jurisdiction in adoption cases unless a child was physically before the court.

By voice vote the amendment was rejected.

12. Presidential Suspension of Immigration. Multer proposed an amendment which would restrict the power of the President to suspend immigration to periods of war or national emergency and, in addition, would confer upon him authority to remove immigration restrictions when deemed necessary to provide sanctuary to persecuted aliens.

Halleck asked Multer whether his amendment would invest the President with authority to enact a displaced persons act on his own motion. Multer stated that in effect it might have that result but only for a limited period and only at certain times. Walter opposed the amendment. He urged that the power to suspend immigration be permitted the executive whenever he finds "it detrimental to the interests of the United States." He urged that this authority is "absolutely essential because when there is an outbreak of an epidemic in some country whence these people are coming, it is impossible for Congress to act. People might conceivably in large numbers come to the United States and bring all sorts of communicable diseases with them. More than that, suppose we have a period of great unemployment?"

On a division, Multer's amendment was rejected 53-8.

13. Illegal Entry. Rep. Hand (R.,N.J.) proposed to amend the Walter bill by restoring statutes of limitations (contained in the existing law) exempting aliens from deportation because of improper entry after five years of continuous residence in the United States. Walter objected to the amendment. "The effect of the adoption of this amendment would be to place a premium on the ability to hide .... It seems to me that the United States should have the authority to deport at any time an alien who is illegally in the United States."

The amendment was rejected by voice vote.

14. Religious Persecutees. Rep. Dollinger (D.,N.Y.) offered an amendment to admit close relatives of citizens or lawfully admitted alien residents who are seeking admission to this country to avoid religious persecution.

Without debate Dollinger's amendment was rejected by voice vote.

15. Alien Registration Cards. Rep. Chudoff (D.,Pa.) offered an amendment penalizing only "wilful" failure to carry an alien registration card. ("I do not think anybody who inadvertently forgets the card should be guilty of a crime.") Rep. Andresen (R.,Minn.) felt that aliens should be "happy" to carry their alien registration cards and that this provision imposes no greater burden than that attached to the carrying of an automobile license. Walter opposed the amendment. He held that "The effect of the adoption of this amendment would be to shift the burden of proof, and make it impossible to prove that an alien was not carrying his card deliberately." At the present time the burden of proof is on the alien.

The amendment was rejected by voice vote.

16. Mental Deficiency. Celler offered an amendment exempting from deportation aliens who acquire a mental deficiency within 5 years of entry if it is established that such defect did not exist prior to admission to the United States. Rep. Walter supported the amendment. The amendment was accepted by voice vote.

17. Suspension of Deportation. Rep. Zablocki (D. - Wisc.) began to introduce an amendment providing for complete amendment of the Walter bill's provisions narrowing the discretion of the Attorney General in suspension cases. However, "since the temper of the House is obvious" Zablocki asked consent to withdraw his amendment. Zablocki's amendment was the last offered the House.

18. Miscellaneous Amendments. Five or six miscellaneous amendments were offered the House.

Delegate Farrington (R. - Hawaii) proposed three amendments to eliminate discriminatory treatment of residents of that Territory. One of them, retroactively suspending parts of the Nationality Act of 1940 as applied to persons collectively naturalized under the Hawaiian Organic Act, was endorsed by Walter. Although it "covers a very limited group, not more than two persons that I know of" the amendment carried on a division 39-5. Farrington's other two amendments were rejected.

Rep. Chudoff (D. - Pa.) offered amendments to improve service upon aliens subjected to legal proceedings by the Immigration Service. (Rejected by voice vote.)

Rep. Anfuso (D. - N.Y.) offered amendments to provide for current use of Italian visas unused during the war. (Defeated 77-21.)

Rep. Shelley (D. - Cal.) offered a technical amendment granting immunity as to detention expenses in cases involving persons who possess documents of entry other than a Certificate of Identity. (Carried by voice vote.)

Rep. Zablocki introduced an amendment to restore the present discretion of the Attorney General to readmit otherwise excludable aliens returning to their homes in the United States if they have maintained an unrelinquished domicile for seven consecutive years in the United States. (Rejected by voice vote.)

It is significant that at one point during the debate Graham asked assurances that the wording of the Oath of Allegiance, required in connection with a petition for naturalization, would permit conscientious objectors to obtain citizenship without violation of their religious beliefs. Walter assured him that it would. Walter pointed out that in this respect his bill differed from the McCarran bill. Graham said he had been approached on this score by the Amish, Mennonites and Quakers.

19. New York Times Advertisement. The advertisement inserted in the New York Times of Thursday, April 24, by opponents of the Walter bill figured prominently in the debate.

Using his comments on an amendment introduced by Delegate Farrington as a springboard, Walter irrelevantly took time to call the attention of the House to "misstatements" contained in the Times ad. Walter warned that "Somebody is trying to force me to tell what is in back of the opposition to this immigration bill. Perhaps I ought to do so. But at the moment I am going to refrain from doing so." Walter made a point-by-point reply to the "misstatements" in the ad. In general they were identical with the arguments he had made earlier during the floor debate on specific amendments.

Rankin interrupted Walter to inquire as to the names of the signatories. Walter stated that although he would be glad to tell Rankin who had signed the ad, it really wasn't necessary. "...(the gentleman) can guess and he wouldn't miss by many." Later, when rankin again pressed for the names of the signatories, Walter said he was endeavoring to find out. The only name he wished to mention individually was that of George Chintong, President of the Chinese American Citizens National Association. He had been informed that there was no such organization. Rankin asked whether the ad was "signed by Joe Stalin." Walter didn't think his name was on it. Walter expressed surprise at finding Earl Harrison's (Dean of the University of Pennsylvania Law School) name among the signatories. He could account for it, however, because of Harrison's opposition to any quotas or limitations at all. Rankin concluded the colloquy by stating that the "advertisement sounds like Communist propaganda and I think that is what it is."

Rep. Multer later arose to deplore the fact that "the authors of this bill find it necessary to allow their pride of authorship to cause them to urge the defeat of every worthwhile amendment...let us not cloud the issue by calling names. Every person who signed (the New York Times advertisement) is a decent law abiding American citizen whose loyalty and patriotism can withstand any challenge. There are about seventy names subscribed to that advertisement and

I submit that there is not a person who can be accused of being a Communist or a pro-Communist. Every one of them has the security and interest of this nation at heart. They urged the defeat of this bill...to take out of it all of the bad things we have heard about it so far and the many other things we will not have time to hear about because the debate has been cut off." Multer included the text of the ad as an appendix to his remarks.

Similarly, near the close of the time alloted for floor discussion of the Walter bill Rep. Powell arose, although he had "not intended to speak on this bill because I can see by the temper of the House, it is going to roll through preponderantly." However, "some things have been said here this afternoon which are not quite correct and I rise to put the record straight even though the voting may not be straight." Powell then introduced for the record a full analysis criticizing in detail all of the provisions of the McCarran-Walter bills. Powell stated that Walter was incorrect when he declared that the ad in the New York Times might have been placed there by those who were Communists. (Walter objected that he did not say that. Powell refused to yield for debate on the point.) Powell declared that the signatories to the ad comprised a roster of anti-Communists. The Walter bill, he alleged, "sets up a Capetown-Washington, D. C. axis ... This bill makes this no longer a land of the free but a place only for Anglo-Saxons ... We are setting up a policy that is not going to help us in our fight throughout the world. What you are doing here is going to be heard in the Caribbean, is going to be heard where there are people of the dark races ... I know you are going to rush this bill through, the chips are down, but I hope to God that the other body or the President vetoes the bill ... If the McCarran-Walter bills are passed by Congress and signed by the President the United States will itself become an iron curtain country. We will become the Western counterpart of the Union of South Africa's apartheid."

20. Attack on Non-Christian Immigrants. Much of the debate was characterized by unhesitating attacks upon "non-Christian" emigrants to the United States. At the conclusion of the debate Rep. Jenkins (R. - Ohio) arose to congratulate those responsible for the Walter bill. "The fact that every amendment offered that was not approved by those in charge of this legislation has been defeated is a great compliment....to those in charge of the bill." The past two days of debate reminded Rep. Jenkins "of the days of twenty years ago when the wishes of the members was to keep away from our shores the thousands of undesirables just as it is their wish now, while there was a small group who were then as now willing to lower the bars and admit almost anybody, just so more of their own kind could come in without let or hindrance. I think the records will show that the group of people that have complained the most against our immigration laws have profited more from our immigration system than any other group." Jenkins reminded the House that the Attorney General "recently stated that an analysis of 4,984 of the more militant members of the Communist Party of the United States showed that 91.4 of the total were of foreign stock or were married to persons of foreign stock."

Rep. Jenkins was concerned about infiltration by non-Christians: "When our country was young, immigration brought us almost exclusively Europeans whose ideals were those of Western Christian civilization; these people were instrumental in subduing and settling our frontier; they wished to conform to rather than modify or supplant the body of traditions and ideals summed up in the word America.

From about 1880 our immigration shifted sharply to include millions of persons from southern or eastern Europe. Most of these people were less sympathetic to the ideals of the United States and a very large portion of them were non-Christians who had no intention whatever of accepting the ideals of Western Christian cililization but had purposes of their own. These purposes were accomplished by infiltration, propaganda, and electoral and financial pressures. The average American was not aware of what was going on and remained undistrubed."

General Comment

Debate on the Walter bill in ~~the Committee of~~ the Whole began on Wednesday, April 23, continued through Thursday and ended on Friday, April 25. After the Committee had concluded its discussion on amendments to the bill it rose and debate began in the House of Representatives. Rep. Keating (R., NY.) offered a motion to recommit. Javits asked for the roll on the motion to recommit but could not muster the required 20% of the votes in support of his motion. On a division the motion to recommit was defeated 195-62. On the question of the passage of the bill, Javits again asked the yeas and nays (i.e., roll call) and again was refused. On a division, H.R. 5678 was passed 206-68.

It is apparent from the course of the debate that the managers of the Walter bill were in complete control throughout. As Rep. Jenkins pointed out, not a single amendment which failed to receive their approval was enacted. Even the opponents of the bill exercized extreme caution in attacking its provisions or in antagonizing Walter or his associates. This is especially surprising in the light of the no-holds-barred hostility expressed during the Congressional debate by the bill's sponsors to aliens and immigrants generally

Few legislative debates in recent years have produced remarks as intensely anti-minority and anti-Jewish. As noted in detail above, Jenkins, Rankin, Hoffman, Wood, and Forrester did not scruple at making remarks which thinly cloaked a deepseated anti-minority group prejudice. One of the most virulent of these attacks occurred following the closing of the debate in an assertion in the appendix to the Congressional Record for April 29, 1952, containing a speech by Rankin in which he asserted that "Communism is racial. A racial minority seized control in Russia and all the satellite countries such as Poland and Czechoslovakia and many other countries I could name....They have been run out of practically every country in Europe in years gone by and if they keep stirring race trouble in this country and trying to force their Communistic program on the Christian people of America there is no telling what will happen to them here."

It is important to note the success with which the managers of the bill exploited the position of the Japanese-American Citizens League as a means of refuting charges that the bill is racially discriminatory. Mike Masaoka's remarks were quoted extensively during the floor debate. As is noted above, at one point Walter suggested that in the light of the Japanese-American Citizens League's position no other group could possibly maintain that his bill was unfair to Orientals. In addition to continual floor references to the official position of the Japanese-American Citizens League, Walter included in the appendix the complete text of Masaoka's letter to the New York Times which not only denied the presence of discriminatory provisions in the Walter bill but affirmatively pleaded for its enactment. It is impossible to compute the amount of harm which the Japanese-American Citizens League and Masaoka caused to effective opposition to this legislation.

It is significant that at several times during the discussion on the floor, notably during his remarks opposing the amendments to substitute the 1940 census figures and to provide for pooling of unused quotas, Rep. Walter, instead of indicating flat opposition, urged instead that action be postponed pending a study currently being undertaken by the Bureau of the Census. Walter informed the House that the Bureau, at the recommendation of his subcommittee is now preparing a report to be used presumably in connection with recommendation for revisions of present quota allocations. While these statements must not be mistaken as in any way indicating Walters' recognition of the need for modifying the national origins system, they do at least provide a basis for again raising these issues. No matter what the ultimate disposition of the McCarran-Walter bills, opposition to the national origin quota system is not to be regarded as having ended.

The strength of the Walter group indicates that opposition to the bill will find it similarly difficult to muster strength in the Senate unless they are prepared to engage in a determined hard-hitting floor debate.

Because of the possibility of successful enactment of this bill in the Senate, it is imperative also that some consideration now be given to the possibility of a Presidential veto. Rep. Sabath (D., Ill.) in an extension of his remarks in an appendix of the Record referred to President Taft's veto of a similarly restrictive immigration bill of 1912 at Sabath's urging and President Wilson's veto of a comparable bill in 1915. Sabath "feels certain" that President Truman would dispose of this bill the same way if it reaches his desk.

5/8/52

SUMMARY OF NEW
HUMPHREY-LEHMAN
OMNIBUS IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION BILL
(S. 2842)

The proposed new omnibus immigration and naturalization bill (New Omnibus Bill) would modernize the quota system by basing quotas on the 1950 census (thus increasing the total quota), would provide greater flexibility in the operation of the quota system by allowing the pooling of unused quotas, and would eliminate racial discrimination. It would admit to this country additional classes of deserving aliens without regard to quota restrictions and would establish a system of preferences, based on national need and family reunion, for most quota immigrants while at the same time reserving a portion of each quota for self-initiated immigration. The New Omnibus Bill would assure adequate review of denial of visas and denial of admission to this country and would make the McCarran-Walter Administrative Procedure Act applicable to deportation cases. It would provide adequate protection against subversive and other undesirable aliens without resorting to abusable and repressive restrictions.

In these provisions and in other vital matters of substance the New Omnibus Bill differs from S. 2550, recently reported by the Senate Judiciary Committee. The two bills correspond in general form, and in making many technical changes involved in codifying existing immigration and naturalization laws.

The following summary of the major provisions of the New Omnibus Bill emphasizes the principal changes that would be made in existing law and the most important differences between the New Omnibus Bill and S. 2550.

1. Non-quota status: The New Omnibus Bill would add several new classes of non-quota immigrants to those of existing law. Recognizing the desirability of reuniting families, the bill would exempt the immigrant parents of citizens from quota limitations. Other classes deserving special consideration to which non-quota status would be accorded are orphans entering the country for adoption and immigrants who have served honorably in the armed forces. Existing laws grant non-quota status to immigrants born in Canada or in independent countries in Latin America but deny such status to immigrants born in colonies or dependent areas in the Western Hemisphere. The New Omnibus Bill would correct this obvious inequity. Furthermore, S. 2550 would require professors, who are now admitted as non-quota immigrants, to enter under quota restrictions. S. 2550 places unnecessary restrictions even on the time-honored non-quota status of religious ministers. The New Omnibus Bill would strengthen the provisions of existing law in regard to both ministers and professors.

2. Quotas: While adhering to the principle of establishing a ceiling on immigration and while retaining the national origins quota system as the basis for the initial allocation of quotas, the New Omnibus Bill would make a number of much-needed improvements in the operation of the quota system.

By providing for the use of the 1950 census as the basis for calculating quotas, rather than basing quotas on the 1920 census as would S. 2550, the New Omnibus Bill would take into account increases in population and changes in the composition of the population which have taken place in the last thirty years.

The New Omnibus Bill would amend existing law so as to eliminate racially discriminatory features remaining from the Oriental Exclusion Act...the features which have been so bitterly resented throughout Asia. S. 2550, too, purports to eliminate racial discrimination, but, instead, merely disguises it in a new form. In S. 2550 certain Oriental nations are given, for the first time, minimum quotas of 100 and the right to naturalization. But in place of outright exclusion, there

is substituted the novel concept of an "Asia-Pacific Triangle" with a total limit of immigration from this area, and a mortgage against quotas in this area for all immigrants, wherever born, who can trace as much as 50% of their ancestry back to this area, however remotely.

The New Omnibus Bill abjures not only this new form of racial discrimination but all other racial discrimination existing in present law. Thus, the New Omnibus Bill rejects the intolerable exclusion of American Negroes from the census for purposes of establishing quotas, an exclusion provided in the Immigration Act of 1924 and proposed to be perpetuated in S. 2550.

Also the New Omnibus Bill would grant equal non-quota status to all nations and dependencies in the Western Hemisphere, avoiding the further racially discriminating feature of S. 2550 which limits to 100 the possible immigrants from colonies, even those within the western hemisphere; this feature of S. 2550 discriminates especially against the natives of Jamaica, Trinidad, and other Caribbean dependencies. (present law gives these latter nationals the equivalent of non-quota status by charging immigrants from these dependencies against the quotas of the mother countries).

S. 2550, in addition to its other racially restrictive and discriminatory features, places an outside limit of 2,000 on immigration of persons either coming from the so-called Asia-Pacific Triangle, or born outside this geographic area but tracing as much as 50% of their ancestry back to it. S. 2550 provides further for the reduction in the minimum quotas of countries within the Asia-Pacific Triangle if their combined quotas should ever exceed 2,000. The New Omnibus Bill avoids all these novel, provocative and discriminatory features.

In the allotment of most quota immigrant visas, the New Omnibus Bill would give preference to persons whose services are urgently needed in this country and to certain relatives of citizens and of aliens admitted for permanent residence. Unlike S. 2550, the New Omnibus Bill would set aside a portion of each quota to encourage self-initiated so-called "new seed" immigration, in addition to making available for that purpose quota numbers not used by preferred immigrants.

By providing for the pooling of unused quotas, the revised bill, unlike S. 2550, would remedy one of the most serious shortcomings of our immigration system. Experience has shown that while some quotas are generally oversubscribed, others have consistently been used to only a small extent and that, as a result, only 44% of the authorized quota immigration visas has ever been issued. It has generally been recognized that, in its operation, the rigid structure of the quota system has discriminated against natives of southern and eastern Europe. The New Omnibus Bill would alleviate this situation by allowing quota numbers which remain unused during any given fiscal year to be used during the following year without reference to national origin.

Pooled quota numbers would be issued on a preferential basis to relatives of citizens and of aliens admitted for permanent residence, to persons whose services are urgently needed in this country, to persons who have been persecuted abroad on racial or religious grounds or because of their adherence to democratic beliefs, and to persons whose cases, because of special circumstances or hardship, merit special consideration.

The New Omnibus Bill would eliminate charges made against quotas by the Displaced Persons Act. No good purpose can be served by continuing to permit these quota mortgages, some of which extend well into the next century, to bar the present immigration of qualified aliens.

These quota mortgages bear especially heavily on countries like Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Poland whose nationals, refugees from the Soviet terror, most desperately need to find haven in the United States.

3. Exclusion: The New Omnibus Bill would establish, as would S. 2550, several new grounds for excluding undesirable aliens such as persons who have violated narcotics laws, laborers who would actually displace American workers, and persons who have been convicted in their own countries of two or more offenses (other than purely political offenses) not involving moral turpitude. In the latter case, the New Omnibus Bill, unlike S. 2550, would permit exceptions to be made on the basis of special circumstances.

In general, the New Omnibus Bill relies to a greater extent on factual grounds for exclusion than does S. 2550, which relies heavily on the "opinion" and "belief" of administrative officials.

The New Omnibus Bill contains provisions similar to those of the Internal Security Act of 1950 relating to the exclusion of subversive aliens.

These provisions are designed to prevent the admission of persons subscribing to the practices or teachings of the world Communist movement, or of any movement whose object is the establishment of totalitarian Government in the United States, or the control of the United States by a foreign power.

Past association with such movement or doctrines is deemed presumptive evidence of ineligibility for admission into the United States. But individuals who have broken with their past and who can show positive and conclusive evidence that they are anti-totalitarian are made admissible. The New Omnibus Bill and S. 2550 have similar provisions to this effect.

The New Omnibus Bill, however, is consistent in its treatment of such reformed persons, among whom are found some of the staunchest and most effective fighters against Communism. S.2550, however, while admitting the possibility that aliens abroad who once were associated with totalitarian movements can break with the past and reform, makes no such allowance for aliens within the United States. Aliens legally resident in the United States who have belonged to Communist or even to Communist-front organizations, no matter how remotely in the past, are made automatically deportable. The fact that they may have broken completely with their past and become outstanding advocates of democracy is no bar to deportation under the terms of S. 2550.

The New Omnibus Bill, like S. 2550, places new restrictions and safeguards against the entry of stowaways and other illegal entrants, and would protect the United States against the discharge of alien seamen at ports within this country.

The New Omnibus Bill would grant the President the right, in time of war or national emergency, to suspend all immigration, or, in such emergency periods, to admit temporarily any aliens whose entry would be in the national interest. This is in contrast with comparable provisions of S. 2550 which would simply authorize the President to suspend all immigration at any time in his discretion; no standards are established for the exercise of this extreme and extraordinary authority.

4. Board of Immigration Appeals and Visa Review Board: The New Omnibus Bill makes provision for adequate review of administrative actions, both in the granting of visas and in deportation proceedings. A statutory basis is provided for the Board of Immigration Appeals, and it is made an Independent Board, to assure its freedom from administrative influence in weighing appeals and reviews in deportation cases.

A Visa Review Board is established within the State Department to handle appeals on the granting of visas by consular officials. This is designed to provide uniformity of practice in the granting of visas; the absolute right of appeal is reserved to American citizens who have filed petitions in behalf of would-be immigrants on the basis of blood relationship or other preference qualification.

5. Deportation: The New Omnibus Bill grants new powers to the Attorney General to accomplish deportation more effectively and expeditiously. It establishes new grounds for deportation, analogous to the new grounds for exclusion of would-be immigrants. These powers are surrounded, however, with safeguards assuring the right of review and appeal, based on facts and findings, rather than on mere "opinion" or"belief" as provided in numerous provisions of S. 2550.

In the New Omnibus Bill the provisions of the McCarran-Walter Administrative Procedures Act are made applicable to deportation proceedings, along with provision for review by the Board of Immigration Appeals. S. 2550 specifically exempts deportation proceedings from the terms of the Administrative Procedures Act.

The New Omnibus Bill makes involvement in subversive activities grounds for deportation. Present membership in Communist or Communist-front organizations is made grounds for deportation, except that in the case of Communist-front organizations, non-awareness of the nature of the organization can be successfully pleaded if proved.

Under S. 2550, many new grounds for deportation would be retroactively applicable. An alien could be deported for an act which did not constitute a ground for deportation when committed. The New Omnibus Bill makes the new grounds for deportation applicable only to acts performed after the new bill becomes law.

S. 2550 would so restrict the discretionary authority of the Attorney General to suspend deportation that such authority would be meaningless. The New Omnibus Bill recognizes that extenuating circumstances may make deportation unduly harsh in certain cases and would give the Attorney General broader authority to suspend deportation than would S. 2250.

The New Omnibus Bill, unlike S. 2550, would restrain deportation to any country in which an alien would be subjected to any form of persecution because of race, religion, or political opinion. S. 2550 would permit deportation to any country unless the deportee would face in such country actual physical persecution.

6. Naturalization and denaturalization: The New Omnibus Bill and S. 2550 include many similar provisions governing naturalization, denaturalization, and expatriation. However, the New Omnibus Bill, unlike S. 2550, would not erect unnecessary barriers to naturalization such as the stipulation of S. 2550 that any absence from the United States, of whatever duration, would break the continuity of required residence.

The New Omnibus Immigration Bill eliminates, for all practical purposes, the distinctions, of recent origin and of doubtful constitutional validity, between naturalized and native-born citizens.

The New Omnibus Bill eliminates from present law the provision, included in S. 2550, that naturalized citizens who join Communist front organizations can be de-naturalized. The New Omnibus Bill reenacts the provisions of present law which provides for denaturalization in any case where "fraud" and "illegality" occurred in procuring naturalization.

The New Omnibus Bill would permit, under careful safeguards, the naturalization of persons who, because of religious training or belief, object to swearing to bear arms. S. 2550 would bar such persons from naturalization.

7. Other provisions: The New Omnibus Bill would establish a Joint Committee on Immigration and Naturalization Policy, composed of members of the Senate and House Judiciary Committees, to make a continuous study of the administration of immigration and naturalization laws, the effect of such laws on the national security, economy, and social welfare of the United States, and other matters having a bearing on immigration and naturalization policy. S. 2550 would not establish this highly important committee.

The New Omnibus Bill would not, as would S. 2550, tamper with the internal organization of the Department of State in violation of the Hoover Commission's recommendations in order to create a Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs. However, the New Omnibus Bill would make available to the Secretary of State a position at a salary equal to that paid the highest grade of the Classified Civil Service. Such a position will give adequate recognition to the officer to whom the Secretary of State may delegate authority to supervise the Department's consular activities under the bill.

The New Omnibus Bill would not, as would S. 2550, confuse lines of authority in both the Departments of State and Justice.

Under existing laws, carriers are, except in certain well-defined cases, required to pay the detention and deportation expenses of aliens whom they have brought to this country and who must be detained for examination or deported. Administrative fines are levied against carriers for bringing certain aliens to this country. S. 2550 would incorporate into the law vague new provisions for the relief of carriers, foreign as well as domestic, from expenses and fines and would probably have the effect of shifting the payment of most such expenses to the United States taxpayers. The New Omnibus Bill would retain provisions similar to those of present laws at least until further examination can be made of this matter.

Summary of McCarran-Walter Omnibus Immigration Bill

(S.2550, H.R.5678)*

Thirteen new grounds for excluding future immigrants, more than 20 new grounds for deporting those admitted in past years, and an undetermined number of new ways of losing one's American citizenship would be written into law by the pending McCarran-Walter Omnibus Immigration Bill (S.2550, H.R.5678). This 302 page bill (reduced to 162 pages in the House version by using half-sized type), although advertised as a "codification" statute, would make more than a hundred changes in Federal law governing immigration, deportation, and citizenship. Of these changes, three are in the direction of liberality: (a) Asiatics are made eligible for immigration, under minimum quotas, and citizenship; (b) sex-discriminations are eliminated: (c) reformed totalitarians may be admitted (but can never become citizens.) These liberalizing provisions are also contained in several other pending immigration bills, including H.R. 403 (allowing quota immigration from Asia), which passed the House on February 19, 1951, and S.2343, sponsored by Senators Kefauver, Lehman, Humphrey, Ives, Hendrickson, Benton, Kilgore, Moody, Douglas, Murray, Magnuson, Langer, Morse, Pastore and Gillette.

In substance the McCarran-Walter Omnibus Bill would prohibit future immigration to the United States, except for certain narrowly restricted categories, and provide for deporting Displaced persons and other immigrants admitted in past years who do not meet the new rigid McCarran-Walter standards, which the bill would make retroactive. The bill would also deprive American citizens of citizenship on various grounds which the Supreme Court has not hitherto allowed.

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* This memorandum is a brief summary of those provisions of the Omnibus Bill (as reported out by Senate and House Judiciary Committees) which change existing law. All or some of these changes seriously criticized by the following organizations: American Bar Association, American Civil Liberties Union, American Federation of International Institutes, American Federation of Labor, American Friends Service Committee, American Jewish Committee, American Jewish Congress, Americans for Democratic Action, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Association of Immigration and Nationality Lawyers, Common Council for American Unity, Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches, Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society, International Rescue Committee, Jewish Labor Committee, Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A., National Catholic Rural Life Conference, National Catholic Welfare Conference, National Community Relations Advisory Council National Council of Jewish Women, Synagogue Council of America, Union of American Hebrew Congregations, United Service for New Americans, Young Women's Christian Association. Fuller explanations of the provisions here summarized will be found in the Hearings before the Subcommittees of the Committees on the Judiciary, 82nd Congress, 1st Session, on S.716, H.R.2379, and H.R. 2816, expecially in statements beginning at pages 126, 230, 378, 413, 526, 562, 615, 656, 661, 667, 732, 738, 743, 747 and 752.

Note: The listing in the above footnote of organizations which criticized some or all of the changes to existing law which are contained in the McCarran-Walter measures is not intended to imply that all of these organizations necessarily oppose the Bills as a whole.

I New Immigration Restrictions

Among other changes in existing law the pending bill would:

1. Limit all future immigration to the United States to immigrants of "high education, technical training, specialized experience, or exceptional ability" who are "needed urgently in the United States" (sec.203 (a)), and to parents of adult citizens, and spouses or children of admitted immigrants, except to the degree that unused visas, if any, under these categories may be used for immigrants without such special qualifications.

2. Eliminate college and university professors from the class of quota-exempt immigrants. (Sec.101(a)(26)(F) in Senate Bill; 101(a)(27)(F) in House Bill)

3. Change immigration quotas for Jamaica and other Caribbean colonies from the never filled United Kingdom quota of 65,721 to a special quota of 100 for each such colony, thus drastically curtailing colored immigration. (Sec.202(c))

4. Establish a special inferior status for any person "attributable by as much as one half of his ancestry" to Asiatic races, regardless of the citizenship or country of birth of such person, and exclude such persons from the quotas of the countries in which they are native-born citizens. (Sec.202(b))

5. Authorize the Executive to set up new restrictions, and even absolute bars, against immigration, without legislative or judicial review, in peace-time as well as war-time. (Sec.212(e))

6. Repeal the provision of the 1917 law allowing entry of victims of religious persecution who are illiterate.(Sec.212(a)(25)

7. Repeal a similar dispensation for parents, grandparents, wives and widowed or unmarried daughters of citizens or legally admitted immigrants. (Sec.212 (a)(25))

8. Allow courts of foreign nations to exclude immigrants from admission to the United States, thus making Nazi or Communist court convictions a bar against entry, even if the offense involved no "moral turpitude" by American standards. (A violator of a Communist law against religious worship, if sentenced by a Communist court to a five year prison term (under H.R.5678, or if he could have been so sentenced under S.2550), becomes ineligible to enter the U.S.A.(Sec 212 (a) (10)

9. Bar immigrants (including quota exempt immigrants from the Western Hemisphere) who are either skilled or unskilled laborers, unless rigid tests are met establishing the unavailability of domestic labor. (Sec.212 (a)(14))

10. Bar all immigrants who, in the opinion of a consular officer are "likely at any time to become public charges" (i.e. anybody who is not a skilled or unskilled worker). (Sec. 212 (a)(15))

11. Bar all immigrants who may intend "to engage in any immoral sexual act." (Sec.212(a)(13))

12. Bar aliens who received any travel documents (even in Communist lands) by "misrepresentation". (Sec.212 (a)(19))

II Deportation

The broad grounds of deportation set up by the McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950 and various prior laws are considerably widened by the new McCarran-Walter Omnibus Bill, which would:

(1) Abolish existing statutes of limitation in deportation cases, thus allowing deportation for alleged acts fifty years past, as to which no witnesses or documents are available. (Sec.241)

(2) Require deportation of any person who goes to a mental hospital or institution within five years after immigration, even if he or his family pays for such care or treatment. (Sec.241(a)(8))

(3) Authorize deportation of immigrants who are mistakenly classified as "public charges" (whereas present law allows deportation only if the immigrant is correctly so classified.) Sec. 241 (a)(8))

(4) Authorize deportation of immigrant brides or bridegrooms who fail to fulfill marital agreements "to the satisfaction of the Attorney General". (Sec. 241 (c))

(5) Require deportation of immigrants who become addicted to the use of narcotic drugs after entry. (sec241(a)(11))

(6) Establish numerous other grounds of deportation, some of which are trivial (including traffic offenses, under Sec.241(a)(4) of S.2550) and others of which are framed in vague general language that precludes any possibility of judicial review. (Sec.241)

(7) Make all grounds of deportation retroactive to cover all immigrants who have hitherto been admitted to the United States. (Sec.241 (d))

III Status of Immigrants

In addition to the foregoing new grounds of exclusion and deportation of immigrants, the McCarran-Walter Bill would change the status of immigrants and visitors in several important respects:

First, the bill would drastically curtail the authority of the Attorney General to (1) suspend deportation in "hardship cases" (Sec.244(a)); (2) adjust the status of visitors, students, and other non-immigrants by "pre-examination" and issuance of quota visas (sec.245); (3) extend the time during which immigrants may make visits abroad without losing the right to return to the U.S. (Secs. 212(c), 223(b))

Secondly, the bill would abolish the confidential character of social security files and make such files available for use in establishing the deportability of immigrants as "public charges". (Sec.290(c))

Thirdly, the bill would subject the acquisition of citizenship to a series of new requirements, retroactively covering the entire life of the applicant. (Secs. 313,316,318)

Finally, the bill would deprive immigrants and native-born Americans, alike, of the protection of court review in many cases. In general, mistakes and abuse of discretion by consuls and immigration officials would be exempted from effective judicial review by substitutive subjective standards ("the satisfaction of the Attorney General," "the opinion of the Attorney General," etc.) for present objective standards.

IV Impact of Bill on American Citizens

The right of American citizens to be immune from search or official interrogation without a warrant is terminated by Section 287. Any car or vehicle within a "reasonable distance" of Mexico, Canada, or the Atlantic or Pacific Ocean may be searched without a warrant, under Section 287(a)(3); any citizen may be interrogated if an Immigration official believes him to be an alien. (Sec. 287(a)(1)

American citizens employing immigrant workers become subject to a prison term of one year and a fine of $1000 for each immigrant worker so employed, if the employer had "reasonable cause to believe" that the immigrant had failed to conform to some requirement of the immigration laws (including the many new retroactive McCarran-Walter standards) or if the employer "encourages or induces, or attempts to encourage or induce, either directly or indirectly" any irregular entry by immigrant workers (even if they had a perfect right to enter the United States as quota-exempt Western Hemisphere immigrants).Sec.274(b) of H.R. 5678; S.2550 contains somewhat similar but vaguer language, with 5 year imprisonment and $2000 fine for each irregular immigrant.)

American citizens will henceforth be deprived, under Section 349, of citizenship if they engage in military or civil service for a foreign state, even if foreign nationality is not acquired. Naturalized citizens are made subject to denaturalization, at the instigation of any private informer who files a proper affidavit, for acts which were not grounds of denaturalization when they acquired citizenship. (Sec.340(a)) Section 360 abolishes, in certain cases, the right of an American citizen to court review if his citizenship is challenged by a consul or other officer.

The result of all these provisions would be to subject about ten million foreign-born Americans to a special police regime operating without regard to "due process" as hitherto defined. The impact of these enlarged controls upon the taxpayer has not yet been calculated.

ADL SOUTHERN OFFICE
11 PRYOR ST., S. W., ATLANTA, GA.

For your information

721

Harold Fleming

Some of this may be of interest to Jim + Benny

Alex Miller

Confidentially Yours

A PERSONAL REPORT FROM THE

WASHINGTON, D.C. REGIONAL OFFICE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
1003 K Street, N.W.

WASHINGTON, D. C. NO. 28 JUNE 1952

Dear Friends:

The behind-the-scenes struggle to enact the McCarran-Walter Immigration Bill was the most devious and bitter of any at this session of Congress. The bill's sponsors had assumed -- erroneously, it turned out -- that if President Truman vetoed the bill, the veto would be sustained in the Senate. (In fact a shift of two votes in the Senate would have prevented the bill from becoming law. The Senate overrode the veto 57-26; the House 278-113.) The forces of Senator McCarran and Congressman Walter made a desperate effort to get Truman to sign the bill. They realized that Truman's liberal instincts would be opposed to the discriminatory and repressive features of the bill, so they pulled every political trump card in the deck to get his approval, regardless.

McCarran, as chairman of the Judiciary Committee and chairman of the Appropriations Subcommittee that handles the State Department budget, did not hesitate to throw his weight around. He knows he is not the most popular Senator with the White House, but he managed to get such White House favorites as Secretary of State Dean Acheson and the new Attorney-General McGranery to run interference for him and urge the President to sign the bill. Congressman Walter, Chairman of the House Immigration Subcommittee, let it be known that the special bill for refugee relief in which President Truman was interested, couldn't get anywhere if Truman didn't sign the immigration bill.

On the other side were the forces of the religious and nationality groups. The White House was aware that Americans whose ancestors came from Southern and Eastern European countries regarded the McCarran-Walter bill as an affront. (But when the White House told me it would not be able to receive the delegation of sixteen nationality and religious leaders we tried to arrange, I regarded it as ominous--the White House didn't want to bring people to Washington and then deny their request.)

The Protestant churches, through the National Council of the Churches of Christ, asked the President for a veto. The Catholic Church was split. The National Catholic Welfare Conference unexpectedly announced support of the McCarran bill -- gave McCarran a letter which he flaunted as a trump card. But thanks to the untiring efforts of that staunch liberal, Msgr. John O'Grady, important Catholic voices in the hierarchy and the press finally joined in asking for a veto.

Senators Lehman, Humphrey, and Benton kept pressing on all fronts for a veto, arguing in action as well as in words, that courage and integrity were the best politics.

President Truman, who isn't allergic to the smoke of political battle, listened to both sides and kept his own counsel. He seemed to enjoy the suspense and mystery that mounted as he guarded his decision. Both sides, after their emissaries left the White House, breathed confidence -- but, really, they weren't quite sure. Liberals reported that the President was saying, "The bill hasn't reached my desk yet, but when it does, I'll take care of it," as evidence of a certain veto. But less optimistic souls pointed out, "Isn't that another way of saying: we'll cross that bridge when we come to it?" But then another White House visitor came back and said, "The President patted my knee when he said he would take care of it" -- and still people weren't sure.

Just a day before the deadline, Congressman Emanuel Celler was confident of approval. He was arranging to get the White House pen which would be used in signing the bill for his colleague, Walter. From the beginning, Celler had chided us for not seeing that the Walter bill was an "improvement" over the present law, (although he fought for liberalizing amendments and to sustain the veto.) He had insisted there was no "Jewish issue" involved. He scoffed at our political naivete for thinking that any President would ever veto a general immigration bill. (Actually, Wilson had.)

But in case a veto should come -- McCarran and Walter, a couple of veteran political traders, began to line up the votes to override, including, strangely enough, Senate Majority Leader McFarland (D.-Ariz.).

On the morning of June 25, the last day on which the President could act, liberal Senators had two press statements prepared -- one in case of veto, one in case of approval. When the President's veto message came, it was delivered with characteristic vigor. Striking at the immigration quota system which gives artificially high quotas to England and Ireland which go to waste year after year, the President said, "This quota system, always based on assumptions at variance with our American ideals -- is long since out of date and more than ever unrealistic in the face of present world conditions." Admitting that the bill contains some good provisions, the President said, "But the price is too high, and in good conscience, I cannot agree to pay it." And the President condemned the bill because "it would perpetuate injustices of long standing against many other nations of the world," and would "intensify the repressive and inhumane aspects of our immigration procedures." But Congress, knowing that the President wasn't running for reelection, summarily rejected his views.

The retirement of Dr. Cloyd Heck Marvin as President of George Washington University, the largest institution of higher learning in the nation's capital, removes one large obstacle in the way of good human relations in education. For years Marvin has rejected proposals, sponsored in some cases by his deans, to include courses in intercultural education. Under Marvin, Jewish representation on the faculty has been so abnormally small as to raise grave questions concerning G.W.'s hiring policy.

President Marvin carried his prejudices on his sleeve. A few years ago, as part of a national survey, we asked George Washington University to tell us about its admission practices. Marvin replied by inviting me to a meeting to which he also brought the deans of his various schools. These gentleman winced when Marvin remarked, at the very outset of the meeting, "Why is it that the Jews have been expelled from every land in which they ever lived?" Later, one of the embarrassed deans called me to express his regret and disappointment over Marvin's conduct. He held out the hope that Marvin was due to retire shortly and the University could then adopt a more enlightened educational policy in the field of human relations.

Senator Robert A. Taft slapped down the hatemongers who have muscled in so extensively in the Republican primary campaign. He singled out Joseph P. Kamp, whose paper "Headlines" tries to make Eisenhower out to be the candidate of the Zionists and pro-Communists, and Gerald Winrod, the Midwest anti-semite who is booming MacArthur. Taft said, "This kind of slander can only hurt the Republican party and only serves to prove that these people are not interested in the Republican party." The Washington News carried a fine expose of Kamp.

Unfortunately, hundreds of thousands of copies of this scurrilous material have been sent out by people who claim to be campaigning for Taft or MacArthur. In Baltimore, Irving H. Mezger and Louis D. Carroll, Chairman of something he calls "The Marylanders-for-Taft Committee," admitted sending copies of "Headlines" to all Republican delegates.

ADL and all the other Jewish agencies have joined in a request to the two major political parties to include a sweeping condemnation of appeals to racial or religious bigotry in the party platforms, and to take effective measures to prevent the use of such smears in the elections.

Averell Harriman's smashing 4-1 victory in the Democratic primary in Washington proved one thing above all else. Civil rights is a major issue in the big cities. For millions of Americans, that will be the decisive issue -- the one on which they will cast their votes. Harriman's chief plank and talking point in the Washington primary contest with Senator Kefauver was his endorsement of the full civil rights program as enunciated by President Truman. Veteran political reporters in Washington feel that the Washington primary has reduced the chance that the Democratic nomination will go to a candidate who is not all-out for the civil rights program.

President Truman's fighting civil rights speech at Howard University mentioned "four states and six cities" which have adopted anti-mask laws directed at the Ku Klux Klan. The President's research staff supplied him with outdated information. Perhaps they cannot be criticized for not keeping up to date with the rapid developments in this field, but the fact is that as of now, there are five states and some forty odd cities which have adopted anti-KKK laws and ordinances, thanks largely to the work of ADL's Southern Regional Office.

The Troublemakers, ADL's exciting expose of the hate mongers, has gone into its third printing. The critical acclaim that this book has won from Senators Morse, Kilgore, Benton and from news commentators Drew Pearson and Walter Winchell, has been followed by generous public acceptance. Drew Pearson, on his TV program, plugged the book as being the authoritative account of the smears against Assistant Secretary of Defense Anna Rosenberg.

Like its predecessors, The Troublemakers promises to become the standard reference work in the field of bigotry for newsmen and public officials. It's a desk manual at Eisenhower campaign headquarters for its expose of the smear artists. Copies are available in this office at $2.00, a saving of $1.50 from the regular book store price.

FEPC took on a new look -- FEOPE -- when the Senate Labor Committee by a vote of 10 to 3 reported out a Fair Employment Practices Act under the new name of a Federal Equality of Opportunity in (for) Employment Act. The "alphabetic" change was designed to bypass the emotional opposition that had been whipped up in the South against the "punitive" "jail sentence" FEPC. Voting for the bill were Senators Murray, Humphrey, Douglas, Lehman, Pastore, Neeley, Morse, Ives, Smith and Aiken. The three who voted against the bill were Taft, Nixon and Hill.

The bill, S3368, sponsored by a bi-partisan group of 16 Senators -- 9 Democrats and 7 Republicans -- is essentially the old FEPC bill. It sets up an Equality of Opportunity in Employment Commission with power to hold hearings and to issue cease and desist orders which are enforceable in the courts. With Congress about to adjourn, its chances of Senate consideration are acknowledged even by its sponsors to be remote or non-existent. Backers of the bill, however, view its introduction at

this time as an educational step to keep Congressional interest in FEPC alive and to influence the civil rights planks in both party platforms.

Though opposed to FEPC with enforcement powers, Senator Kefauver has pledged that he "will feel it my duty to get it enacted into law" if an FEPC plank is included in the Democratic party platform. And he has just joined with Senators Lehman and Humphrey in sponsoring a resolution to curb the filibuster -- the chief stumbling block to the enactment of civil rights legislation.

The High Wall is piling up enthusiastic press notices. The Saturday Review of Literature says ADL's new film comes "the closest of any film yet made to showing the basic origins and meanings of prejudice.. highly suitable for adult discussion programs." The Film Council of Boston has awarded the film its First Prize on films for adult education. The Fifth Annual Cleveland Film Festival gave it an Oscar (first prize) as the best film in the mental health category. While the National Institute of Mental Health is completing its study of high school student reactions to the film, the Human Resources Laboratory of the Army Air Forces will examine it and our other recent film "To Live Together" for their value in the Air Forces human relations training program. The Department of Labor's Bureau of Employment Security is also planning a preview. It's available from this office for free showing at your PTA or civic association.

Confidentially yours,

Herman Edelsberg

HERMAN EDELSBERG

1952 WORKSHOP ON INTERGROUP EDUCATION
DIRECTOR OF THE SUMMER SESSION
THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA
WASHINGTON 17, D. C.

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Professor Jacques Maritain, distinguished Catholic Philosopher, writes concerning this Workshop:

. . . I am particularly happy and proud, as a Catholic, to know that the Catholic University of America is doing such outstanding work in meeting race problems in all their concrete implications, and helping people to see them in the light of the Gospel's spirit and the concept of the dignity of the human person.

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WORKSHOP IN INTERGROUP EDUCATION, June 30–August 8, 1952

Fill out and mail this application form to the Registrar of the Summer Session, The Catholic University of America, Washington 17, D. C.

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Please circle answers below.

Education: H.S. DIPLOMA B.A. or B.S. M.A. or M.S. Ph.D. OTHERS_____

I have matriculated at C.U.A. previously: YES NO LAST DATE _____

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I am ENCLOSING HAVING SENT one of the following credentials:
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ONE OF THE ABOVE LISTED CREDENTIALS MUST BE SUBMITTED FOR ADMISSION TO THE SUMMER SESSION

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THE SECOND ANNUAL
WORKSHOP IN INTERGROUP EDUCATION

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THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

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(In addition to the above, consultants will be called in, as need arises, to discuss subjects within their special fields of competence.)

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Lofton S. Wesley

the ADL bulletin
PUBLISHED BY THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
OCTOBER 1952

Immigration

Under recent laws these new citizens are never the equal of native-born Americans. The most repressive penalties come from McCarran laws.

WHY PENALIZE OUR NATURALIZED CITIZENS?

Since 1906 we have placed increasing restrictions on the foreign-born citizen, pushing him into second-class status. Why a double-standard?

By SOL RABKIN

MORRIS MENDELSOHN, born in Poland, arrived in the United States in 1920. He was six years old. By the time he was nine, Morris was an American citizen, his parents having taken the oath of allegiance in a naturalization ceremony.

In 1936 Morris journeyed to Palestine. When he prepared to return five years later he found it impossible to get transportation, the outbreak of war having disrupted shipping. True, you could book passage, but at premium rates. Morris did not have that kind of money.

He was stymied by these conditions until 1946. Again, Mendelsohn prepared to return to his adopted land. Again, he was temporarily thwarted, this time by the sudden serious illness of his wife.

The Mendelsohns never got a third chance to come home. In October 1946 the American consul in Palestine called Mendelsohn to his office. When Morris arrived he was relieved of his American passport. "It is cancelled," he was told. "You are no longer a citizen of the United States."

The flabbergasted Mendelsohn learned that by his failure to return to the United States within five years he had unwittingly surrender his right to citizenship.

He argued the case in court, questioning the constitutionality of a law enacted in 1940 (four years after his departure and shortly before his first attempt to return) and detailing the formidable circumstances — a world war — that prevented his return. The courts merely shrugged and told Mendelsohn, sorry, it's the law; you've lost your citizenship.

There is one way Morris Mendelsohn could have been spared his difficulties. He could have been born on American soil. Then his citizenship would have remained inviolate—even if he stayed abroad for 50 years.

UNDER OUR DEMOCRATIC way of life, all citizens are presumed to be equal before the law. Such equality is a basic prerequisite in a system which is founded upon a belief in the dignity of the individual.

But a study of our laws governing citizenship shows that in many cases we maintain two different classes of citizens —citizens by birth and citizens by naturalization. And the naturalized citizen, such as Morris Mendelsohn once was, is given second-class treatment.

This, strangely enough, is a comparatively recent development. The glory of American political history is the inexorable widening of democratic frontiers, a trend to more and more practical expressions of the rights of man. But in the case of American naturalization policies (as well as its restrictive and discriminatory immigration program) the opposite is true.

As far back as 1824, Chief Justice John Marshall, the legal scholar who laid the foundation for the greatness of the U. S. Supreme Court, said:

> A naturalized citizen becomes a member of society, possessing all the rights of a native citizen, and standing, in the view of the Constitution, on the footing of a native. The Constitution does not authorize Congress to enlarge or abridge these rights.

But Congress, sustained by the courts, has abridged these rights. Since 1906 our lawmakers have been retreating from the principle established by Justice Marshall. The result has been an accumulation of

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They've Dropped the "A" in NCRAC

COMMENT:

MUCH of America's political passions are kept heated by the fiery issue of states' rights as opposed to primary national interests and the general welfare. Narrow sectional interests often stymie the common good and a "minority" of states often dictate to the nationwide "majority."

In Jewish affairs, a parallel can be drawn from the controversy that has flared for nearly two years over community relations work, in which a "minority" coalition of community relations agencies wielded a power grotesquely out of proportion to its constituent representation.

This coalition—speaking for a limited number of Jewish communities—amplified its voice in such a way as to drown out mature counsel and to seize power in the name of the "minority" it represented, thus ending a proud unity that has characterized American Jewish community relations affairs for a number of years.

When the executive committee of B'nai B'rith, parent body of ADL, voted unanimously to withdraw from the National Community Relations Advisory Council, it acted for the "common good and general welfare" of the American Jewish community. It held, by that decision, that the future of Jewish community life in America could only be secured by the continuance of its traditionally democratic character.

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ADL AND THE American Jewish Committee, the two agencies with the longest and most successful records of service in community relations work, have stood firmly side by side in this long controversy, both withdrawing from NCRAC at its last plenum session at Atlantic City; both rejecting the power-play calculated to dismember and emasculate their effective organizations; both repudiating the coup which would have given a single, centralized body autocratic powers over American Jewish community relations; and above all, both withdrawing with a firm mandate from their respective constituencies.

The NCRAC came into being eight years ago with ADL and AJCommittee playing leading roles in its creation. It was set up to be what its name implied—an *advisory* and coordinating body for Jewish community relations groups. NCRAC was intended as a friendly body where all could get together to discuss ways of improving upon their work, or to dissent in the event of basic ideological differences. In the broadest sense, it was intended as a democratic forum. NCRAC membership consisted of ADL, AJCommittee, American Jewish Congress, Jewish Labor Committee, Jewish War Veterans, and Union of American Hebrew Congregations. Over the years 27 community relations councils became members. An executive committee and a plenum were the two governing bodies of NCRAC. In the executive committee, the national agencies and the local CRCs had an equal number of votes. In the plenum, the CRCs captured a majority because each community was granted two votes, whereas the national agencies each held five. Thus, within a few short years, the NCRAC "majority" began to foster the exaggeration that they truly spoke for the Jewish community. And they did speak; they spoke with the voice of power; and they finally took power, flaunting their votes in triumph at the last Plenum of NCRAC.

By contrast there are the "minority," ADL and AJCommittee, two organizations with over 40 years of hard-won experience in the Jewish community relations field—pioneers, experimenters, builders—performing perhaps 90 per cent of the total work on a 48-state level.

At the showdown plenum session of the NCRAC last month, what had started with the MacIver Report and ran a two-year gamut of compromise, proposal, counter-proposal, and back to compromise—all in the name of improvement of community relations activities—ended when a final "compromise" was voted upon and adopted by the "majority." ADL and AJCommittee were told to strip down and hack away large chunks of their programs and scuttle the results of nearly a half-century of growth.

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UNDER THIS KNIFE of "compromise," the vast and expert operations of ADL and AJCommittee were to be given a sterilization treatment, a piece sliced out here, another there, with little flesh or sinew to remain. Translating the compromise plan's language into basic English: ADL's and AJC's fields were interpreted as investigation and counter-action of anti-Semitism and intercultural education, both agencies having done the most effective work in these areas over the years. But, the plan suggested, let's take away other pieces of the job they do and pass them out, to other agencies. Whether or not these newcomers have any detailed experience in organized community relations work was considered of no account.

Another portion of the "compromise" plan called for placing central control over community relations activities into the hands of NCRAC. This would have completed the power grab of the small group, which, under the lop-sided voting structure, would be able to overrule all opposition and declare itself the single voice of American Jewry. The situation would not be unlike that which exists in Georgia under the County Unit system, wherein a county of 3,000 casts the same number of electoral votes for governor as a county with a population of 400,000.

The NCRAC Plenum concluded with that body being transformed from an "advisory" council into a central authoritarian body with "auto-

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Benjamin R. Epstein
ADL NATIONAL DIRECTOR

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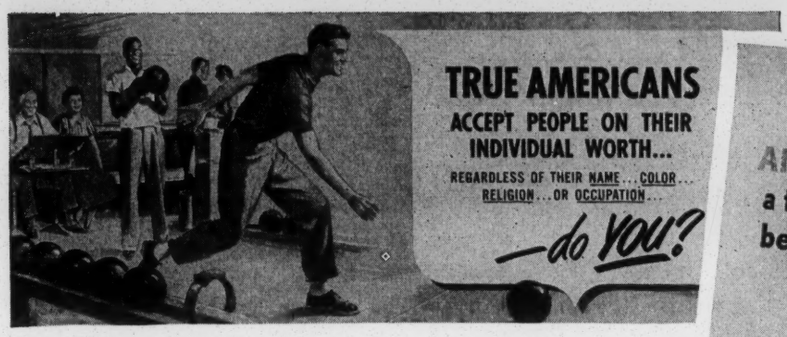
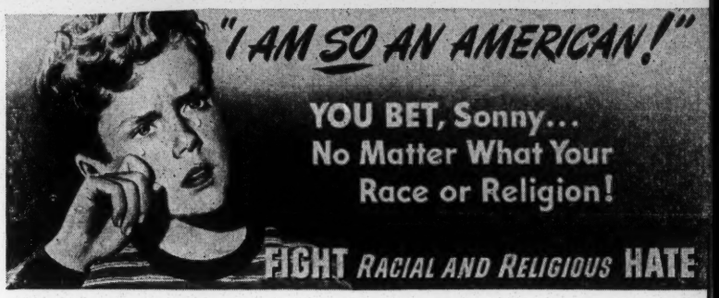


HOW GOOD ARE CAR CARDS?



Can you "sell" ideas the same way you sell soap and chewing gum? This survey shows that in promoting human relations—it pays to advertise

FROM Nashville to Seattle, from New York to San Antonio, in almost 200 cities, passengers on buses, subways, and street cars for the past 10 years have been looking at car cards selling an important household product—unity and understanding among all Americans.

The cards, produced by the Institute for American Democracy with the cooperation of ADL, have featured many designs and quotable messages. Like these:

IF YOU HEAR ANYONE CONDEMN A FELLOW AMERICAN BECAUSE OF RACE OR RELIGION . . . TELL 'EM OFF!

WE FOUGHT TOGETHER . . . LET'S WORK TOGETHER.

TRUE AMERICANS ACCEPT PEOPLE ON THEIR INDIVIDUAL WORTH . . . DO YOU?

The IAD's cards have been glanced at, stared at, studied by millions of Americans; they have been endorsed by scores of groups—veterans, chambers of commerce, mayor's committees. They have been the subject of scores of editorial plaudits.

But the use of car cards for selling good human relations has, nevertheless, been a subject of much controversy. Do they pay? is the basic question.

SURE, YOU CAN sell soap and chewing gum with car cards, say the critics. But can you sell the complex concept of good intergroup relations the same way? Three questions, in particular, concerned the cards' producers and sponsors:

Is anybody really looking?
Does anybody remember the message?
Is the message persuasive?

Last month the questions were answered. A group of scientists — from ADL's department of research and evaluation and Columbia University's Bureau of Applied Social Research—took a long, hard look at the three designs illustrated on this page. Their testing ground was Springfield, Massachusetts, where the three cards were posted for a five month period in 50 of the 200 buses of the Springfield transit system. (Not more than one IAD card appeared in each bus.) Then a sampling was taken of bus riders; 401 of them were interviewed in their homes with the use of a carefully pre-tested questionnaire.

A mayor's unity committee volunteer posts IAD car card in a Seattle bus.

The interviewers showed 12 cards to each person. Three were IAD cards; three from the Advertising Council's public service series; three from national commercial advertisers; three from local merchants. The words on all cards were masked with meaningless hieroglyphics to see if readers could really recall them.

Is Anybody Looking? The answer was a resounding "yes." The Institute's car cards are read by twice the number of people that read furniture and hardware ads. The survey, released under the title, Impact of Public Service Advertising: A Controlled Study of Anti-Discrimination Advertising, showed that 31 per cent of the people interviewed read the IAD cards; 29 per cent viewed local cards. But display conditions of the cards varied considerably. Local cards were given a two to one advantage through a longer posting period and a larger display—leading to the conclusion that the Institutes' cards have twice the reader appeal.

Some of the passengers were found to be in a "blind-to-advertising" group —people who did not look at any of the nine non-IAD cards used. But almost half of these people had been "drawn into the audience of IAD's test cards."

Does Anybody Remember? Granted, the human relations message is more complex and difficult to retain. But 62

Continued on page 7

The Hidden BARBE

In cosmopolitan New York, for choose where he would live. Her

IN AUGUST, 1950, Sumner L. Kaplan, a young World War II veteran who had survived the death march on Bataan and somehow had managed to live through nearly four nightmarish years as a prisoner of the Japanese, went house-hunting.

His nerves overwrought, his health poor, he had been advised to live in a quiet community and avoid high-pressure work. He finally found a home he could afford in a new housing development in Needham, Massachusetts, half an hour's drive from his parents' home in Boston.

Kaplan called on the contractor, but when he described the house he wanted to buy, the latter hemmed and hawed.

"May I make a suggestion," he said. "Why don't you look somewhere else? I can find some other place for you—but not there."

"But it's just what I want," protested Kaplan, still unsuspecting. "What's wrong with Needham?"

The other shook his head. "I'm sorry, Mr. Kaplan, but I can't sell that to you. Now, don't get me wrong. . . . Some of my best friends are Jews. But I've sold all the other houses there to veterans with the understanding that I wouldn't sell to Jews." He paused, and brightened. "But there are lots of other places where they allow Jews. . . . Why don't you start looking around again?"

Kaplan spoke bitterly of the incident. "The Japs didn't care whether I was Jewish or not. When they made life hell for us, they didn't ask our religion—any of us. But here, in my own United States, they do care. This is how they show it."

In recent years it would not be difficult to find other Sumner Kaplans—or those belonging to different minority groups—who learned through shattering experience that their own country was in many parts forbidden to them. In New York City, for example—a vast center whose cosmopolitan population tends to make it less marked by racial and religious prejudice than many other cities—it is estimated that at least one in every 15 persons is not free to choose where he would live.

Housing, in the last analysis, really determines whether the community—the very basis of our American society—shall be democratic or undemocratic. The attempt to segregate citizens, to confine thousands of Americans behind the invisible barbed wire of ghettos, Harlems, "hunkey-towns," and little Italys, has dangerous sociological, psychological, and economic repercussions. If it creates a sense of exclusiveness in one group, it creates resentments and tensions in others. Wherever it exists, it is accompanied by a Pandora's box of evils: overcrowding and economic exploitation; inflated real estate values and deterioration of neighborhoods; inadequacy of such services as street maintenance and rubbish collection, and of fire and police protection and educational facilities—with a consequent rise in juvenile delinquency and crime.

THE KIND OF "understanding" between the Needham developer and those who purchased homes there represents only one of the many restrictive practices used to deny Americans the right to choose shelter. These practices take ingenious forms. Until recently the most popular was the restrictive covenant—a written agreement between landlords not to rent or sell to members of certain minority groups.

This covenant was actually a perversion of a type of legal agreement which originally came into use as a means of preventing residential land from being made useless—to prevent others from establishing tanneries, glue factories, steel mills, gambling houses and other industrial or commercial enterprises which would have an adverse effect on neighboring residential sections. When proponents of racial or religious segregation cast about for some legal instrument to use, they found that these restrictive covenants could be twisted to their purposes.

In May 1949, however, the United States Supreme Court in a historic decision ruled that such covenants could not be enforced in the courts because of the "equal protection" guarantee to all persons by the Fourteenth Amendment. This led the segregationists to turn to other devices to gain the same ends, and these ranged from attempts to inflame racial tensions to outright destruction of property.

MR. AND MRS. PRESTON WILSON, a pleasantly mannered couple, purchased an attractive home in Leimert Park, a residential section of Los Angeles. The house had been on the market for a long time.

Mr. and Mrs. Wilson were unquestionably decent, solid, and well-respected citi-

"A sense of exclusiveness in one group creates rese rare sight in "gentlemen's agreement" neighborhoods.

ED WIRE in Housing

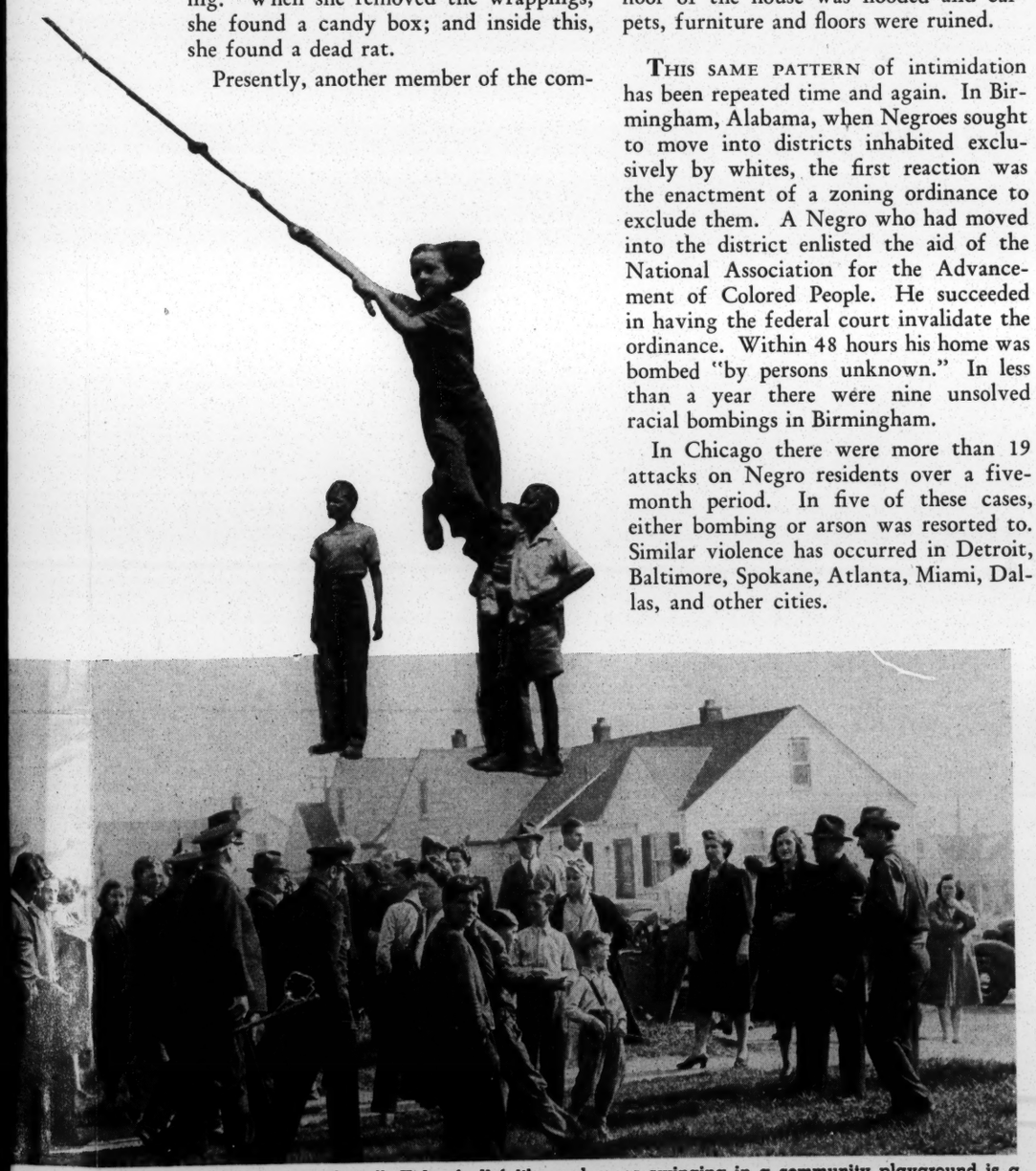
for example, one in every 15 persons is not free to
Here's a condensed report from *"The Troublemakers"*

zens. But their skin was not white. Because of this, their white neighbors promptly founded Neighborly Endeavor, Inc., which belied its name by seeking ways and means to sue the original owner for "damages" because he had sold his house to Negroes. In the course of the agitation, Mrs. Wilson found a gaily wrapped gift on her doorstep one morning. When she removed the wrappings, she found a candy box; and inside this, she found a dead rat.

Presently, another member of the community agreed to sell his home to a Negro family. When he returned from a weekend in the country—and before he had actually turned his house over to the new tenants—he found that his neighbors had taken persuasive action. Someone had placed the nozzle of his garden hose through the mail drop in the front door and had turned on the water. The lower floor of the house was flooded and carpets, furniture and floors were ruined.

THIS SAME PATTERN of intimidation has been repeated time and again. In Birmingham, Alabama, when Negroes sought to move into districts inhabited exclusively by whites, the first reaction was the enactment of a zoning ordinance to exclude them. A Negro who had moved into the district enlisted the aid of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He succeeded in having the federal court invalidate the ordinance. Within 48 hours his home was bombed "by persons unknown." In less than a year there were nine unsolved racial bombings in Birmingham.

In Chicago there were more than 19 attacks on Negro residents over a five-month period. In five of these cases, either bombing or arson was resorted to. Similar violence has occurred in Detroit, Baltimore, Spokane, Atlanta, Miami, Dallas, and other cities.



eates resentments and tensions in others." Kids of all faiths and races swinging in a community playground is a hborhoods. Too often the denial of decent housing to minorities explodes into violence, as in Detroit, above.

Real estate interests maintain their restrictive policies in many ways. Sometimes they set up clubs or corporations to which the landowner deeds his land and, in return, is allowed to use it but cannot sell it without the consent of the club or corporation. Another scheme requires each landowner to give a prior option to purchase his land to the rest of the community. Thus, the community committee itself can buy the property and hold it for sale to an approved buyer.

Such schemes have not always proved too successful because the landowner is usually reluctant to give up full control of his property. But they are still in effect in many parts of the United States.

A basic belief among many property owners is that when minority groups move into their neighborhood real estate values drop and the neighborhood promptly becomes less desirable. This contention is often bolstered by owners of local businesses, local political bosses and leaders of local civic and religious groups who have a stake in maintaining the neighborhood status quo. They argue that any change in the business, political, or religious composition of the neighborhood will injure their interests. All these groups may join in efforts to keep the neighborhood as it is, and to encourage the creation of a self-contained, self-sufficient, ghetto-minded minority. They justify their attitude by arguing that the residents want it that way.

YEARS AGO THE argument might have had some validity. In the early 1900s, millions of European immigrants came to this country. They came to a strange land, ignorant of its language and its folkways; they were the prey of economic fears and insecurities. It was inevitable that they would herd together, settle near each other and form nationality islands in the big cities. At about the same time, many Negroes came up from the South. They, too, tended to find lodging near each other. Both groups, because of their low economic status, settled in the less expensive, older, downtown industrial areas.

But as they bettered their economic condition, they followed in the footsteps of other Americans. They sought to move to the more desirable suburbs. Many of the Europeans were able to do this. The Negroes were not so fortunate. They met an unwillingness to rent or sell homes to them; and if they found someone who did sell, they met definite hostility and worse. The great majority consequently remained in the poorer areas. Ironically, much of the hostility toward them came from the very European immigrants and first-generation Americans who had succeeded in entering the more fashionable

areas and who feared their new-found social status would be endangered.

Another exclusionist pattern is segregation by law. The first compulsory housing segregation developed in San Francisco, a result of the influx of Chinese into the West Coast in response to labor needs. The city passed a statute limiting Chinese residence to a small area. The federal court struck this down. Nonetheless, through agreement among San Francisco landowners, the Chinese continued to be restricted to a small area even though their numbers increased. Presently, San Francisco's Chinatown became an extremely overcrowded district; soon it deteriorated into a slum.

Here was the sort of irony which has plagued housing experts through the decades: a kind of logic-in-reverse which is constantly invoked by those seeking to perpetuate segregation. For San Francisco's white population, which itself had brought about this slum condition, cited it as proof of the need for continued segregation of the Chinese. The Chinese lived in slums—never mind who forced the creation of those slums—hence, if allowed to live anywhere else, the Chinese would make slums there, too.

This argument was not only unfair, it was untrue. The mere entrance of any minority group into a neighborhood does not tend to depreciate property values or create slums. Where the market value of real estate drops when a minority family first moves in, it is solely from a hysterical fear which is in no way related to the true value of the real estate. If owners would not rush to sell as soon as one "undesirable" family moves in, the chain of cause and effect would not be established.

STUDIES HAVE shown that where Negro families, for example, move into white areas, they usually are compelled to pay exorbitant prices despite the apparent fall in real estate values. Panic—not any decrease in value—causes the flight from a neighborhood and the resultant decline in value. Frequently, mortgagors succumb to the same hysteria; they begin to press for payment or for a drastic reduction of the mortgage principal. Lending institutions add to the panic by refusing to finance the purchase of such property. Ultimately, land and buildings in the neighborhood are permitted to deteriorate: then, finally, there is a real drop in values.

What is significant is that this result never occurs unless the white owners succumb to panic, sell their houses to the first buyers at the first price offered them, and thus start an avalanche of descending prices.

The answer to "panic" is found in an inspiring story—with a moral of its own—of one American family in the city of Omaha. In a way, it symbolizes the greater battle that must be fought.

In the past ten years the Negro population of Omaha has nearly doubled. As a result, more and more Negroes are moving into "fringe" areas. One of these new residents was Woodrow Morgan, a World War II Air Force veteran who had been shot down over Germany and spent several months in a Nazi prisoner-of-war camp.

He purchased a home from a white owner in a white neighborhood. As soon as news of the sale became known, there was an ugly reaction. Neighbors protested. Morgan received threatening letters. Furious telephone calls were made to the seller, to the financing corporation, to the real estate agent who had negotiated the sale. The seller and his family hurriedly moved out, leaving the house vacant for the Morgans to move in.

Neighborhood hoodlums immediately took over. They threw stones through the windows and threatened bodily harm to Morgan and his family if they dared to move in.

THE NEIGHBORHOOD WAS predominantly Catholic. The story of what was taking place was told to Father John Markoe, a Jesuit leader and a highly respected member of the Creighton University faculty. Father Markoe decided he would meet the issue in his own way.

On the morning when the moving van was expected, Father Markoe and one of his white students sat on the porch of the vacant house. Several neighbors walked by. They asked the priest if he was looking for the old tenants.

"No, we're waiting for the new owners. We're helping them move in."

When the moving van arrived, a group of young Negro and white men helped carry in the furniture. The neighbors, organized for threatening action, stood by, astounded. Here was the clergy, whom they respected. Here was clear evidence that the entry into their community of this new neighbor, which they had looked upon as an evil, was indeed quite the opposite: here were whites and Negroes working together, and their own spiritual leader first among them.

The hostility toward the Morgans has long since melted away. Woodrow Morgan and his family have been accepted as neighbors—accepted on their merits as Americans.

ADL Award Honors Lehman

Herbert H. Lehman, United States Senator from New York, distinguished public servant, champion of human rights and one of the nation's outstanding Jewish personalities, is this year's winner of the ADL's annual America's Democratic Legacy Award.

The traditional silver medallion, presented each year by ADL to an American in recognition of "distinguished contributions toward the enrichment of America's democratic legacy," is to be accepted by Senator Lehman this month in Chicago at the concluding luncheon session of the League's 39th annual meeting.

The five-day meeting begins October 22 and continues through October 26.

Senator Lehman was a unanimous choice among this year's nominees for the coveted award. The selection was made by the executive committee of ADL's national commission "in tribute to the unexcelled record of a distinguished and devoted public servant who has exhibited courage and statesmanship as an articulate spokesman and leader for civil rights, in and out of the Congress."

First elected to public office in 1928 as lieutenant-governor of New York, the Senator was reelected to that post and then served 10 years as governor of the state. He has been a member of the Senate since 1949.

From 1943 through 1946 he was director of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, where he gave practical expression to his humanitarian impulses. He has been decorated by many foreign governments for his services to humanity.

Senator Lehman has been equally active in Jewish life. He was previously honored by ADL by being elected an honorary vice-chairman of the national commission.

A previous winner of the award was President Truman, who received it in 1949 in a White House ceremony. Last year's award was presented to Henry Ford II for the establishment of Ford Foundation as an impetus to greater research in human relations problems. Earlier winners include Charles E. Wilson for his work as chairman of the President's Committee on Civil Rights and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt for her service with UN Commission on Human Rights.

Senator Lehman's address accepting ADL's award will be broadcast on the CBS network, Sunday evening, October 26, at 11:15, Eastern Standard Time.

The business sessions of the annual meeting will be devoted to reviewing activities of the past year and establishing policy and programming for the next 12-month period. Commissioners will also participate in the annual election of officers of the League and members to its national commission.

Sessions for Saturday, October 25, will be held jointly with the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee and the National Council of the Joint Defense Appeal to discuss fund-raising and other financial policies.

How Good Are Car Cards?

Continued from page 3

per cent of the readers recalled the Institutes' message (remember, in testing, all the words were masked) while only 42 per cent recalled the message of local advertisers. In effect, 20 per cent more passengers knew what the IAD cards said.

Is the Message Persuasive? The scientists — being scientists — were cautious in their conclusions. They noted that the message of the IAD cards was remembered by almost equal percentages of people who were either prejudiced toward minority groups, straddlers on the subject, or else expressed tolerant and understanding points of view. Fifty-four per cent of the prejudiced persons remembered the message; 60 per cent of the straddlers and 68 per cent of the tolerant ones also remembered it.

Perhaps more important is the discovery that 37 per cent of the people interviewed had no previous awareness at all that discrimination existed.

In total, it is a fair estimate that IAD cards serve a broad instructional function: they inform or remind people that there is a problem of anti-minority discrimination, that they can do something about it themselves.

A sub-sample of 162 people was asked another question: "Some people think that these (IAD) cards are educational and some think they are propaganda. What do you think?"

The replies indicate what people think about IAD cards and how they respond to their message.

Propaganda 16%
(". . . pure and simple," "should leave well enough alone.")

Good propaganda 19%
("constructive propaganda" "used to educate.")

Educational 65%
("make you stop and think," "teach you something," "help you understand.")

THE REPORT SHOWS that one of every three prejudiced persons who were interviewed agrees "there is great need for IAD cards." Most of these persons—because they are prejudiced—were probably giving only lip service to the ideal of intergroup understanding.

But lip service to democracy—feeble a practice as it is—is a step in the right direction, away from bigoted rantings about Jews and Negroes. IAD cards do many things. But if their only function was to reinforce the American tradition of equality among men, and make it sociologically unfashionable to be prejudiced, then they would—and do—serve a purpose.

Why Penalize Our Naturalized Citizens?

Continued from page 1

laws which subject naturalized citizens to many penalties and disabilities from which native-born Americans remain free. And the process has now culminated in the McCarran-Walker Act, passed over President Truman's indignant veto. Though this piece of legislation is mainly an anti-immigration device, it has, for good measure, provisions that bluntly impress on the naturalized American a brand of second-class citizenship. Thus, the accident of birth takes precedence over the individual rights of man.

THE 1906 LAW—first effort by the government to distinguish between native and foreign-born citizens—had two primary features. The first provided for denaturalization if evidence later disclosed that the citizenship had been obtained through "fraud or illegality." The second feature decreed that if a naturalized citizen returned to the country of his origin and remained there for two years or more, his doing so created a *presumption* that he had obtained citizenship through fraud.

Upon the face of it, there appears to be no quarrel with the "fraud or illegality" provision. Certainly the prize of citizenship, to be honestly retained, must first be honestly gained. But the record shows that the interpretation of "illegality" came to mean much more than a *deliberate* intent to act fraudulently. It was a catch-all for technical and administrative errors committed innocently and unwittingly.

In one publicized case, for example, the government denaturalized and deported a one-time German national. On what grounds? It was proved that he had obtained his citizenship "illegally" by mistakenly making application four years and nine months after his entry—instead of waiting the full five years. Here was the case of an innocent error. It is reasonable to assume that the man, had he been aware that he was jeopardizing his citizenship, would have waited the additional three months. Also, how does one excuse the laxity of naturalization officials who had records and dates in front of them at the time and still found no fault with the man's application?

This fellow was a bad actor, a Bundist leader. His love of Hitler made him no friend to our way of life. But, then, so were many native-born Americans—whose citizenship could not be taken away. Why his? Why a double-standard? Guilt of subversion, hurting the war effort or of treason or disloyalty were punishable by existing laws. If—despite their Nazi leanings—no legal guilt could be established for native-born Bundists, it is no credit to democracy that a different set of standards was applied to naturalized ones.

For the essence of law is the establishment of principle and precedent. Such rulings as the one applied to the Bundist can—and have—taken their toll among decent, democratic-minded persons who fell victoms to hysteria and capricious judgment.

TAKE, FOR INSTANCE, the tragedy of an immigrant labor leader who served in those early days of the 1920s when unions were pilloried as creatures of the devil. An organizer then lived a precarious existence. This fellow was an alien — that is, until he had completed the residence requirements. Then he promptly and proudly obtained his citizenship.

Many years later, and with frightening swiftness, he was denaturalized on the ground that his original application was fraudulent. The fraud: He had written "None" in the space on the application asking if he had ever been arrested. The record later disclosed that

STATEMENT required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Acts of March 3, 1933, and July 2, 1946 (Title 39, United States Code, Section 233) showing the ownership, management and circulation of **THE ADL BULLETIN**, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1952.

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2. The owner is: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Inc., 212 Fifth Ave., New York 10, N. Y. (a non-profit, non-stock corporation). Meier Steinbrink, national chairman; Maurice Dannenbaum, Philip Klutznick and Edmund Waterman, vice-chairmen; Richard E. Gutstadt, executive vice-chairman; Jacob Alson, treasurer; Benjamin R. Epstein, secretary; all of 212 Fifth Ave., New York 10, N. Y.

3. The known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. Paragraphs 2 and 3 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting; also the statements in the two paragraphs show the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstandes and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner.

5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the 12 months preceding the date shown above was: (This information is required from daily, weekly, semiweekly and triweekly newspapers only.)

N. C. BELTH,
Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 26th day of September 1952.

ARTHUR H. WINSTON
Notary Public, State of New York No. 31-9707350.
Qualified in New York County.
Certs. filed with Bronx, Kings & Queens County Clerks, New York, Bronx, Kings & Queens County Registers.
Term Expires March 30, 1954.

he had been arrested, several times. "I misunderstood," he explained. "I thought they wanted to know if I'd been guilty of a crime. Yes, I was picked up by police. It happened during labor disputes. In those days cops weren't generally friendly to strikers.

"But when I was brought to court the judges dismissed the charge and bawled out the cops for arresting me. I was never convicted of anything—and that includes overtime parking."

Is it reasonable to accept this man's innocent omission as proof that he wilfully intended to commit fraud in obtaining citizenship? About as reasonable and justifiable as the case where citizenship was taken away from another man because one of the character witnesses who signed a statement that he knew the applicant for five years and testified to his good moral character—really knew him for only four years and seven months!

In 1940, our naturalization laws underwent a general revision—again widening the distinctions between the naturalized and the native-born. To the limitation imposed on a naturalized citizen returning to his country of origin was added the additional restriction that he could not stay abroad in any other foreign country for more than five years. And while heretofore such action was a *presumption* of fraud—that is, (and contrary to the American concept of justice) the man was guilty until he proved himself innocent—the revised law withdrew even this opportunity for a man to argue in his defense; his guilt and his loss of citizenship became *automatic*—no explanations, no excuses, no extenuating circumstances.

IT WAS THIS provision that brought Morris Mendersohn to grief, just as it did Louis Lapides in another celebrated case. Of Austrian birth and a naturalized American since 1928, Lapides also had gone to Palestine. He returned to the United States in July, 1947. Five days after stepping ashore he was ordered deported for having automatically lost his cherished citizenship. Lapides futiley argued his case on appeal up through the U. S. Supreme Court.

More recently, the two laws sponsored by Senator McCarran (the other is the Internal Security Act) have increased the disabilities suffered by a naturalized citizen—almost to the extent that the man with citizenship papers can best protest them *by not enjoying the prerogatives of citizenship.*

For example, a person who joins a "subversive organization" within five years of his naturalization is liable to loss of his citizenship. The catch is this: The rule could hold even if the victim is completely unaware that the organization is subversive!

A typical case would be Mr. Jones, naturalized citizen, who joins a neighborhood homeowners' or tenants' group. He has a sense of civic pride and feels it is his duty as a citizen to join in organized civic pursuits.

Without his being conscious of it, a few shrewd, glib Communist infiltrators also join and, as is their practice, quickly work their way into positions of prominence. Soon they're using the group as a Communist front. When he discovers that resolutions sponsored by his organization parallel the Communist propaganda line—resolutions that were never accepted by the great majority of the membership—Mr. Jones awakens to the fact that he is being victimized politically. For a while he tries fighting the infiltration, finally quits the group in disgust.

Would you consider Mr. Jones subversive? The McCarran law permits the charge to be made. Mr. Jones could be denaturalized and deported unless he could prove to a judge and jury that he always was and is strongly opposed to communism and that he is devoted to the principles of the Constitution and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the United States.

Here, again, Mr. Jones—unlike any native born American—is told that he is guilty until proved innocent.

So long as such restrictions persist, the democratic theory that all citizens are equal in the eyes of the law is being violated. And the naturalized citizen does not, as Justice Marshall once ruled he should, "stand on the footing of a native."

COMMENT:

Continued from page 2

cratic" powers over its member groups. The power-grab was complete.

All the issues stirred up during the long and often bitter controversy ultimately boiled down to a few basic questions: whether differences among Jews shall continue to flourish within a democratic framework, or whether they shall be repressed by dogma; whether an agency, like ADL for example, can be forced to denude its generic structure to such a degree as to destroy its effectiveness, disavow its successful history and forsake its responsibility to its members; and whether any Jewish group, such as ADL, shall subordinate itself to a central authority which can declare itself to be the one, omnipotent voice of American Jewry.

•

IN THE FINAL analysis, outweighing every consideration, is the fact that voting structures and political maneuverings are alien to the nature of Jewish communal life. The basis of Jewish communal organization is voluntary participation and complete freedom of action—where no group may say: "We are the Jewish community and we speak for all the people." Jewish community ways are the American ways of free and unstifled discussion, of dissent and of agreement, but never of coercion and control.

Throughout the long history of the Anti-Defamation League, this organization has served in the best interest of America and of American Jewish life. It shall continue to do so, bringing to bear the devotion and the resources of B'nai B'rith's 350,000 membership; the leadership and skills of ADL's boards of directors and staff; the experience and know-how of nearly a half-century's devoted effort in behalf of the American Jewish community. It shall continue to coordinate its work with, and seek the cooperation of, other communal groups, local and national, in all areas of mutual agreement.

In pursuing the common goal of broadening the horizons of democratic life, ADL believes, however, that it can best serve by being truly responsive and responsible to its large constituency.

the ADL bulletin

212 5th Ave., New York 10.
Entered as 2nd class matter.

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Atlanta 3, Ga.

MONTHLY REVIEW

FEDERAL RESERVE BANK OF ATLANTA

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Foreign Trade Zone No. 2

International exchange of commodities and services is essential for a high standard of living in any country, a maxim which also applies to regions within a country. Here in the South, both agriculture and industry have always depended heavily on foreign markets as an outlet for their products and also upon foreign sources of raw materials necessary for the production of their goods. The diversification of agriculture and the rise of industry in the area, however, have gradually lessened that dependence.

International trade, nevertheless, is still important to the South. Estimates by the Department of Commerce indicate that roughly one-twelfth of the nation's exports in recent years originated in the Sixth District. This is about equal to the proportion of the nation's income originating in the District. About a third of the country's exports in 1951 were agricultural products, consisting mainly of cotton, tobacco, rice, citrus fruits, and cottonseed oil. Other important exports are textiles, lumber, paper, and chemicals—products of industries that employ almost 50 percent of the District's manufacturing workers.

Imports, likewise, are essential to many District enterprises. Manufacturers of transportation equipment, fabricated metal products, machinery, and primary metals—employers of 15 percent of the region's manufacturing workers—require foreign raw materials such as tin, chrome, manganese, bauxite, nickel, antimony, lac, and asbestos.

Paradoxically, while recognizing the value of foreign trade, the United States has carried on such trade within the framework of a protective tariff system. With but occasional lapses, the nation's tariff history reveals a steady rise in barriers to trade, climaxed by the Hawley-Smoot Tariff of 1930. In the ensuing worldwide depression, many nations threw up additional trade barriers, thereby impeding still further the flow of commerce. In 1934, attempting to reverse this trend, Congress passed the Reciprocal Trade Act and the Foreign Trade Zones Act. The former was renewed periodically and is still the law of the land. Other measures were taken in the 1940's in collaboration with the world community; among these were the establishment of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund.

What Is a Foreign Trade Zone?

The Foreign Trade Zones Act was passed in an attempt "to expedite and encourage foreign trade" without in any way altering the nation's policy with respect to foreign trade. Congressman Emanuel Celler, who sponsored the legislation, describes a zone as a "neutral, stockaded area where a shipper can put down his load, catch his breath, and decide what to do next." More specifically, a Foreign Trade Zone is a public utility located in "an isolated, enclosed, and policed area in or adjacent to a port of entry, without resident population, furnished with the necessary facilities for lading and unlading, for supplying fuel and ships' stores, for storing goods, and for reshipping them by land and water; an area within which goods may be landed, stored, mixed, blended, repacked, manufactured, and reshipped *without payment of duties and without the intervention of customs officials*. It is subject equally with adjacent regions to all the laws relating to public health, vessel inspection, postal service, labor conditions, immigration, and indeed everything except customs."

A survey made jointly in 1929 by the U. S. Corps of Engineers and the U. S. Shipping Board shows that zones have been instrumental in the development of commerce and merchant shipping in many countries, particularly in northern Europe, where there are many large population centers in close proximity and numerous political divisions. Such favorable conditions do not exist to the same degree in the United States. Since American seaports are principally terminals from which ships' cargoes are distributed directly to local or internal markets and at which outbound products are received for direct export, it was felt that American commerce would benefit from the development of consignment markets and trade centers for the accumulation and redistribution of goods, essentially of foreign origin. The small amount of United States transit, or re-export, trade had been handled through the cumbersome bonded-warehouse system.

The bonded-warehouse system dates from 1846, when Congress recognized the need for removing transshipment and re-export trade from the jurisdiction of general customs laws. At the warehouses, merchandise subject to tariff duties may be stored, processed, manipulated, and manufactured without payment of duties. The warehouses may be owned either privately or publicly.

Although this system provided a fillip to transit trade, it has been far from satisfactory because of many hampering regulations. Tariff-free goods cannot enter bonded warehouses; bonds equal to twice the duty levied must be posted; commodities may be stored for no more than three years; and merchandise in warehouses is constantly under the rigid supervision and control of the U. S. Customs Bureau.

These deficiencies were partly overcome by the Foreign Trade Zones Act, which was strongly opposed by warehousemen who saw the zones as possible competitors. Zones possess all the advantages of bonded warehouses but none of

their liabilities. And actually, only three of the eight classes of bonded warehouses compete in any way with zones—those used exclusively for storage, those permitting processing, and those permitting certain types of manufacturing.

Opposition from the American Warehousemen's Association has today virtually disappeared. They urge, instead, that legislation extend to the warehouses privileges similar to those enjoyed by the zones. Most major associations interested in foreign trade have wholeheartedly endorsed the zones. Among these are the American Association of Port Authorities, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, the National Foreign Trade Council, and the National Council of American Importers.

Six zones are now in operation in the United States. The first was opened in New York City in 1937. A decade later Zone No. 2 was established at New Orleans, followed in 1948 by the one at San Francisco, in 1949 by Nos. 4 and 5 at Los Angeles and Seattle, and in 1950 by Zone No. 6 at San Antonio. The last named zone, established at the municipal airport, is unique in that it is the only one located inland.

Why New Orleans?

Barely four miles upstream on the Mississippi from the foot of Canal Street in New Orleans is a twenty-acre area, fenced off and patrolled by U. S. Customs guards. Here is located Foreign Trade Zone No. 2. Authorization to apply for its charter was given by the Louisiana Legislature in 1934. Application was made to the Foreign Trade Zones Board in 1942, but the charter was not granted to the Board of Commissioners of the Port of New Orleans until September 1946. This five-man Dock Board began operating the Zone in 1947 as an agency of the state of Louisiana.

New Orleans' strategic location has made it a natural gateway to the vast mid-continent area which stretches as far west as Montana, north to Minnesota, and east to Ohio. This area encompasses about half the nation's population and manufacturing area, and nearly three-fourths of its agricultural area. The Port is the terminus for 8 trunk line railroads, 7 barge lines, 80 steamship lines, and 11 national and international airlines, as well as numerous truck lines. In addition, the Port is served by the inland waterway system, which includes the Intracoastal Canal extending from Texas to New Jersey. The Port's facilities include 12 miles of wharves and 35 miles of developed water frontage.

New Orleans enjoys favorable railroad freight rates because of river competition and because, years ago, Gulf ports were granted lower rates to compensate for disadvantages not existing at eastern and western ports, such as slow sailings and poor facilities.

The Dock Board, together with other leading citizens and businesses of the city, quickly embraced the idea of a foreign trade zone as one of a triumvirate of institutions created for the purpose of stimulating commerce. Two years before the Zone opened for business, the now-famous International House was organized as a nonprofit institution to promote trade, provide services to traders, and "shout the Port of New Orleans to the world." The third member of the triumvirate, the International Trade Mart, opened in 1948 as the nation's only merchandising center devoted to foreign trade. A close relationship among them is assured because some of the officers of the International House also serve on the Mart's Board of Directors, and all the officers and Board members work closely with the Dock Board and the Zone officials.

It is impossible to measure the effectiveness of these promotional efforts, but it can be noted that foreign trade through New Orleans rose in value from 279 million dollars in 1939 to 1.7 billion in 1951. In 1939, New Orleans ranked third among the nation's ports in the dollar value of foreign trade; today, it is the only port other than New York doing more than a billion dollars' worth of business a year.

The New Orleans Zone, located in the former Public Cotton Warehouse, is the country's second largest in area and in the volume of business transacted. It is well equipped with economical and highly efficient, modern machinery and facilities. Its 20 acres of operating and storage space include 75,800 square feet of water area with 1,008 lineal feet of concrete and steel-covered wharfage sufficient for berthing three vessels. Its double-decked pier shed, covering 158,042 square feet, is also constructed of concrete and steel and is equipped with a fire prevention sprinkler system. As a result, insurance rates on merchandise stored in the 62 compartments are nominal. The Zone contains 237,555 square feet of open ground area for storing commodities such as mahogany and certain metal products which are not injured by exposure to the elements. Office space is available to zone users, who are free to come and go any time.

Movable cranes and other mechanical devices facilitate loading and unloading of merchandise of all types and weights directly to or from carriers to either deck of the warehouse. Marginal railway tracks permit fast and efficient transfer of merchandise from one part of the Zone to another or to any of the transportation lines for subsequent shipment throughout the United States. Moreover, because of the Zone's proximity to downtown New Orleans, drayage costs are at a minimum. The Zone has the only vacuum fumigation plant on the Gulf coast and the only one located within the confines of a zone in the United States. These conveniences are further enhanced by a multitude of special services and by the ready co-operation of port officials and employees.

How Rapid Has the Development Been?

Business has risen steadily since the Zone's opening in 1947, despite many adversities arising from an unsettled international and domestic situation. The number of different types of commodities received increased from 30 in 1947 to almost 100 in 1951 as foreign traders became better acquainted with the Zone's functions and the advantages accruing to them from their use of its facilities. By 1952, the value of merchandise received had increased 70 percent over 1948, the first full year of operation, and tonnage handled increased 61 percent. By 1951, merchandise shipments had grown 115 percent in dollar value and 38 percent in physical volume above the respective 1948 levels.

Factors in the international situation, such as the rearmament race and the war in Korea, undoubtedly have limited the Zone's development. A strong worldwide demand for goods, together with the limited supply of available goods, meant a rapid transfer of merchandise from producer to consumer, so that the intermediate steps of storage and manipulation were frequently by-passed. A dollar shortage incident to general international monetary disequilibrium, and a factor of major importance even today, has also impeded activity at the Zone.

Stockpiling has so far been the leading activity at the Zone, according to reports showing the disposition of merchandise. For the period 1947-51, storage represented, on the average, two-thirds of the Zone business. The Zone has also served as a minor processing and transshipment center.

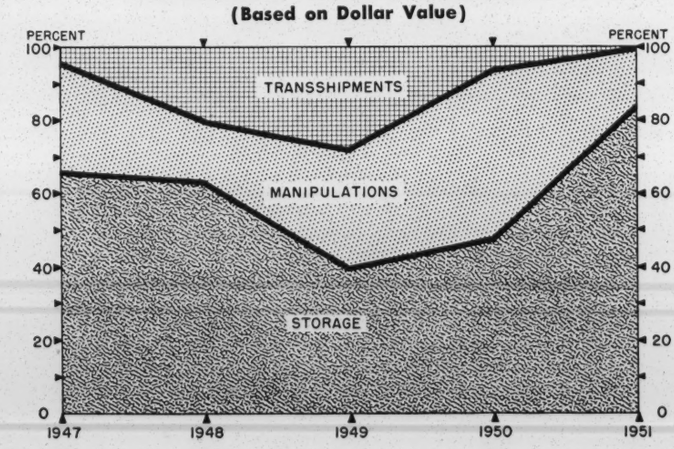
One of the outstanding services of a zone is that foreign merchandise may be consigned and held in storage indefinitely to await future sale in the United States market, depending on price changes or new quotas. This avoids tying up working capital in the payment of customs duties. Merchandise can be delivered within a matter of weeks from the Zone to any part of the United States instead of within several months as would be necessary if it had to be shipped from abroad after it was sold. The Zone thus acts as a branch office for foreign exporters and American importers.

Traders from several countries had planned to use the Zone extensively as an operating base from which to tap the vast United States market. After the outbreak of the Korean War, however, most such projects were either canceled or shelved indefinitely. British and French automobile producers, to take but one example, in setting up American distribution agencies, encouraged dealers to carry spare parts. The dealers, however, were reluctant to do so because of the considerable additional investment required. Foreign manufacturers resolved the difficulty by using the Zone as a warehouse from which delivery of parts could be made quickly throughout the United States.

Transshipments of merchandise have accounted for about a tenth of the Zone's activities, although they too have been somewhat erratic from year to year. In the case of transshipment, foreign merchandise is brought into the Zone and later reshipped to a foreign country. A small Mexican port having no direct steamer service to London, for example, might ship sisal to the New Orleans Zone to await transfer to a vessel serving London. Many European zones are quite dependent on transshipments destined for nearby ports and hinterlands. Although this type of trade has shown a relative decline since 1949, it is expected to increase because of the recent Boggs Amendment to the Foreign Trade Zones Act liberalizing zone regulations and permitting manufacturing.

Manipulation has represented about a fourth of the Zone's business. Manipulation includes labeling, sorting, sampling, remarking, weighing, grading, repacking, destroying unfit merchandise, fumigating, and corrugating. Often substandard goods are imported into the Zone, improved, and made acceptable for domestic consumption. This activity gradually increased in importance up to 1950, when it accounted for almost 50 percent of the Zone's business. In 1951, however, it dropped to a third of its 1950 level.

DISPOSITION OF CARGO AT ZONE NO. 2
(Based on Dollar Value)



Among the more interesting manipulations at the New Orleans Zone are the following: an American company corrugates English aluminum sheets at the Zone and exports the finished product largely to points throughout Latin America. Certain foreign commodities, such as tobacco, straw, cotton, seeds, and bulbs, must be fumigated before entry into the United States. The new vacuum fumigation plant has drawn much of this type of business to New Orleans which had previously gone elsewhere for entry. Before the establishment of the New Orleans Zone, Brazil nuts, after payment of customs duties, were sent to New York or Chicago for processing and redistribution. Today, nuts are shipped to the Zone. Here they are dried so that almost 25 percent of their arrival weight evaporates. Then the nuts are culled, graded, and wrapped in attractive American packaging and finally imported into the country. These operations result in a total saving in duty payment of nearly one-third. The Zone thus means "a better product at a lower price for the American consumer."

The most significant provisions of the Boggs Amendment are perhaps those permitting the manufacture and exhibition of merchandise within zones, which had been specifically forbidden before. Liberalization will undoubtedly alter the character of a zone's operations and of the type of trade carried on within it. To date, however, its influence has been negligible. Zone operators foresee a development in light or semi-manufacturing, but not in heavy manufacturing because of space limitations. An example of the type of manufacturing that might be carried on at a zone is the elimination of waste from rare mineral ores, such as tungsten.

Formal permanent exhibits will probably not become important at the Zone because of the proximity of the International Trade Mart that performs this function. Zone exhibits will be limited to occasional shows in specialized commodity lines. Officials of the Mart and Zone are currently contemplating a display of specific lines of consumer goods at the Zone in order to acquaint foreign exporters with the advantages of a zone as well as with modern American merchandising procedures.

Commodities and Countries

A wide variety of commodities flows into the Zone for storage, manipulation, and eventual importation into the United States or for transshipment to other countries. In 1951, merchandise was received from 30 countries. Coffee from Brazil, aluminum sheets and motor vehicles from the United Kingdom, and mahogany from Mexico have been among the leading commodities moving into the Zone. These four commodities accounted for around 50 percent of the total value of all merchandise received last year.

In the five-year period, over 31 million dollars, or three-fourths of the total value of merchandise received, was shipped from the Zone into the United States' domestic market. Among the leading commodities imported into the United States were mahogany, Brazil nuts, burlap, and coffee. Duties paid on this merchandise amounted to around $900,000. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, about

$215,000 was paid on duties. The New Orleans Zone ranks as one of the lowest in terms of duty paid because of the types of commodities handled.

Because of the Zone's ideal location as a transshipment center, various commodities have been shipped from it to thirty-one different countries. Among these, for the period 1947-51, are corrugated aluminum worth $1,134,242 going to Venezuela; sisal and binder twine worth $463,000 to France; and cotton valued at $182,143, canned meat at $1,101,162, and wax at $216,531, all to the United Kingdom. In 1951, as in every year except 1947, the United States was the leading country of destination. In that year, merchandise valued at $17,579,703 was imported. Venezuela was second in importance with $1,011,869; followed by Portuguese West Africa, $395,353; Germany, $361,870; and Japan, $360,125.

Income and Expenses

In 1952, for the first time, the New Orleans Zone earned a profit from its operations. This profit, amounting to $42,631, offset much of the loss experienced in the preceding five years. For the period 1947-51, the Zone earned a total of $603,677 and incurred expenses of $709,250, with a resulting net loss of $105,573, or an annual average loss of $21,115. When income and expenses for 1952 are included, however, the net loss for the six years amounts to only $62,942, or an annual average of $10,490. This compares favorably with the original anticipated average annual loss of $11,400 for the first eight years, as estimated by the Zone operators in their application for a charter.

On the whole, the operating results of the New Orleans Zone are the most satisfactory of any of the six zones in the United States, except New York. The other four zones have yet to show a profit and their losses have been quite sizable. The 1951 report of the Foreign Trade Zones Board to Congress observes that conditions at some zones may not be favorable for profitable operations.

The major source of the Zone's income has come from rentals of machinery and equipment and from leases of land and building space. In each year, income from this source has accounted for an increasingly large share of the total. For the five-year period, 38 percent of all income came from rentals. Income from dockage and wharfage charges, although averaging about a fourth of total revenue for those years, reveals a declining trend. Income from storage has remained fairly constant, accounting for 31 percent of all income.

Property rent accounts for the bulk of the Zone's expenses. This rent is levied by the Board of Commissioners of the Port for use of the property and is no different from rents chargeable to other users of the Port's facilities. Property rent has represented an average of over one-half of the Zone's cost of operation for the five years, although it has shown a steady but moderate decrease in relation to the total.

Wages and salaries of Zone employees, excluding customs personnel, have grown steadily, averaging about a tenth of all costs. In the future, these costs may well increase in importance. The Zone retains five permanent staff employees. In addition, it employs from 20 to 50 laborers each day, depending on the volume of merchandise moving through the Zone. Zone users, moreover, frequently hire their own labor forces. The Zone also affords opportunity for considerable indirect employment for businesses servicing it, such as local trucking concerns and railroads.

Wages and salaries of United States Customs employees, as distinguished from zone personnel, is the second largest cost component, accounting for almost 30 percent of the total in the five-year period. The 1934 Act specifically requires zone operators to bear the cost of customs personnel, who are responsible for protecting revenue payable to the United States. These include a deputy collector of customs with a permanent office at the Zone, a storekeeper, and about 14 guards, two of whom are on duty at all times. The Zone is thus policed to prevent smuggling and to enforce compliance with the law in regard to public health, immigration, fire, and so on.

Zone operators consider the customs expense a heavy and partially unnecessary burden. They contend that this cost should either be eliminated or else be reduced since identical service is provided without charge at other docks in the harbor. They further believe that the required police force is too large and that this cost could be substantially reduced. On the other hand, opponents reply, by law a zone is intended to be a substitute for a bonded warehouse, rather than an ordinary dock facility, and the provision requiring payment for customs service was intended to be in lieu of the cost of a bond and other special expenditures involved in the operation of a bonded warehouse.

In any event, these costs do compel operators to charge higher fees than would otherwise be the case and may hamper to some extent the purposes for which zones were established. Only by congressional action can the stipulation that the zones absorb such costs be removed. Both the Foreign Trade Zones Board and the Treasury Department now have the problem under advisement. Some progress has been made in this direction at two of the larger zones, in that the number of Customs guards and inspectors has been reduced.

By 1951, expenditures for advertising and promotion accounted for 3 percent of total costs. Most of the publicity is conducted abroad and is designed to stimulate imports. As zone operations become profitable, more funds undoubtedly will be diverted to promotion.

Export, import, and production controls necessitated by national defense and security requirements have interfered to some extent with the progress of all zones by handicapping transshipment and consignment trade. Controls have also obstructed use of the new privilege of manufacturing and have forced a curtailment of manipulating activities.

Officials in New Orleans forecast a continued improvement in the Zone's financial position, which will enable it to improve facilities and to become self-sustaining. They emphasize, however, that a foreign trade zone is only a means to an end, not an end in itself. It exists essentially to stimulate foreign commerce rather than to make a profit. Even if losses are incurred, shippers, freight forwarders, importers, transportation and insurance companies, and others benefit from business attracted to the Zone.

Probable Expansion of Bank Financing

Only rarely have foreign traders financed their operations at the Zone by direct loans from New Orleans banks. One banker stated that total loans by his bank to users of the Zone during the past six years have probably not exceeded

$30,000; at other banks, the volume has been even less. Short-term credit has predominated, with such loans running from 60 to 120 days and at current market rates. All the loans have been for carrying merchandise in storage not subject to alteration.

Foreign exporters, or their agents, utilizing a zone for storing merchandise can obtain bank loans in the United States on negotiable warehouse receipts. In financing zone operations, the zone operator, as a disinterested third party, may issue negotiable warehouse receipts which are acceptable to banks. When merchandise is to be released from the Zone, the warehouse receipt is surrendered. In the event of partial release, the warehouse receipt is endorsed and it then continues valid for the balance of merchandise retained. When an individual or firm leases space in the Zone for storing and processing merchandise, however, the Zone does not issue a negotiable warehouse receipt because the goods in effect are not under zone custody but are still in the hands of the owner. In any case, before removing goods from the zone, customs and zone regulations must be cleared.

Bankers are generally optimistic about the possibility of growth at the zones. As this occurs, and particularly when manufacturing becomes important, they foresee an expansion in demand for bank credit.

How Does the Future Look?

Judging from the enthusiasm of foreign trade promoters in New Orleans, the future success of the Zone is practically assured, assuming, of course, a return to worldwide stability and a resumption of trade through normal commercial channels. Success, they believe, will also depend to a considerable degree on the development of industry within the Zone. Manipulation and manufacturing are expected to become the chief Zone functions. The Boggs Amendment, by providing for manufacturing and exhibition, should hasten the growth and strengthen zones by attracting additional transshipment and consignment trade to American shores. As a matter of fact, international traders at home and abroad have expressed widespread interest in transacting business through the zones, now that manufacturing is permissible.

Despite certain barriers to the development of zones in the United States, a number of communities are giving official attention to the possibility of establishing zones. Among these are the ports of Baltimore, Norfolk, and an inland community, Dallas, Texas.

The Defense Program, to date, has not had any appreciable influence on zone activity in the United States. For the fiscal year 1952, many strategic materials such as rubber and sisal were stockpiled by the Government in the New Orleans Zone on a temporary basis. If the Defense Program is stepped up, however, activity at certain zones may well be taken over, wholly or in part, by the Government, as was the case during World War II, when the New York Zone was largely in the hands of the Government.

Although it is probably still too soon to say just how much Foreign Trade Zones have affected the domestic economy, it is evident that they have encouraged the international exchange of goods and services. In this respect, they have contributed in some degree to a narrowing of the persistent dollar gap and to that extent have assisted in raising living standards.

Basil A. Wapensky

Sixth District Indexes

1947-49 = 100

DEPARTMENT STORE SALES AND STOCKS*

Place	Adjusted** Oct. 1952	Adjusted** Sept. 1952	Adjusted** Oct. 1951	Unadjusted Oct. 1952	Unadjusted Sept. 1952	Unadjusted Oct. 1951
DISTRICT SALES	126p	121	112r	132p	126	117r
Atlanta[1]	129	113	114r	136	129	120r
Baton Rouge	108	108r	99	112	119r	102
Birmingham	119	127	108r	118	139	107
Chattanooga	137	121	123r	130	133	117
Jackson	117	101	105r	130	121	117
Jacksonville	122	110	107	134	108	124
Knoxville	122	105	117r	120	110	116
Macon	130	127	126r	137	144	132
Miami	127	131	110	121	108	104
Nashville	121	118	111r	124	123	113
New Orleans	123	113	110r	127	117	114
Tampa	118	119	108	124	113	114
DISTRICT STOCKS	133	130	130r	145	135	142r

[1]In order to permit publication of figures for this city, a special sample has been constructed which is not confined exclusively to department stores. Figures for any such non-department stores, however, are not used in computing the District Index.

GASOLINE TAX COLLECTIONS

Place	Adjusted** Oct. 1952	Adjusted** Sept. 1952	Adjusted** Oct. 1951	Unadjusted Oct. 1952	Unadjusted Sept. 1952	Unadjusted Oct. 1951
TOTAL	147	141	134	144	143	132
Alabama	147	138	132	145	145	131
Florida	144	141	127	131	138	116
Georgia	144	141	129	143	147	128
Louisiana	132	140	141	136	147	145
Mississippi	169	144	153	172	148	156
Tennessee	151	136	129	150	138	129

COTTON CONSUMPTION*

Place	Oct. 1952	Sept. 1952	Oct. 1951
TOTAL**	104	108	107
Unadjusted	108	110	111
Alabama	111	113	106
Georgia	106	109	115
Mississippi	125	129	105
Tennessee	102	105	104

ELECTRIC POWER PRODUCTION*

	Sept. 1952	Aug. 1952	Sept. 1951
SIX STATES	157	158	134
Hydro-generated	70	77	77
Fuel-generated	236	233	187

MANUFACTURING EMPLOYMENT

Place	Sept. 1952	Aug. 1952	Sept. 1951
TOTAL**	109	109	106
Unadjusted	110	109	107
Alabama	106	104	104
Florida	113	112	107
Georgia	114	112	112
Louisiana	105	104	100
Mississippi	114	111	109
Tennessee	111	110	107

CONSTRUCTION CONTRACTS

Place	Oct. 1952	Sept. 1952	Oct. 1951
DISTRICT	155	693r	158
Residential	134	160r	207
Other	172	1,097r	121
Alabama	78	95r	130
Florida	187	165	188
Georgia	90	140	154
Louisiana	261	109	152
Mississippi	66	126	74
Tennessee	133	2,737	128

CONSUMERS PRICE INDEX***

Item	Oct. 1952	Sept. 1952	Oct. 1951
ALL ITEMS	197	197	196
Food	235	237	233
Clothing	208	208	218
Fuel, elec., and refrig.	145	144	144
Home furnishings	202	201	203
Misc.	176	176	173
Purchasing power of dollar	.51	.51	.51

ANNUAL RATE OF TURNOVER OF DEMAND DEPOSITS

	Oct. 1952	Sept. 1952	Oct. 1951
Unadjusted	21.9	23.1	23.0
Adjusted**	21.1	22.9	22.1
Index**	109.5	118.9	114.7

CRUDE PETROLEUM PRODUCTION IN COASTAL LOUISIANA AND MISSISSIPPI*

	Oct. 1952	Sept. 1952	Oct. 1951
Unadjusted	136	139r	132
Adjusted**	137	140r	132

*Daily average basis
**Adjusted for seasonal variation
***1935-39 = 100
p Preliminary
r Revised

The Influence of Spending on Sixth District Long-Term Personal Savings

Long-term personal savings in the Sixth District states reached a new high during 1952. Personal savers put about 594 million dollars more into their long-term savings during the first half of this year than they had at the end of 1951. This six-months' growth was greater than the amount added during any entire year since 1946.

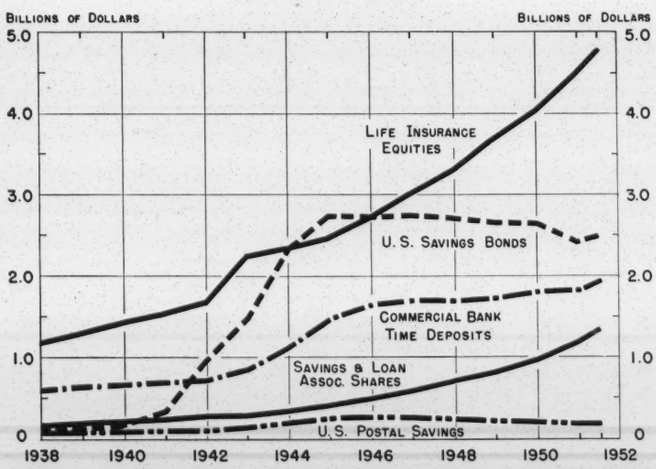
The growth brought total estimated personal holdings of selected long-term savings to approximately 10.8 billion dollars on June 30 of this year. Of this total, 4.8 billion dollars consisted of life insurance equities, which represented a growth of 6 percent since December 1951. At all commercial banks, time deposits of about 1.9 billion dollars were 6 percent greater than six months previously, and savings and loan shares of 1.3 billion dollars had grown 13 percent. Personal holdings of savings bonds for the six states in the District were in the neighborhood of 2.5 billion dollars at midyear, a sum 2 percent larger than at the end of last year. Postal savings accounts amounted to approximately 200 million dollars. There are other forms of savings, but these data are the best available for measuring changes in total savings on a District basis.

Data on member bank time deposits and shares in savings and loan associations indicate a continued increase in total savings since June. Time deposits increased 7.4 percent between the first of the year and the end of October, and savings and loan shares rose 17.3 percent from the first of the year through September.

Personal savers in the District states have added to their holdings each year since 1938, the first year for which estimates are available. In 1951, for example, their long-term savings increased an estimated 480 million dollars. Additions were not always in the same type of long-term savings and the total gains varied from year to year.

SELECTED LONG-TERM PERSONAL SAVINGS

Sixth District States



Although total long-term personal savings have grown each year since 1938, the rate of growth has varied from year to year, and the form in which savings were made has changed.

Because payments are fixed by contract, life insurance equities have shown the most consistent increases. Savings bonds holdings grew most rapidly during the war years, after which time holdings declined slightly from year to year but rose again in 1952. Time deposits at commercial banks have been the most volatile form of long-term savings. The rate of increase has been far from uniform from year to year, and in 1948, holdings declined. Shares in savings and loan associations have risen each year, although the growth has been greater in some years than in others.

SELECTED LONG-TERM PERSONAL SAVINGS

State	Dec. 31 1951 All Types (Millions of Dollars)	PERCENT CHANGE FROM DECEMBER 31, 1950 All Types	Commercial Bank Time Deposits	Savings and Loan Shares	Life Insurance Equities	Postal Savings	Savings Bonds
Alabama	1,513	+5	+3	+21	+12	— 3	— 7
Florida	2,140	+8	+7	+28	+15	— 6	—15
Georgia	2,078	+6	—0	+20	+12	— 8	— 8
Louisiana	1,669	+3	+1	+13	+10	— 5	— 7
Mississippi	775	+3	+1	+18	+12	—11	— 6
Tennessee	1,982	+4	+0	+20	+11	—10	— 7
Six States	10,157	+5	+2	+21	+12	— 7	— 8

These savings figures are of interest to persons other than those in charge of the institutions administering them. To the student of Southern economic development, the five-fold expansion within fifteen years gives further evidence of Southern progress. He sees in it more capital funds available from local sources. To other persons, it may show potential purchasing power. But of particular interest at the present time is the help the figures may give in analyzing changes in District consumer saving and spending.

How Have Income Changes Affected Long-Term Savings?

Currently, consumer expenditures in this District, as measured by department store sales, are higher, compared with last year, than in most other sections of the country. Through November 22 this year they were 7 percent greater than in the corresponding period last year, whereas for the United States they were down slightly. In previous issues of this *Review*, it has been concluded that this greater-than-national strength of spending reflects a greater-than-national increase in income. Since additions to savings come out of income, does the high rate of income this year also explain the growth in these forms of long-term savings?

Changes in income alone do not satisfactorily explain the savings growth in the past. Since 1938, District income has increased every year except one, but savings have not increased in accordance with these gains in income. Income changes alone, according to the relationship determined by correlation techniques, explain only 3 percent of the variations in saving since 1938.

What Is the Relationship Between Spending and Saving?

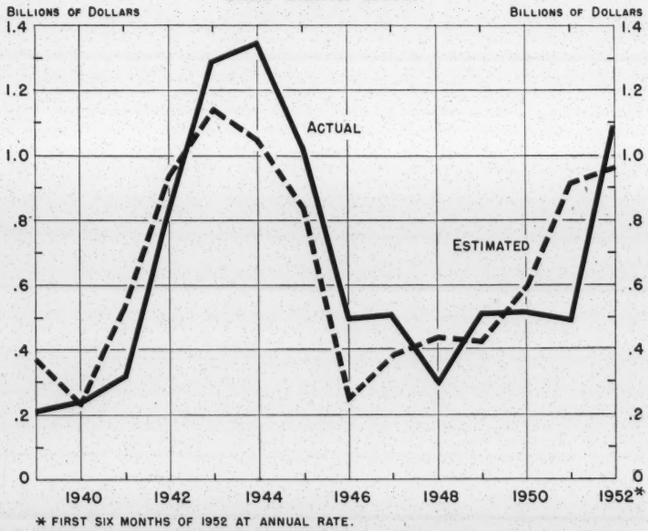
Based on the experience since 1938, the rate of consumer spending in the Sixth District has been of greater importance than dollar changes in income in explaining the changes in savings. Consumer decisions about how much income to spend are directly related to consumer decisions about how much to save.

To determine completely the relationship between total spending and savings, it would be desirable to have data on total spending as well as on total savings. But since such information is not available on a District basis, department store sales have been used to measure spending in a general way.

This relationship is evident when the rate of saving for the years 1939 through 1951 is compared with the rate of spending. The spending rate for each year is represented by the ratio of department store sales to total income payments to individuals; the savings rate is indicated by the ratio of additions to long-term savings to total income in the Sixth District states. For example, on the basis of the average relationship between the two ratios for the period, when department store sales are 3.5 percent of total income payments, we would expect savings to be about 3.2 percent of total income. On the other hand, when sales are 2.5 percent of income, savings would be expected to amount to 8.2 percent.

Combining the rate of spending with the amount of income, therefore, provides a much better explanation for the yearly variations in savings than using the amount of income alone. When this relationship is measured by means of mul-

ADDITIONS TO LONG-TERM PERSONAL SAVINGS, 1939-52
Sixth District States



* FIRST SIX MONTHS OF 1952 AT ANNUAL RATE.

Variations in the amount added to savings each year since 1939 have been directly related to the amount of income received and inversely related to the rate of spending. The estimated figures shown in the chart are computed by a formula taking these factors into consideration. In the first six months of 1952, the actual additions to long-term savings conformed closely to the estimates based on the current level of income and spending rate.

Sixth District Statistics

CONDITION OF 27 MEMBER BANKS IN LEADING CITIES
(In Thousands of Dollars)

Item	Nov. 19 1952	Oct. 15 1952	Nov. 21 1951	Percent Change Nov. 19, 1952, from Oct. 15 1952	Nov. 21 1951
Loans and investments—Total	2,921,874	2,933,029	2,701,702	—0	+8
Loans—Net	1,196,292	1,155,370	1,070,604	+4	+12
Loans—Gross	1,216,905	1,175,875	1,089,294	+3	+12
Commercial, industrial, and agricultural loans	700,307	666,311	628,453	+5	+11
Loans to brokers and dealers in securities	12,886	12,468	13,832	+3	—7
Other loans for purchasing or carrying securities	39,923	41,186	34,188	—3	+17
Real estate loans	95,913	93,127	88,719	+3	+8
Loans to banks	4,477	3,449	6,091	+30	—26
Other loans	363,399	359,334	318,011	+1	+14
Investments—Total	1,725,082	1,777,659	1,631,098	—3	+6
Bills, certificates, and notes	757,856	800,503	757,839	—5	+0
U. S. bonds	700,095	713,615	639,397	—2	+9
Other securities	267,131	263,541	233,862	+1	+14
Reserve with F. R. Bank	534,435	523,650	530,019	+2	+1
Cash in vault	48,688	47,219	46,358	+3	+5
Balances with domestic banks	201,863	233,987	197,055	—14	+2
Demand deposits adjusted	2,080,469	2,106,163	2,010,106	—1	+4
Time deposits	559,548	555,922	533,780	+1	+5
U. S. Gov't deposits	109,888	143,938	81,961	—24	+34
Deposits of domestic banks	656,504	681,295	613,209	—4	+7
Borrowings	65,500	17,500	17,500	*	*

*Over 100 Percent.

DEBITS TO INDIVIDUAL BANK ACCOUNTS
(In Thousands of Dollars)

Place	Oct. 1952	Sept. 1952	Oct. 1951	Percent Change Oct. 1952 from Sept. 1952	Oct. 1951	Year-to-Date 10 Mos. 1952 from 1951
ALABAMA						
Anniston	35,155	31,112	29,490	+13	+19	+7
Birmingham	445,503	437,640	473,450	+2	—6	+5
Dothan	23,506	21,635	20,237	+9	+16	+1
Gadsden	27,976	23,740	25,602	+18	+9	+3
Mobile	181,832	169,412	160,322	+7	+13	+5
Montgomery	114,626	100,184	115,617	+14	—1	+3
Tuscaloosa*	34,437	31,241	32,667	+10	+5	+1
FLORIDA						
Jacksonville	397,361	386,468	386,871	+3	+3	+6
Miami	329,693	311,927	293,290	+6	+12	+9
Greater Miami*	498,566	470,520	456,932	+6	+9	+9
Orlando	84,168	75,006	66,589	+12	+26	+12
Pensacola	54,429	50,799	41,645	+7	+31	+17
St. Petersburg	85,226	78,426	72,429	+9	+18	+12
Tampa	166,540	160,638	151,263	+4	+10	+6
West Palm Beach*	52,186	49,283	49,873	+6	+5	+2
GEORGIA						
Albany	37,251	34,896	34,964	+7	+7	+7
Atlanta	1,255,394	1,205,969	1,151,874	+4	+9	+7
Augusta	107,526	98,018	91,011	+10	+18	+15
Brunswick	11,734	11,888	13,360	—1	—12	—0
Columbus	86,361	80,971	79,453	+7	+9	+9
Elberton	6,208	5,965	5,550	+4	+12	+8
Gainesville*	27,710	28,732	25,497	—4	+9	+14
Griffin*	15,890	14,690	14,483	+8	+10	+5
Macon	86,245	85,394	86,103	+1	+0	+3
Newnan	13,749	11,346	15,993	+21	—14	—0
Rome*	33,614	28,718	28,262	+17	+19	+3
Savannah	118,106	118,165	112,727	—0	+5	+4
Valdosta	16,484	16,786	14,875	—2	+11	+11
LOUISIANA						
Alexandria*	50,695	49,020	45,567	+3	+11	+11
Baton Rouge	134,231	122,959	119,126	+9	+13	+6
Lake Charles	57,904	52,477	50,094	+10	+16	+13
New Orleans	990,476	901,665	955,829	+10	+4	+8
MISSISSIPPI						
Hattiesburg	21,813	22,014	19,539	—1	+12	+7
Jackson	188,692	185,089	179,833	+2	+5	+6
Meridian	38,843	37,194	34,881	+4	+11	+3
Vicksburg	39,796	34,942	40,011	+14	—1	+12
TENNESSEE						
Chattanooga	201,604	183,607	190,869	+10	+6	+0
Knoxville	138,969	128,538	132,068	+8	+5	—6
Nashville	450,675	408,142	428,433	+10	+5	+6
SIXTH DISTRICT 32 Cities	5,948,076	5,593,012	5,593,398	+6	+6	+6
UNITED STATES 342 Cities	154,237,000	139,078,000	139,309,000	+11	+11	+7

*Not included in Sixth District totals.

tiple correlation, it is found that about 70 percent of the variations in savings during the period are accompanied by variations in these two factors. Only after variations in spending are taken into account is the influence of changes in income apparent. On this basis, estimated savings in certain years differ somewhat from the actual figures, but the relationship is close, as is indicated on the chart on page 91.

Probably some of the differences between actual and estimated figures can be explained by the imperfections of department store sale figures and additions to long-term savings as measures of total spending and saving, respectively. In addition, some of the differences can probably be best explained by the "abnormal" character of economic development in certain years. During the war years, for example, when savings were higher than the estimates indicated, sales at department stores were stimulated by shortages of many durable goods sold by other types of merchants. Total spending, therefore, did not bear as high a ratio to total income as was implied by department store sales. Or, in 1948, income dropped from 1947, which undoubtedly brought savings below the estimated level. Or, the repayment of consumer debts in 1951 may perhaps explain the smaller-than-expected additions to long-term savings.

Are Savings Unusually High?

Apparently the large addition to savings during the first half of 1952 in the District states conforms closely to the amount that would be expected from past experience, considering the rate of spending and the high level of income. According to past relationships, additions to personal long-term savings for the first half of this year would have amounted to around 442 million dollars. Preliminary estimates indicate an actual figure of 481 million.

Considering the level of income and spending, there seems to be nothing unusual about the large additions to long-term savings in the District states in 1952. They have resulted from high income, together with a rate of spending lower than in any other postwar year except 1951. The 1951 ratio of department store sales to income was equal to that for 1940. These ratios, in turn, are considerably higher than those for the war years from 1941 through 1945, but lower than those for the postwar years through 1950. The additions to long-term savings in 1952 are just about what would be expected on the basis of prewar relationships. A higher amount would have indicated a decline in the rate of spending to one approaching wartime conditions. A lower amount would imply a return to the high rate of consumer spending prevailing from 1945 through 1950.

CHARLES T. TAYLOR

Bank Annoucements

On November 17, the newly organized Glenwood National Bank, Decatur, Georgia, opened for business as a member of the Federal Reserve System. This bank began operations with a capital stock of $100,000 and surplus and undivided profits of $75,000. Its officers are T. D. Dunn, Jr., President; R. W. Hargrove, Executive Vice President and Cashier; C. A. Adair and J. W. Toney, Vice Presidents; and F. W. Brown, Assistant Cashier.

Sixth District Statistics

INSTALMENT CASH LOANS

Lender	No. of Lenders Reporting	Volume: Percent Change Oct. 1952 from Sept. 1952	Volume: Oct. 1951	Outstandings: Percent Change Oct. 1952 from Sept. 1952	Outstandings: Oct. 1951
Federal credit unions	36	+5	+32	+2	+28
State credit unions	18	+13	+27	+1	+29
Industrial banks	9	+12	—10	+1	+8
Industrial loan companies	9	+18	+15	—0	+4
Small loan companies	34	—3	+13	+1	+19
Commercial banks	32	+5	+23	+2	+22

RETAIL FURNITURE STORE OPERATIONS

Item	Number of Stores Reporting	Percent Change October 1952 from Sept. 1952	Oct. 1951
Total sales	143	+7	+6
Cash sales	126	+7	—15
Instalment and other credit sales	126	+7	+9
Accounts receivable, end of month	134	+2	+37
Collections during month	134	+4	+14
Inventories, end of month	98	+3	—3

WHOLESALE SALES AND INVENTORIES*

Type of Wholesaler	Sales: No. of Firms Reporting	Sales: Percent Change Oct. 1952 from Sept. 1952	Sales: Oct. 1951	Inventories: No. of Firms Reporting	Inventories: Percent Change Oct. 31, 1952, from Sept.30 1952	Inventories: Oct.31 1951
Automotive supplies	5	+2	—1	5	+1	—6
Electrical—Full-line	3	—12	—6	.	..	..
" Wiring supplies	6	+1	+5	6	+4	+6
" Appliances	8	+21	+28	7	—7	—24
Hardware	11	+10	+7	6	+2	—5
Industrial supplies	10	+4	+10	.	..	..
Jewelry	4	+17	+17	.	..	..
Lumber and bldg. mat'ls	7	+3	+13	5	—0	+5
Plumbing & heating supplies	4	+10	—20	3	+6	+18
Refrigeration equipment	6	—12	—8	6	—3	—1
Confectionery	5	+13	+16	.	..	..
Drugs and sundries	12	+5	+6	3	—7	—2
Dry goods	13	—1	+8	9	—10	—6
Groceries—Full-line	48	+3	+3	35	+8	—2
" Voluntary group	3	+15	+5	.	..	..
" Specialty lines	12	+11	+8	7	+12	—3
Tobacco products	17	—4	+8	12	+0	—2
Miscellaneous	13	—6	—1	13	—4	—15
Total	187	+4	+6	117	+1	—6

*Based on U. S. Department of Commerce Figures.

DEPARTMENT STORE SALES AND INVENTORIES*

Place	Sales: Percent Change Oct. 1952 from Sept. 1952	Sales: Oct. 1951	Sales: Yr.-to-Date 1952-1951	Inventories: Percent Change Oct. 31, 1952, from Sept. 30 1952	Inventories: Oct. 31 1951
ALABAMA	+3	+14	+9	+7	+11
Birmingham	—8	+10	+6	+10	+9
Mobile	+15	+26	+17	..	..
Montgomery	+13	+17	+8	..	..
FLORIDA	+26	+15	+8	+7	—2
Jacksonville	+34	+8	+7	+7	+8
Miami	+21	+16	+5	+4	—12
Orlando	+30	+12	+7	..	..
St. Petersburg	+30	+15	+10	+12	+7
Tampa	+18	+9	+10	..	..
GEORGIA	+11	+14	+8	+9	+3
Atlanta**	+13	+13	+5	+10	—1
Augusta	+11	+32	+29	..	..
Columbus	—0	+8	+9	+6	+1
Macon	+3	+8	+7	+9	+3
Rome**	+19	+20	+7	..	..
Savannah**	+7	+9	+19	..	..
LOUISIANA	+14	+11	+10	+4	+5
Baton Rouge	+1	+10	+8	+8	+6
New Orleans	+17	+11	+10	+2	+4
MISSISSIPPI	+19	+11	+5	+7	+0
Jackson	+15	+8	+4	+7	+1
Meridian**	+26	+19	+4	..	..
TENNESSEE	+11	+8	+3	+9	—1
Bristol**	+15	+9	—2	+9	—3
Bristol-Kingsport-Johnson City**	+13	+8	—3	..	..
Chattanooga	+6	+12	+6	..	..
Knoxville	+18	+4	—2	+10	—0
Nashville	+8	+9	+9	+10	+8
DISTRICT	+14	+12	+12	+7	+2

*Includes reports from 122 stores throughout the Sixth Federal Reserve District.

**In order to permit publication of figures for this city, a special sample has been constructed which is not confined exclusively to department stores. Figures for any such non-department stores, however, are not used in computing the District percentage changes.

NCRAC legal and legislative information BULLETIN

No. 18 December 10, 1953

NATIONAL COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL
9 East 38th Street • New York 16, N. Y.

New Omnibus Immigration and Nationality Bills in Senate and House

IN THE CLOSING days of the first session of the 83rd Congress, a completely rewritten omnibus immigration and nationality bill was introduced by Senator Herbert H. Lehman and seven other Senators and twenty-four Representatives. This bill (S. 2585) would revise extensively the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 (P.L. 414, 82nd Cong., known as the McCarran-Walter law). Introduction of this bill marked the culmination of eight months of intensive drafting work by teams of immigration experts and outstanding law professors.

The drafters made wide use of the testimony given before the President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization (the Perlman Commission) and incorporated many of the recommendations that the Commission had submitted to the President.[1] The bill embodies the result of years of research and experience of social and political scientists, foreign policy experts, students of our immigration and naturalization policies and the public and private governmental agencies involved in the day-to-day operations of our immigration law.

S. 2585, in its 211 pages, would reconstitute our entire immigration and naturalization code. It would eliminate all racial and national bias; establish the right of appeal from administrative decisions and the removal of distinctions between native-born and naturalized American citizens; replace the wasteful and discriminating National Origins Quota System by a non-discriminating Unified Quota System under which the number of immigrants actually admitted each year would be substantially increased; and would create a single new agency, the Immigration and Naturalization Commission, in whose jurisdiction all immigration and naturalization functions would be consolidated.

The immigration and naturalization bill analyzed in this BULLETIN has a total of thirty-two sponsors in the Senate and House of Representatives. In the Senate, the measure is known as S. 2585. Its sponsors are Senators Lehman (D.-Lib., N. Y.), Humphrey (D., Minn.), Morse (Ind., Ore.), Pastore (D., R. I.), Green (D., R. I.), Murray (D., Mont.), Kennedy (D., Mass.) and Magnusson (D., Wash.). Under House procedure, each sponsor introduces his own bill. Accordingly, twenty-four identical versions of S. 2585 are in the legislative hopper of the lower chamber, each bearing its own designated number. The identical House bills, with their numbers and sponsors (all Democrats), are as follows:

H.R. 6820—Celler (N. Y.)	H.R. 6828—Holtzman (N. Y.)	H.R. 6836—O'Brien (N. Y.)
6821—Addonizio (N. J.)	6829—Howell (N. J.)	6837—O'Hara (Ill.)
6822—Chudoff (Pa.)	6830—Kelly (N. Y.)	6838—Rabaut (Mich.)
6823—Delaney (N. Y.)	6831—Keogh (N. Y.)	6839—Rodino (N. J.)
6824—Dollinger (N. Y.	6832—Klein (N. Y.)	6840—Rooney (N. Y.)
6825—Eberharter (Pa.)	6833—Lane (Mass.)	6841—Roosevelt (N. Y.)
6826—Fine (N. Y.)	6834—Machrowicz (Mich.)	6842—Sieminski (N. J.)
6827—Heller (N. Y.)	6835—Multer (N. Y.)	6843—Yorty (Calif.)

EASING THE IMMIGRATION BARRIER

More Immigrants

S. 2585 would establish a ceiling on immigrants that could actually be met; more than 250,000 immigrants could be admitted in any year when there was sufficient demand. This contrasts with the present law, under which actual annual quota immigration is kept well below 100,000.

Under existing law, the ceiling on immigration from the Eastern Hemisphere (Europe, Asia, Africa and Australia) is theoretically placed at 154,657. In fact, far less than this number can come in because most of the available visas are wasted under the National Origins Quota System. About 107,000 visas, or two-thirds of the total, are reserved for persons born in England, Ireland and Germany. Most of these are unused because of the small number of immigrants from these countries and because a visa not used by one country can not be transferred to another. The rest of the total is distributed among the many remaining countries. Italy's quota, for example, is 5,645; Poland's, 6,488; Yugoslavia's, 933; Estonia's, 115.

Even these meager quotas are not fully available now because most of them have been "mortgaged" under the Displaced Persons Act of 1948. Every person who came here under that law was charged against his country's future quotas up to fifty percent for each year. As examples: half of Latvia's annual quota of 235 is mortgaged until the year 2274 and half of Estonia's quota of 115 is mortgaged until 2146.

In the twenty-one years between 1929, when the quota system began operating, and 1950, when a Senate committee studied its impact, only twenty-seven percent of the available quotas were used. Although over 3,000,000 immigrants were admissible in theory, only 836,085 actually entered. Since there

1. See Legal and Legislative Information Bulletin No. 16, March 10, 1953, "Report of the President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization." That Bulletin contained much information on the terms and effects of the existing law that has been omitted or condensed here to save space.

were also many departures during this period, the net gain to our population through immigration was only 22,000 per year. The Senate Judiciary Committee has well stated that, *as a restrictive device,* the National Origins Quota System "served its purpose well."

The present ceiling represents one-sixth of one percent of the 1920 census, excluding Negroes and Indians. S. 2585 would place the ceiling at one-sixth of one percent of the latest census, thus bringing it up to date, and would include the entire population in the census count, thus eliminating the racial slur upon Negroes and Indians in the present law. Using the 1950 census, this would mean a ceiling of 251,162. Outstanding population experts agree that this figure is fully compatible with our needs and absorptive capacity. In later years the ceiling would be based on then current census figures.

Under the present law, persons born in the Western Hemisphere, except those of Asian ancestry, may come in without regard to the quota system. This has been traditionally regarded as an aspect of our good neighbor policy toward other Western Hemisphere countries. In practice, however, immigration from Latin-America has been sharply curbed by our consular officials, who have simply refused to grant more than a limited number of visas to Latin-Americans. This practice has no legal justification and is plainly discriminatory.

S. 2585 would place Western Hemisphere countries on an equal basis with the rest of the world under its Unified Quota System. There is some basis for criticism of this aspect of the bill. The Perlman Commission recommended adhering to the good neighbor policy by retaining unlimited immigration from Western Hemisphere countries. The policy could be made effective by putting an end to the practice of allowing visa-granting officials to place arbitrary curbs on such immigration.

National Origins Quota System Abolished

S. 2585 would abolish outright the National Origins Quota System. A would-be immigrant's right to enter would no longer be based on his place of birth or his ancestry. Along with the quotas, the mortgages placed upon them by the Displaced Persons Act would go into the discard. This would give our immigration system a fresh start. Also discarded with the quota system would be the McCarran-Walter curb on the immigration of Negroes from colonies in the West Indies.

Perhaps most important, the Unified Quota System would end the discrimination against persons of Asian ancestry perpetuated by the McCarran-Walter Act. At present, for example, all persons of Chinese ancestry, wherever they were born, must qualify under the tiny quota of 105 officially designated as "Chinese (racial)." Those of mixed ancestry must also come within these small quotas if half or more of their ancestry is Asian. These provisions are clearly racist. Under S. 2585, ancestry would be entirely irrelevant.

The Unified Quota System proposed in S. 2585 would establish a completely non-discriminatory plan of admissions, flexible enough to meet the changing needs of our country. It would assure a regulated and controlled flow of immigration from those areas of the world that look to the United States as a haven and that are capable of contributing useful citizenship material. The bill would divide the total annual quota into five groups—four giving preference to certain favored kinds of immigration, the fifth insuring the admission of at least a certain amount of general immigration.

The five quota groups are:

1. *Family Unification.* For immigrants whose admission would result in uniting families by bringing in close relatives of United States citizens and alien residents. Not less than 25% or more than 35%, or 62,000 to 87,000 visas each year.

2. *Occupational.* For persons of outstanding technical and professional skills whose services are urgently needed here. Not less than 5% or more than 10%, or 12,000 to 25,000 visas each year.

3. *Asylum.* For victims of racial, religious and political persecution who need haven and asylum in the United States. Not less than 15% or more than 25%, or 37,000 to 62,000 visas each year.

4. *National Interest.* For aliens whose coming will serve American foreign policy requirements by helping to solve economic and other problems of friendly nations. Not less than 20% or more than 25%, or 50,000 to 62,000 visas each year.

5. *Newcomer Group.* For persons who fail to qualify under the four preference groups, but who are nevertheless desirable immigrants of good character. The Newcomer Group is allocated a minimum percentage of 20% of the total, plus the balance of the total not allocated to the four Preference Groups. This represents 50,000 to 82,000 visas each year.

Each year, the Immigration and Naturalization Commission established by the bill (described below, p. 6), would allocate the total of 250,000 among these five groups, within the limits specified and subject to the President's approval. At the end of the year, any visas within a group that remain unused would be "pooled" and added to the regular allotment for the following year. The new total thus obtained would be reallocated among the five groups. This pooling of visas would end the present waste of unused quotas.

The bill would permit the President to reduce, reallocate, postpone or halt altogether the granting of visas to any or all of the various preference groups, regardless of the percentage limitations contained in the bill, but only in case of a national emergency. Under the present law, the President has similar powers, not limited to emergency periods.

Allotment by Countries

Priority in the issuance of visas within the Newcomer Group would be determined under S. 2585 on a "first-come, first-served" basis; qualified, however, by these provisions designed to assure fair treatment of the various countries and to guard against selection of a disproportionate number of immigrants from one or a few countries:

(1) At least one-half of one percent of the Newcomer Group visas would be assigned to every nation with a population of 200,000 or more. The term "nation" would include colonies and other dependencies, all of which would have the same status. The Commission could group individual "nations" into a single quota area. This provision would assure a reasonable distribution of visas throughout the world by assuring at least 250 visas to each nation with a population of at least 200,000.

(2) No more than ten percent of the Newcomer Group visas would be allocated to immigrants from any one nation. Thus, if the minimum of 50,000 visas were allocated to the Newcomer Group, no more than 5,000 could go to any one country. The actual number of immigrants from any one country could, however, be larger. As already noted, as many as 82,000 of the 250,000 visas allotted each year could be assigned to the Newcomer Group and this number could be increased by visas "pooled" from previous years. Moreover, a substantial number of immigrants from any one country might qualify under the four preference groups.

The basis for determining what country an immigrant comes from would be his citizenship or residence and not, as under the present law, his place of birth.

Special Provisions

Under S. 2585, certain groups of immigrants would be admitted entirely outside the quota ceiling of 250,000. "Quota-free" status now available to children and spouses of American citizens would be extended to the citizens' parents. Children adopted abroad by American citizens would be allowed to enter as though they were natural born children of those citizens. Finally, professors coming to this country to teach at colleges and universities would be restored to the non-quota status that they enjoyed prior to the McCarran-Walter Act.

The humanitarian features of S. 2585 are revealed in several additional provisions that respond to the many appeals of private and public agencies, as well as thousands of individual citizens, for legislation permitting alien orphans to be admitted to the United States for adoption. There has also been a need to do something about the illegitimate children of American soldiers whose mothers cannot adequately care for them but who could be adopted by childless couples in this country.

The bill provides for the annual entry of as many as 5,000 children under ten years of age (1) who have been orphaned either by the death or disappearance of both parents or (2) who have been abandoned by fathers believed to be members of the United States Armed Forces, where the mother cannot care for the child and agrees to release him for immigration and adoption; provided that they come here either to be adopted by specific American citizens or alien residents, or under the sponsorship of an approved agency that would initiate adoption proceedings when the child arrives.

The allotment for these children would be deducted from the allotments to the Asylum and National Interest Preference Groups, up to 2,500 for each. This, of course, is a compromise; humanitarian purposes would be better served by admitting these children quota-free or by establishing a separate provision for them outside the provisions for other groups.

Another significantly humanitarian and equally practical feature of the new bill is its emphasis on providing a haven for victims of political, racial and religious persecution. This is accomplished primarily by establishing a quota preference for the Asylum Group. Additional emphasis is supplied by a novel provision that gives the Secretary of State authority to admit temporarily "executive, legislative or judicial officials or leaders of national opinion of any foreign state who seek political asylum in the United States." Thus, officials of foreign governments who escape from behind the Iron Curtain or who are forced to flee from a Latin-American country because of an armed uprising could be granted temporary haven, even where they did not satisfy the usual requirements for immigrants. If the Secretary of State found that the entry of such a person was "in the interest of the United States," he could waive all the usual limitations, including the bans on criminals and subversives and the requirement for a visa.

NATIONAL SECURITY

S. 2585 embodies a carefully considered approach to the problem of national security. It contains provisions that would effectively prevent the admission of immigrants who support subversive and totalitarian principles and permit the deportation of aliens in this country who advocate them. At the same time, it respects our democratic traditions by eliminating existing provisions in the McCarran-Walter Act that penalize every alien who has ever associated with any questionable organization or who has engaged at any time in political activity regarded as suspect.

Definition of Subversive Activity

The bill would exclude from the United States and would permit deportation of and deny naturalization to aliens who have "advocated or taught subversive doctrine" or who have ever "been members of or affiliated with any organization" that has done so. (Five-year "forgiveness" features are described below.) "Subversive doctrine" is defined as including espousal of overthrow of the United States government by force or violence, the establishment of a totalitarian dictatorship in the United States and the extermination or persecution of persons because of race, religion or ancestry. A "totalitarian dictatorship" is defined as an unrepresentative system of government in which party and government are practically indistinguishable and in which opposition to either is forcibly suppressed.

These provisions of the bill would create clear standards to govern decisions by visa-issuing officials. They would replace provisions of the McCarran-Walter Act that provide for the exclusion of aliens on the basis of possibly arbitrary decisions by consuls regarding the "subversiveness" of either an individual or an organization. An immigrant can now be kept out of the country if the consul feels that he "probably" would engage in detrimental activity or that he is a "security risk." No standards are established by which the consul must make these determinations.

It should be noted that one of the glaring faults of the McCarran-Walter Act is that preferential treatment is given to ex-Nazis and ex-Fascists. They are considered admissible although Communists and ex-Communists are not. S. 2585 ends this unrealistic distinction. Members of the National Socialist (Nazi) Party of Germany, or any of its paramilitary affiliates and their successors advocating or teaching subversive doctrines, are specifically excluded from admission to the United States. In addition, the new bill's provision barring admission to members of organizations advocating the persecution of persons because of their race, religion or ancestry would effectively exclude members of most other Fascist parties. This provision, however, might be interpreted as not barring members of such groups as Franco's Falangists.

The barriers to subversives would operate, under the bill, only if membership was voluntary, and the member must have been over the age of sixteen at the time and have had knowledge of the organization's subversive objectives. Those who were forced to join an organization by law or for the purpose of obtaining employment, education, food or other essentials of life would not be considered "members." Nor would membership include those whose affiliation was incidental or perfunctory.

The new bill would eliminate a provision of the McCarran-Walter Act that labels a mere contribution as an act of affilia-

tion where the contributor had no knowledge of the organization's subversive character. It would also eliminate the ridiculous provision that one who has "knowingly" circulated subversive literature must be barred from admission; this provision excludes the owner of a book store who has "knowingly" sold a copy of "Das Kapital."

"Forgiveness" of Past Membership

A "forgiveness" feature provides that aliens who ceased their activities five years prior to their application for a visa, and whose admission would not be detrimental to national security may be admitted. Similarly any "subversive" activity of an alien is forgiven that took place more than five years before the issuance of a warrant of arrest for his deportation. Finally, naturalization would not be denied for "subversive" activity that occurred more than five years before the application for naturalization. These provisions represent an improvement over the McCarran-Walter Act, which provides no forgiveness whatsoever for the resident alien and requires an alien seeking admission to show that he has "actively opposed" his former affiliation for five years prior to his application.

The new bill would also eliminate present provisions that punish persons who belonged at one time to organizations that later were determined to be "subversive." This would prevent deportation of a person for conduct that, at the time, he had no reason to believe would subject him to the severe penalty of banishment.

The problem of security is also affected by provisions applying generally to the exclusion and deportation processes. S. 2585 would lessen the harshness of the present law as it applies to aliens generally; it would end the excesses of the present law in dealing with persons only remotely associated with Communist activity and who pose no threat to our national security. For example, by establishing a reasonable statute of limitations, it would prevent deportation of persons whose only offense was brief membership in the Communist Party twenty years ago. By authorizing waiver of the usual rules as to exclusion in the case of temporary visitors, it would halt the ludicrous exclusion of distinguished visitors who have been invited to attend meetings of learned societies.

EXCLUSION

The present law contains harsh and rigid provisions dealing with exclusion and deportation. Many sections, including some with no bearing on the problem of national security, open the door wide to administrative abuses. Others erect rigid bars against the admission of immigrants that work unnecessary hardships on them and on their American relatives and friends.

S. 2585 would establish objective standards for administrative action wherever possible. Thus, it would repeal provisions of the existing law that, for example, permit a consul or the Attorney General to exclude an alien if, in his "opinion," he is "likely" to become a public charge or if there is "reason to believe" that he seeks to enter to engage in activities prejudicial to the interests of the United States.

Prior Convictions

Before the McCarran-Walter Act, an alien was excluded if he had been convicted of a crime involving "moral turpitude." The McCarran-Walter Act retained this provision and added, as grounds for exclusion, conviction of two or more crimes whether or not involving "moral turpitude." S. 2585 would eliminate the latter provision, which is objectionable because it prevents us from evaluating what other countries regard as "crimes." It is well recognized that certain acts severely punishable as "crimes" in Communist and Fascist countries are not regarded as criminal or reprehensible here. The existing McCarran Act provision makes foreign governments the arbiters of admission under our law, denies the possibility of rehabilitation, permits exclusion for minor infractions of the law, and disregards possible judicial recommendations of leniency. A baker on the French liner *Liberte,* for example, was refused temporary admission to the United States because he had stolen bread from Nazi authorities during the German occupation.

Temporary Departures

S. 2585 gives important relief to aliens who depart temporarily from the United States after having established lawful permanent residence in this country. Rules respecting the exclusion of aliens now are applied each time an alien re-enters. Under S. 2585 a re-entry permit issued to an alien by an authorized federal official prior to his temporary departure would insure his right to return to the United States.

This would rectify the present law, under which any alien leaving the country must qualify for readmission like one who knocks at our gates for the first time. Regardless of length of residence, close family associations and any contributions he may have made to our country, he may be excluded (and without a hearing) even for conditions that did not exist when he was originally admitted. An alien who contracts tuberculosis in the United States years after he came to live here would be refused readmission if he dared to visit abroad.

Ignatz Mezei, who visited Europe after twenty-five years of apparently blameless residence in Buffalo, was denied readmission when he returned. He could not even obtain a statement of charges against him. Because no other country would accept him after the United States had rejected him, he has in effect been condemned to life imprisonment on Ellis Island, where he already has spent more than two years. His only hope is that some day he can persuade some country to accept him. More recently, Dr. German Arciniegas, a distinguished Latin-American educator and Columbia University professor, was refused readmission to the United States by immigration authorities upon his return from a visit to France. Although he was subsequently released, his detention caused widespread criticism, embarrassment and ill-will.

Temporary Visitors

S. 2585 would reasonably distinguish between those who seek to enter the United States permanently and those intending only a temporary visit—for business or pleasure, to lecture, to participate in a scientific conference, or for some similar purpose. There is no good reason why the privilege of a temporary visit to the United States should be denied to persons whose political thinking deviates, even if in a marked respect, from our own political concepts. Were such a criterion applied on a reciprocal basis by other countries, many American citizens would be refused admission to those countries whose basic political concepts differ from our own.

Under the present law, many distinguished visitors, including famous writers, scholars, musicians and scientists, have been denied admission. Others, whose presence in this country is highly desirable, have suffered petty humiliations and time-consuming investigations. One result of this policy is that eminent personages, refusing to come here, accuse us of erecting our own "iron curtain." International organizations have cancelled conferences formerly held in the United States because of the difficulties their members find in attending them.

S. 2585 would authorize that the usual grounds for exclusion be waived in the case of visitors, students, businessmen and the like. These waivers would be made on conditions determined by the Immigration and Naturalization Commission created by S. 2585. (See page 6 for the functions and responsibilities of the Commission.) As a precaution against abuse or error, all waivers of over thirty days duration would be reported to Congress.

Alien Sailors

Under S. 2585, an alien crewman could still be prevented from landing for any cause that would make him ineligible to receive a visa but the Commission would be given power to waive any such ground if it determined that the health and safety of the United States would not be endangered thereby. This would end the situation, created by the McCarran-Walter Act, that has filled the press of the major maritime countries with reports of unfairness toward their citizens who wish to land temporarily in the United States during the stay of their ships or while awaiting assignment to other ships.

S. 2585 would also give alien seamen a limited right of appeal if they were denied the right to land and would modify the present arbitrary twenty-nine day limit on temporary landing permits. At the same time, the bill would retain all necessary safeguards against the landing of diseased alien crewmen and would prevent alien crewmen from illegally remaining in this country by "jumping ship" or by being discharged or paid off in the United States without permission of the Commission.

DEPORTATION

Deportation is the gravest and severest action that our government can take against aliens. Many believe that it should be employed only against aliens who entered the United States through fraud or otherwise illegally. S. 2585 does not go so far as this, but it would make a number of humanitarian changes in the present law. For example, no alien who has been admitted for permanent residence here before he was fourteen years old could be deported. No alien could be deported because of conviction of a crime if he has been pardoned, if the court recommends that deportation is not warranted or if the alien was under sixteen when the crime was committed. The Commission would be given authority to waive deportation for a single crime where serious hardship would occur and where the continued residence of the alien in this country would not be undesirable.

Statute of Limitations

Practically every criminal law includes a "statute of limitations." If prosecutions are not brought within a limited period after a crime has been committed, they can never be brought at all. This is to prevent trials long after an event has occurred, at a time when a person cannot adequately defend himself because witnesses may have died or disappeared or evidence has been lost. It is also to prevent the threat of punishment being held indefinitely over a person's head. The McCarran-Walter Act swept away the statute of limitations that had stood for years in our laws regarding deportation. Deportation proceedings can now reach relentlessly into the past.

S. 2585 would restore the statute of limitations. No person once allowed to enter as an immigrant could be deported after twenty years of residence in this country (unless he was a fugitive from justice.) Furthermore, a proceeding to deport an alien would have to be brought within ten years after he committed the offense for which deportation is sought. This means, for example, that an alien who entered this country illegally would be safe from deportation after ten years.

Other Deportation Modifications

The McCarran-Walter Act now requires the deportation of any alien who fails to report annually under the Alien Registration Act or who fails to notify the immigration service of a change of address, unless he establishes to the satisfaction of the Attorney General that his failure was reasonably excusable or was not "willful." S. 2585 would abolish these harsh provisions. While, unfortunately, retaining the present provisions as to registration, fingerprinting and regular reports from aliens, who must carry registration cards at all times, it would eliminate the penalty of deportation for failure to make adequate reports.

The bill also would eliminate the existing provision directing that if any country either refuses to accept, or delays acceptance of, one of its nationals whom we want to deport, we shall discontinue issuing immigration visas to its "nationals, citizens, subjects, or residents." This means that if a country refuses to accept a deportee, persons born in that country, wherever they may be now, are barred from immigration. The rule may exert little or no pressure on the country itself but it does punish persons for the conduct of governments over which they may have no control and to which they may even be hostile. Where the country is one that refuses generally to let its nationals come here, it will not be in any way disturbed by an action on our part that helps to enforce its ban on immigration. The alien excluded by the provision may be one who has escaped from such a country; yet he is punished for the action of a government he has rejected.

Relief from Deportation

The government has found, over the years, that strict enforcement of the law against some aliens who are technically deportable would be unfair and serve no useful purpose. The alien may be deportable solely because of factors that could easily be adjusted. Or he may have established such roots in this country that his ouster would be unconscionable.

Two procedures, in particular, have been developed to meet this problem: (1) "adjustment of status" (formerly known as "pre-examination") by which the alien is allowed, in effect, to re-enter the country as a legally admitted immigrant; and (2) "suspension of deportation" in which the grounds for deportation are waived and the alien is given the right of permanent residence together with opportunity to apply for citizenship on a par with legally admitted immigrants. The McCarran-Walter Act severely restricted these procedures. S. 2585 would substantially restore the earlier law.

Adjustment of status applies primarily to persons who en-

tered originally as non-immigrants (visitors, students, etc.). It makes them eligible for permanent residence and naturalization. S. 2585 would allow adjustment for any alien who can show that, if he were applying abroad, he would be eligible for admission and a visa would be available to him. This would eliminate a provision in the McCarran-Walter Act that prevents use of this procedure by aliens who have become deportable, for example, by over-staying their temporary permits or taking a job in violation of the law. Under S. 2585, adjustment of status could be claimed as a right by eligible aliens.

Suspension of deportation could be claimed under S. 2585 as a matter of right by any alien, even though deportable, if (1) he proves good moral character for the past five years and (2) has either resided here for seven years or can show that his departure would cause "serious harm to himself or to a citizen or a previously admitted alien who is his spouse or child." The period of residence required is extended from seven to ten years if the alien is deportable for national security reasons, fraud, or conviction for certain crimes.

NATURALIZATION

Second-Class Citizenship

S. 2585 would arrest the recent trend toward creating second-class citizenship for naturalized citizens, a trend that has reduced their rights as compared with native born citizens. At least as far as immigration and naturalization are concerned, the bill would restore the basic democratic principle that citizens are citizens, regardless of their origin.

"Expatriation" is the process whereby a person loses his citizenship by deliberate abandonment or by action indicating his attachment to another country. S. 2585 would repeal the present discriminatory law providing that, with certain exceptions, naturalized citizens are expatriated if they return to their native land for three years or live anywhere abroad for five years. Mere residence abroad, no matter how long continued, does not now cause loss of citizenship for native born citizens. Under S. 2585 the same rule would apply to naturalized citizens, including those who return to the country of their birth.

The bill would also limit the number of acts that cause automatic loss of citizenship. Native born and naturalized citizens alike would be expatriated only for acts that clearly express renunciation, such as obtaining a foreign nationality or attempting to overthrow the government by force of arms. Voting in a foreign election or taking office in a foreign government would no longer be grounds for automatic loss of citizenship.

Another discrimination against naturalized citizens that would be ended by the bill is that subjecting them to severer penalties for "subversive" conduct than native born citizens. Under the McCarran-Walter Act a naturalized citizen can be deprived of his citizenship if he joins a subversive organization within five years of naturalization. The same is true if, within ten years of naturalization, he is convicted of contempt of Congress by refusing to answer questions concerning subversive activities. The naturalized citizen committing such acts is subject to all the penalties imposed on the native born citizen; *in addition,* he is deprived of his citizenship and, in most cases, is exposed to deportation. S. 2585, by repealing this provision, would make punishments the same for all citizens, naturalized or native born.

Of course, a naturalized citizen could still lost his citizenship if it had been obtained illegally; for example, if he had concealed subversive or other disqualifying conduct that occurred *prior* to naturalization. However, S. 2585 would restore the principle that revocation of citizenship must be based on actual fraud in its procurement.

The revocation process would also be surrounded by safeguards that would insure the full protection of a fair hearing and other incidents of due process. A statute of limitations of ten years would be imposed, so that the threat of loss of citizenship would not hang over a citizen's head indefinitely.

Naturalization Requirements

The naturalization process would be liberalized in several respects by S. 2585. It would reduce the residence requirement for the spouse of a citizen from three years to one year. It would raise from fifteen to seventeen years the age limit for children obtaining "derivative" citizenship by the naturalization of their parents. It would liberalize the privilege of accelerated attainment of citizenship by those who serve in our wartime or peacetime armed services.

Aliens seeking naturalization must have lived continuously in this country five years. Under the McCarran-Walter Act, absence from the United States for six months automatically destroys this required continuous residence. Under S. 2585, absences of up to a year would be permitted if the alien could show that he had a reasonable cause for not returning sooner. The bill would also provide more liberal exemptions from this requirement for aliens working abroad for American organizations.

Naturalization applicants would have to be able to speak and read English but (unlike the requirement of the present law) would not have to be able to write it. The bill would also eliminate the mandatory neighborhood check of an applicant, which is frequently unfeasible, in favor of a flexible investigation process. Finally, it would do away with the McCarran-Walter practice of permitting a naturalization examiner to be represented in court by counsel after the Attorney General has ruled against him.

A SINGLE IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION COMMISSION

S. 2585 would end the uncertainty, confusion and waste caused by the administration of the law by two government agencies: the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department of Justice and the Consular Service of the Department of State. At present, for example, a consular officer overseas first decides on an alien's admissibility under the law before issuing a visa. When the alien arrives here, a Justice Department immigration official decides the same question under the same law before he permits entry. If these two officials disagree, as they sometimes do, the alien, encouraged to cross the sea by his visa from the consul, must be sent home again. The Hoover Commission, in 1949, sharply condemned this duplication, but the McCarran-Walter Act left it untouched.

S. 2585 would place responsibility for immigration and naturalization in a single, permanent agency, the Immigration and Naturalization Commission, which would be independent of existing departments. The Commission would be a bi-partisan body of three members appointed by the President, subject

to confirmation by the Senate, their tenure to be at the pleasure of the President. An administrator and a general counsel would be appointed by the Commission.

The functions of the Commission would include the admission of aliens into the United States, the prevention of illegal entry, the deportation of aliens, the adjustment of status of aliens, the investigation of citizenship applicants, and the institution of denaturalization proceedings. (Authority over the issuance of visas to diplomats and UN officials would be retained by the State Department.)

The Commission would establish its own field offices in foreign countries (after consultation with the Secretary of State) and take over the job of issuing visas to immigrants, visitors, and others seeking to come to the United States. Once issued, these visas would insure admission of the immigrant to this country. The Commission could delegate its visa-issuing powers to consular officers in areas where few visas are issued, but under the general supervision of the Commission.

Finally, the new bill would improve on the present system of checking undesirable aliens by providing that all investigative agencies of the Federal Government must keep the Commission advised of relevant information they have gathered regarding aliens who are applying, or who may apply, for admission. All information would be concentrated in one place, where it could be acted upon promptly and effectively, avoiding duplication and delay.

The bill would give the Commission authority to establish rules and regulations governing immigration and naturalization proceedings. In addition, the Commission would be given broad powers of investigation and would be required to report annually to the President and Congress.

APPEALS AND REVIEW

Board of Immigration and Visa Appeals

Aliens receiving rulings against them from immigration and naturalization authorities would have broader rights to appeal for a review of those rulings under S. 2585 than they now have. In accordance with the recommendations of the President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization, the bill would establish a statutory Board of Immigration and Visa Appeals, replacing the present Board of Immigration Appeals. The latter exists solely because of an order of the Attorney General that can be cancelled at any time; it is thus subject to departmental pressure. The nine members of the statutory Board proposed in the bill would be appointed by the President for fixed terms, confirmed by the Senate and removable only for cause. It would be empowered to sit, in panels of three or more members, in any part of the country or abroad.

The Board could review, among other things, the denial of visas to would-be immigrants by officials overseas. At present, even if a consul denies a visa for no valid reason, there is nothing that the applicant can do. All too often, consuls prefer to deny a visa arbitrarily rather than grant it to someone who may possibly become a controversial figure at a later date. Similarly, it would not be possible for consuls to limit arbitrarily the number of immigrants from their area, as is now done in South America.

Fair Hearing

The hearing provisions of the bill have been designed to afford fair treatment under clear and uniform procedures, replacing the present complex provisions for different kinds of hearings in various situations affecting aliens. They would assure adequate notice of hearing and the right to be represented by counsel. Hearings would be public unless the examiner or Board determined that national security required a closed hearing. All decisions would be based upon a written record. They would be in writing and would state the reasons for the action taken.

Generally, Commission proceedings would be governed by the Administrative Procedure Act. Although this Act is supposed to assure fair procedure by all federal regulatory agencies, the McCarran-Walter Act makes it inapplicable to almost all phases of the immigration and naturalization process. In the interest of national security, however, S. 2585 provides that, in some exclusion cases, evidence need not be revealed if the Attorney General certifies that it would seriously impair a source of confidential information or the security of the United States.

The bill would guarantee the privilege of reasonable bail, permitting its denial only in cases involving the national health or security and in cases where aliens ordered deported have not left the country. The Commission would have power to impose reasonable rules upon an alien released from custody to assure his availability and to protect the public interest.

Court Review

A significant change would be effected by S. 2585 over present law in that Board decisions, except for visa denials, would be subject to limited review in the Federal Courts of Appeals. The decisions of the present Board are merely recommendations to the Attorney General. The only way to challenge a decision of that officer is by seeking a writ of habeas corpus, available only in certain circumstances. One of the reasons this remedy is inadequate is that it can only be used when the alien is in actual detention.

The effectiveness of court review would also be increased by another provision. At present, if the government declares that a person is not a citizen, he can challenge that view in the courts only if he is present in this country, or if he can persuade a consul or the State Department to issue a "certificate of identity." Thus, a citizen who goes abroad and is then declared to be expatriated may have no legal redress. Under S. 2585, he could assert his citizenship in our courts. If the court found that the suit was brought in good faith, it would issue a "certificate of identity" permitting the plaintiff to come to the United States while his case was pending. He would of course have to leave the country if he lost his suit.

These provisions of the bill concerning judicial review are open to two criticisms. First, where a person is denied an immigration visa by an official abroad, the bill would permit him to appeal to the statutory board but no further appeal to the courts would be allowed. There is little reason for this limitation on judicial review. While court proceedings to review denial of a visa would have to be different in some respects from reviews of other actions, some form of review could be devised that would limit abuse of discretion by visa granting officials.

Second, as already noted, the bill provides that evidence need not be revealed to the party against whom it is used in some exclusion cases if the Attorney General certifies that it

would seriously impair a source of confidential information or the country's security. To avoid administrative abuse, the courts could be given power to examine this evidence, without disclosing it to the alien. A court could then determine whether it was reasonable to withhold the evidence and whether the record as a whole justified the action taken against the alien.

CONCLUSION

Introduction of S. 2585 is a vital phase in what will undoubtedly become a nation-wide effort to revise a law that President Eisenhower has characterized as a "glaring example of failure of our national leadership to live up to high ideals." The bill embodies principles that have been endorsed and acclaimed by many organizations representing religious groups, labor, veterans, civic associations and immigration experts. Its supporters hope that it will gain the backing of the administration and that there will be public hearings at the forthcoming session of Congress at which its terms will be subject to close analysis by supporters and opponents. Whether or not such hearings will be held on S. 2585 depends on the extent to which support for it is made known.

THE LEGAL AND LEGISLATIVE INFORMATION BULLETIN is prepared under the direction of the Legal and Legislative Information Committee of the NCRAC. This committee comprises:

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Immigration

RECORDED REMARKS OF SENATOR HERBERT H. LEHMAN
ON S. 2585 -- THE IMMIGRATION AND CITIZENSHIP ACT OF 1953.

I welcome this opportunity to speak to you, my fellow citizens, on a matter which should be of the deepest concern to every one of us --- our national policy with regard to immigration, naturalization and citizenship.

This policy may seem remote from the immediate interests of some of you. But let me assure you that this question involves and affects all of us. It affects aliens abroad, and aliens in our midst; it also affects millions of our own American citizens.

The developments in this field of policy have been fundamental; yet we have overlooked them. For too long we have left the fields of immigration and citizenship to the encroachment of narrow-minded men who have undermined the very meaning of the word citizenship, and have made a mockery of the idea represented by the Statue of Liberty.

Much of this has been done gradually and imperceptibly. But the entire package of law achieving this unfortunate result was laid out in full view of the world -- with a host of new gimmicks added -- last year when Congress adopted, over President Truman's veto, the McCarran-Walter Immigration and Nationality Act.

As I said, our present law corrodes, among other things, the traditional concept of American citizenship. If you are a naturalized citizen, you are, under present law, a second-class citizen. Your citizenship is a temporary license, subject to revocation if you contribute money to the wrong causes, join the wrong unions, or refuse to testify before a Congressional Committee. You cannot leave this country to reside in your native land for as long as three years at a stretch, or in any other country for as long five years. You may not accept a job abroad with a philanthropic organization or with a foreign firm or set up a business abroad if it keeps you out of this country for longer than the permitted period.

Yet a native-born citizen can do all these things with impunity. A native-born citizen does not lose his citizenship on any of these counts.

But you who are native-born citizens, do not imagine that the McCarran Act is good for you either.

You can be sure that the encroachments on the rights of naturalized citizens, unless struck down, will pave the way for attacks on the citizenship of the native-born, too.

The McCarran Act already contains a dozen different grounds for depriving even a native-born citizen of his American citizenship -- grounds which range from very substantial acts such as treason, which of course, should be punished to the utmost degree, to insubstantial acts such as voting in a foreign election

or working for a foreign government.

In the American tradition, American citizenship, once acquired, whether by birth or naturalization, was inalienable. It could not be taken away except on the grounds of fraud in the procurement of it, or for acts violative of the basic obligations of citizenship, such as treason and desertion in time of war. But the McCarran Act has ridden roughshod over this tradition. The McCarran Act has eaten the heart out of this tradition.

So, my friends, I think you can understand why I say that the McCarran Act affects all of us. It threatens all of us.

Recently, I and seven other Senators and 24 Members of the House of Representatives introduced a new Bill, a proposal for an entirely new citizenship and Immigration law --- a proposal based on justice and equal treatment for all --- naturalized and native-born citizens -- and aliens, too.

That Bill is the result of nearly eight months of drafting work. Experts from the law schools of the University of Pennsylvania and Harvard University, along with many other immigration authorities, social and political scientists, and immigration lawyers participated in the drafting of the new "Immigration and Citizenship Act."

That Bill, S. 2585, is now pending before the Senate. It does away with all the distinctions and discriminations to which I have referred.

It also does away with the harsh injustices against aliens and the intolerable discriminations, based on race and national origin, built into the immigration provisions of the McCarran Act.

Our immigration laws are of paramount importance because they directly affect the ability of our country to grow, expand its economy, maintain and enlarge its defenses, and fulfill its responsibility as the leader of the free peoples of the world.

Immigration has brought to our country a wealth of human material. Great captains of industry, great scientists and cultural leaders who have made their mark in this country were either immigrants themselves or were the sons and daughters of immigrants. We have profited by the flow of immigrants to this country. So, too, have the immigrants who have won both freedom and opportunity for themselves and their children.

But in recent times there has been a tendency to write into our immigration laws limitations and restrictions which are the product of unfounded fears, and of racial and religious prejudices. Such provisions, as contained in the McCarran-Walter Immigration and Nationality Act, are a shame and a menace to our country.

We boast of the liberties and freedoms guaranteed by our Bill of Rights, and yet we are the only important nation in the world which has upon its statute books an immigration law which authorizes the selection of qualified immigrants on the basis of race, creed and color.

But I am sure that the unhappy page of history which witnessed the passage of the McCarran Act will be blotted out as soon as the people of the United States realize the great injury that Actis doing to our country. I hope that day will come soon.

During the presidential campaign of 1952 both President Eisenhower and Governor Stevenson, the candidates of the major political parties, denounced the McCarran Act for its racial discriminations, and for its many other indefensible restrictions.

I am convinced that the McCarran-Walter Act is not a true expression of the beliefs or desires of the American people. I believe that the McCarran-Walter Act is a thoroughly un-American law on our statute books. It must not remain there long.

That is why I am happy to report that an entirely new Immigration and Citizenship Act has been introduced in Congress.

The proposed new law follows, in major aspects, the recommendations made in the report of the President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization, issued in January 1953.

Our new Bill abolishes the national origins quota system. If this Bill-- I should say when this Bill -- is enacted, there will no longer be a barrier to immigration based on race or creed or color.

In place of the national origins quota system, the new Bill proposes a unified quota system. First of all, there is a limitation on the total number to be admitted annually. The same formula used in the present law is adopted -- 1/6 of one percent of the population -- but this percentage is applied to the population of 1950, instead of the population of 1920, as in the McCarran Act. This formula results in a total of about 250,000 quota immigrants annually. That is the limit. No more than this number can enter. But within the quota limit, the gates are kept open for immigrants who are worthy and qualified and desire to come here to live.

Under the provisions of the new Bill, people will be selected on the basis of their individual worth, and the potential contribution they as individuals can make to the betterment of the United States. Persons immigrating to the United States under the unified quota system will be screened to insure that they meet basic health, education, and security standards, and that they will not become public charges.

The 250,000 immigrants will be divided into five groups. Twenty-five to thirty-five percent of the available visas will be reserved for family reunification -- the bringing together of children, parents, sons, brothers and sisters.

Five to ten percent of the visas will go to persons selected because of their exceptional skills or education, who can make a contribution to our national economy or security.

Fifteen to twenty-five percent of the visas will go to persons fleeing from persecution or oppression -- many of these will be persons who escaped from behind the iron curtain.

Another preference will be for persons in countries in which our Government believes we can alleviate acute political and economic problems by permitting immigration into the United States .... thus serving the purposes of our foreign policy.

Finally, twenty percent of the visas will be reserved for a newcomer group. The residents of every nation of the world will be guaranteed at least 250 of these visas, but there will be an overall limitation of not more than 5000 visas available to the citizens of any one nation. Persons will receive these visas on a first-come-first-serve basis.

All these figures may be hard to grasp all at once. The important thing is that our new Bill will screen people better, treat them better, and give every alien fair treatment under the law.

I have already described how our new Bill affects citizenship. I do not have time to go into further details. Yet almost every provision of this Bill, as with present law, affects the lives of hundreds and thousands of people -- aliens and citizens alike.

I hope you will take an interest in this matter and try to learn some of these details. They are vital.

I hope all of you will try to learn more about the McCarran Act. It is important for you.

Only through an informed and aroused public opinion will we succeed in repealing the McCarran Act and replacing it with a law along the lines I have described.

I hope you will take time to write to the President and to your Congressman and Senators urging support of S. 2585, the new Immigration and Citizenship Act of 1953.

****

K-K-K

All Criticism Answered against Ku Klux Klan

Not a single solitary reason has yet been advanced for putting the Ku Klux Klan out of business. If the Klan is against the Catholics, so are the Masons. If the Klan is against the Jews, so are half of the good hotels of the Republic and three-quarters of the good clubs. If the Klan is against the foreignborn or hyphenated citizens, so is the National Institute of Arts and Letters. If the Klan is against the negro, so are all the states south of the Mason-Dixon line. If the Klan is for damnation and persecution, so is the Methodist church. If the Klan is bent upon political control, so are the American Legion and Tammany Hall. If the Klan wears grotesque uniforms, so do the Knights of Pythias and the Mystic Shriners. If the Klan holds its meetings in the dead of night, so do the Elks. If the Klan conducts its business in secret, so do all of the college Greek-letter fraternities and the Department of State. If the Klan holds idiotic parades in the public streets, so do the police, the letter carriers and the firemen. If the Klan officers bear ridiculous names, so do the officers of the Lambs' Club. If the Klan uses the mails for shaking down suckers, so does the Red Cross. If the Klan constitutes itself a censor of private morals, so does the Congress of the United States. If the Klan lynches a Moor for raping someone's daughter, so would you or I.

George Jean Nathan, Dramatic Critic of the New York "Evening Mail," in March "Smart Set."

Immigration

"whom we shall welcome"

RECEIVED
MAR 30
Regional Council

a short summary of the Report of the President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization

On January 1, 1953, the President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization issued a report calling for far-reaching revision of our immigration and naturalization policies. It is expected that the proposals contained in this report will be considered by the Eighty-third Congress and that they may be the basis of both immediate and long-range legislation. Therefore, this condensation may be of value to those who do not have an opportunity to read the report's 304 pages.

The Commission, appointed by President Truman in September, 1952, heard the views of hundreds of representatives of governmental, religious and welfare agencies. Its report was made public just eight days after the McCarran-Walter Act, to which it devotes much attention, went into effect.

"The Commission believes," the report states, "that we cannot be true to the democratic faith of our own Declaration of Independence in the equality of all men, and at the same time pass immigration laws which discriminate against people because of national origin, race, color or creed."

The American Tradition

The Commission's report contains many reassertions of American tradition. Here are a few:

1. America was founded upon the principle that differences of race, color, religion or national origin should not be used to deny equal treatment or equal opportunity.
2. America, historically, has been the haven for the oppressed of other lands.
3. American national unity has been achieved without sacrificing diversity of opinion and individuality.
4. America's philosophy has always been one of faith in our future and belief in progress.

What's Wrong with Our Immigration Law?

The immigration and nationality law embodies policies and principles that are unwise and injurious to the nation, the report alleges. It cites five major shortcomings:

1. It reflects an attitude of hostility and distrust toward all aliens.
2. It discriminates against human beings on account of national origin, creed and color.
3. It ignores the needs of the United States at home and abroad.
4. It provides unnecessary and unreasonable restrictions and penalties against individuals.
5. It is badly drafted, confusing and in some respects unworkable.

The members of the Commission were Philip B. Perlman, former Solicitor General of the United States, chairman; Earl G. Harrison, former United States Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, vice-chairman;

Msgr. John O'Grady, secretary of the National Conference of Catholic Charities; the Rev. Thaddeus Gullixson, president of the Lutheran Theological Seminary of St. Paul; Clarence E. Pickett, secretary of the American Friends Service Committee; Adrian S. Fisher, legal advisor to the State Department and Thomas S. Finucane, chairman of the Board of Immigration Appeals of the Department of Justice. Harry N. Rosenfield, former member of the Displaced Persons Commission, served as executive director.

George Washington on Immigration

The Commission leads off with the statement of George Washington from which the report takes its title: "The bosom of America is open to receive not only the Opulent and Respectable Stranger, but the oppressed and persecuted of all Nations and Religions; whom we shall wellcome (Washington's spelling) to a participation of all our rights and privileges, if by decency and propriety of conduct they appear to merit the enjoyment."

Washington was not talking just for the record, the Commission points out. He asked a former aid to help him get several immigrants for his own plantation, stating: "If they are good workmen, they may be of Asia, Africa or Europe. They may be Mohammetans, Jews or Christians of any sect. . . ."

The Country's Needs

The best interests of the nation are imperiled by a short-sighted, outdated policy, says the Commission:

1. The United States needs more manpower, and more immigration to fill this demand.

2. American immigration procedures have frustrated American foreign policy throughout the period since 1924. The interference is acute today.

3. The major disruptive influence in our immigration law is the racial and national discrimination caused by the national origins system.

Why We Lose Friends

The United States, says the Commission, is the only major English-speaking country in the world which has written discrimination into its national immigration law. We must:

1. Take effective measures to provide migration opportunities for worthy escapees from Communism.

2. Exercise the kind of leadership that would encourage other countries to admit a large number of European immigrants.

3. Do away with the restrictions that have made enemies for us in the past, and will continue to lose us friends.

National Origin's System Is Racist

The Commission's report strongly recommends abolition of the national

origins quota system of 1924, and calls for other major changes in our immigration and naturalization policies:

1. The national origins quota system, retained with slight changes by the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952, apportions quotas in accordance with the number and national origin of white persons in the United States in 1920, thereby favoring immigrants from "Nordic" countries. The extent of this discrimination is indicated by the fact that 81.6 per cent of the quotas go to Northern and Western European countries whereas the Southern and Eastern European countries get only 16 per cent.

2. Two of the favored countries, England and Ireland, have never filled more than a minor portion of their quotas, whereas prospective immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe have sought admission in vain because of their small, heavily-oversubscribed quotas.

3. The racist premise of the national origins system is unsound, since there is no evidence that the immigrants discriminated against are inferior in any respect.

4. The McCarran-Walter Act widened the scope of this discrimination by reducing the immigration of colored persons from the Caribbean area by 90 per cent. This was accomplished by limiting dependent territories in the Western Hemisphere to 100 visas, each, annually, whereas formerly they could utilize the larger quotas of their home countries such as Great Britain.

5. Although the Act assigned quotas of about 100 each to various countries of Asia that had previously had no quotas, this was no more than a gesture. These token quotas were rendered even more meaningless by charging against them all persons with as much as 50 per cent of Asiatic "blood," regardless of their place of birth or residence.

U. S. Lacks Manpower

All these limitations, states the Commission, disregard a vital fact. The United States needs immigrants. Both our peacetime civilian requirements and the national defense suffer from lack of manpower:

1. In 1951, the Soviet Union labor force was estimated at 108,000,000, as compared with our 66,000,000.

2. The annual flow of young workers into our labor force is at the lowest point in years, and the number of men annually reaching the military age of 18 is now 200,000 less than in 1940. Normal immigration would give us the young adults we must have to keep this country strong and safe.

But beyond these present needs, the Commission points out, immigration has always been a benefit not only to the immigrant but also to the United States. "Among those whose genius has benefited the United States," the Commission recalls, "are Albert Einstein (German), in physics; Michael Pupin (Serbian), in electricity; Enrico Fermi (Italian), in atomic research; John Ericsson (Swedish), who invented the ironclad ship and the screw

propeller; Guisseppe Bellanca (Italian), and Igor Sikorsky (Russian), who made outstanding contributions to airplane development; John A. Udden (Swedish), who was responsible for opening the Texas oil fields; Lycas P. Kyrides (Greek), industrial chemistry," and many other leading businessmen, scientists, artists, musicians and educators. "Any such list," the Commission asserts, "can only be a sample of how much immigrants have enriched the America which granted them hospitality and welcome."

Commission's Proposal

Thus, both for humanitarian and practical reasons, the Commission would discard the national origins system. Instead, a unified quota system is recommended. The maximum annual quota immigration would be one-sixth of one per cent of the population, as determined by the most recent census. This single quota would replace the eighty-five national quotas established by the McCarran-Walter Act. Under the 1950 census, the present immigration limit of 154,657, never fully met, would give way to a completely usable quota of 251,162.

Sets Up Method of Visa Distribution

Distribution of visas, the Commission recommends, should be on the basis of:

1. The right of asylum.
2. The reunion of families.
3. Needs in the United States.
4. Special needs in the free world.
5. General immigration over and above the preceding categories.

For the first three years, the increase of 100,000 would be used for refugees, expellees, escapees and remaining displaced persons, since these people require emergency aid.

Thereafter, once every three years, visas would be allocated by a Commission on Immigration and Naturalization which would take over the immigration and naturalization functions of the Departments of State and Justice. The Commission's members would be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate.

National Security and Fair Treatment

This discussion of national origins and quotas constitutes an important segment of the Commission's report, but the vexing problem of how to protect national security without the sacrifice of American traditions, also receives much attention.

"A primary function of the restrictions in our immigration law," the Commission states, "is to protect the United States against aliens who are actually or potentially undesirable. But it is difficult to reconcile this sound

and important aim with the excessive punishments contained in our immigration laws, or with the attitudes of suspicion and distrust which seem to motivate them."

The Commission observes that the categories of unwanted aliens have grown to the point where the immigration law stresses rejection over acceptance to an overwhelming degree. To ameliorate this situation, the Commission makes a number of suggestions regarding the admission and deportation of aliens and naturalized citizens. Among them are the following:

1. Members of any totalitarian party, including Communists, Nazis and Fascists, should be barred from the country, but exceptions should be made in cases of involuntary or nominal membership. Former members of such parties should be admissible if they have repudiated, and are now opposed to, totalitarianism. The McCarran-Walter Act, the Commission notes, fails to ban members of foreign totalitarian groups other than Communists.

2. Exclusion should not be based on judgments of totalitarian countries, branding political opponents as "criminals."

3. Alien members of totalitarian organizations should not be deported if they entered the United States at an early age or have lived here for so long that their ties to their mother country are remote.

4. The grounds for deportation of aliens should not be retroactive; aliens should not be deportable for acts which were not prohibited when committed.

5. Enforcement of exclusion and deportation provisions should be entrusted to an Administrator who would be supervised by the Commission on Immigration and Naturalization. The same officials should not be permitted to exercise both enforcement and judicial functions.

6. To protect persons against unreasonable or arbitrary decisions, the Commission recommends the creation of a board of immigration and visa appeals, with broad discretionary powers which it would exercise under the supervision of the Commission on Immigration and Naturalization. The board could reverse decisions of United States representatives abroad denying visa applications.

7. No naturalized citizen should have his citizenship revoked for conduct subsequent to naturalization, unless he had obtained his citizenship by fraud or illegality.

8. There should be a ten-year statute of limitations on both deportation and denaturalization.

9. The processing of visas for temporary visitors should be expedited, and restrictions against visiting leaders in the arts, sciences and industry should be kept to the minimum compatible with the health, safety and security of the United States.

The Commission's report provides an excellent guide for the establishment of a fair immigration and naturalization policy.

Additional copies may be obtained from the

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39 - World Affairs

ATOMIC WAR OR PEACE

By ALBERT EINSTEIN
as told to RAYMOND SWING

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In keeping with its policy of promoting public discussion and evaluation of various proposals for effective international control of atomic energy, the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists takes pleasure in making available to its friends this article expressing the views of Albert Einstein on this vital subject.

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ATOMIC WAR OR PEACE

By ALBERT EINSTEIN

As told to RAYMOND SWING

SINCE the completion of the first atomic bomb nothing has been accomplished to make the world more safe from war, while much has been done to increase the destructiveness of war. I am not able to speak from any firsthand knowledge about the development of the atomic bomb, since I do not work in this field. But enough has been said by those who do to indicate that the bomb has been made more effective. Certainly the possibility can be envisaged of building a bomb of far greater size, capable of producing destruction over a larger area. It also is credible that an extensive use could be made of radioactivated gases which would spread over a wide region, causing heavy loss of life without damage to buildings.

I do not believe it is necessary to go on beyond these possibilities to contemplate a vast extension of bacteriological warfare. I am skeptical that this form presents dangers comparable with those of atomic warfare. Nor do I take into account a danger of starting a chain reaction of a scope great enough to destroy part or all of this planet. I dismiss this on the ground that if it could happen from a man-made atomic explosion it would already have happened from the action of the cosmic rays which are continually reaching the earth's surface.

BUT it is not necessary to imagine the earth being destroyed like a nova by a stellar explosion to understand vividly the growing scope of atomic war and to recognize that unless another war is prevented it is likely to bring destruction on a scale never before held possible and even now hardly conceived, and that little civilization would survive it.

In the first two years of the atomic era another phenomenon is to be noted. The public, having been warned of the horrible nature of atomic warfare, has done nothing about it, and to a large extent has dismissed the warning from its consciousness. A danger that cannot be averted had perhaps better be forgotten; or a danger against which every possible precaution has been taken also had probably better be forgotten. That is, if the United States had dispersed its industries and decentralized its cities, it might be reasonable for people to forget the peril they face.

I SHOULD say parenthetically that it is well that this country has not taken these precautions, for to have done so would make atomic war still more probable, since it would convince the rest of the world that we are resigned to it and are preparing for it. But nothing has been done to avert war, while much has been done to make atomic war more horrible; so there is no excuse for ignoring the danger.

I say that nothing has been done to avert war since the completion of the atomic bomb, despite the proposal for supranational control of atomic energy put forward by the United States in the United Nations. This country has made only a conditional proposal, and on conditions which the Soviet Union is now determined not to accept. This makes it possible to blame the failure on the Russians.

But in blaming the Russians the Americans should not ignore the fact that they themselves have not voluntarily renounced the use of the bomb as an ordinary weapon in the time before the achievement of supranational control, or if supranational control is not achieved. Thus they have fed the fear of other countries that they consider the bomb a legitimate part of their arsenal

so long as other countries decline to accept their terms for supranational control.

AMERICANS may be convinced of their determination not to launch an aggressive or preventive war. So they may believe it is superfluous to announce publicly that they will not a second time be the first to use the atomic bomb. But this country has been solemnly invited to renounce the use of the bomb—that is, to outlaw it— and has declined to do so unless its terms for supranational control are accepted.

I believe this policy is a mistake. I see a certain military gain from not renouncing the use of the bomb in that this may be deemed to restrain another country from starting a war in which the United States might use it. But what is gained in one way is lost in another. For an understanding over the supranational control of atomic energy has been made more remote. That may be no military drawback so long as the United States has the exclusive use of the bomb. But the moment another country is able to make it in substantial quantities, the United States loses greatly through the absence of an international agreement, because of the vulnerability of its concentrated industries and its highly developed urban life.

In refusing to outlaw the bomb while having the monopoly of it, this country suffers in another respect, in that it fails to return publicly to the ethical standards of warfare formally accepted previous to the last war. It should not be forgotten that the atomic bomb was made in this country as a preventive measure; it was to head off its use by the Germans, if they discovered it. The bombing of civilian centers was initiated by the Germans and adopted by the Japanese. To it the Allies responded in kind—as it turned out, with greater effectiveness—and they were morally justified in doing so. But now, without any provocation, and without the justification of reprisal or retaliation, a refusal to outlaw the use of the bomb save in reprisal is making a political purpose of its possession. This is hardly pardonable.

I AM not saying that the United States should not manufacture and stockpile the bomb, for I believe that it must do so; it must be able to deter another nation from making an atomic attack when it also has the bomb. But deterrence should be the only purpose of the stockpile of bombs. In the same way I believe that the United Nations should have the atomic bomb when it is supplied with its own armed forces and weapons. But it too should have the bomb for the sole purpose of deterring an aggressor or rebellious nation from making an atomic attack. It should not use the atomic bomb on its own initiative any more than the United States or any other power should do so. To keep a stockpile of atomic bombs without promising not to initiate its use is exploiting the possession of the bombs for political ends. It may be that the United States hopes in this way to frighten the Soviet Union into accepting supranational control of atomic energy. But the creation of fear only heightens antagonism and increases the danger of war. I am of the opinion that this policy has detracted from the very real virtue in the offer of supranational control of atomic energy.

We have emerged from a war in which we had to accept the degradingly low ethical standards of the enemy. But instead of feeling liberated from his standards, and set free to restore the sanctity of human life and the safety of noncombatants, we are in effect making the low standards of the enemy in the last war our own for the present. Thus we are starting toward another war degraded by our own choice.

IT MAY be the public is not fully aware that in another war atomic bombs will be available in large quantities. It may measure the dangers in the terms of the three bombs exploded before the end of the last war. The public also may not appreciate that, in relation to the damage inflicted, atomic bombs already have become the most economical form of destruction that can be used on the offensive. In another war the bombs will be plentiful and they will be comparatively

cheap. Unless there is a determination not to use them that is far stronger than can be noted today among American political and military leaders, and on the part of the public itself, atomic warfare will be hard to avoid. Unless Americans come to recognize that they are not stronger in the world because they have the bomb, but weaker because of their vulnerability to atomic attack, they are not likely to conduct their policy at Lake Success or in their relations with Russia in a spirit that furthers the arrival at an understanding.

But I do not suggest that the American failure to outlaw the use of the bomb except in retaliation is the only cause of the absence of an agreement with the Soviet Union over atomic control. The Russians have made it clear that they will do everything in their power to prevent a supranational regime from coming into existence. They not only reject it in the range of atomic energy: they reject it sharply on principle, and thus have spurned in advance any overture to join a limited world government.

Mr. Gromyko has rightly said that the essence of the American atomic proposal is that national sovereignty is not compatible with the atomic era. He declares that the Soviet Union cannot accept this thesis. The reasons he gives are obscure, for they quite obviously are pretexts. But what seems to be true is that the Soviet leaders believe they cannot preserve the social structure of the Soviet state in a supranational regime. The Soviet government is determined to maintain its present social structure, and the leaders of Russia, who hold their great power through the nature of that structure, will spare no effort to prevent a supranational regime from coming into existence, to control atomic energy or anything else.

The Russians may be partly right about the difficulty of retaining their present social structure in a supranational regime, though in time they may be brought to see that this is a far lesser loss than remaining isolated from a world of law. But at present they appear to be guided by their fears, and one must admit that the United States has made ample contributions to these fears, not only as to atomic energy but in many other respects. Indeed this country has conducted its Russian policy as though it were convinced that fear is the greatest of all diplomatic instruments.

That the Russians are striving to prevent the formation of a supranational security system is no reason why the rest of the world should not work to create one. It has been pointed out that the Russians have a way of resisting with all their arts what they do not wish to have happen; but once it happens, they can be flexible and accommodate themselves to it. So it would be well for the United States and other powers not to permit the Russians to veto an attempt to create supranational security. They can proceed with some hope that once the Russians see they cannot prevent such a regime they may join it.

So far the United States has shown no interest in preserving the security of the Soviet Union. It has been interested in its own security, which is characteristic of the competition which marks the conflict for power between sovereign states. But one cannot know in advance what would be the effect on Russian fears if the American people forced their leaders to pursue a policy of substituting law for the present anarchy of international relations. In a world of law, Russian security would be equal to our own, and for the American people to espouse this wholeheartedly – something that should be possible under the workings of democracy – might work a kind of miracle in Russian thinking.

At present the Russians have no evidence to convince them that the American people are not contentedly supporting a policy of military preparedness which they regard as a policy of deliberate intimidation. If they had evidences of a passionate desire by Americans to preserve peace in the one way it can be maintained, by a supranational regime of law, this would upset Russian calculations about the peril to Russian security

in current trends of American thought. Not until a genuine, convincing offer is made to the Soviet Union, backed by an aroused American public, will one be entitled to say what the Russian response would be.

IT MAY be that the first response would be to reject the world of law. But if from that moment it began to be clear to the Russians that such a world was coming into existence without them, and that their own security was being increased, their ideas necessarily would change.

I am in favor of inviting the Russians to join a world government authorized to provide security, and if they are unwilling to join, to proceed to establish supranational security without them. Let me admit quickly that I see great peril in such a course. If it is adopted it must be done in a way to make it utterly clear that the new regime is not a combination of power against Russia. It must be a combination that by its composite nature will greatly reduce the chances of war. It will be more diverse in its interests than any single state, thus less likely to resort to aggressive or preventive war. It will be larger, hence stronger, than any single nation. It will be geographically much more extensive, and thus more difficult to defeat by military means. It will be dedicated to supranational security, and thus escape the emphasis on national supremacy which is so strong a factor in war.

If a supranational regime is set up without Russia, its service to peace will depend on the skill and sincerity with which it is done. Emphasis should always be apparent on the desire to have Russia take part. It must be clear to Russia, and no less so to the nations comprising the organization, that no penalty is incurred or implied because a nation declines to join. If the Russians do not join at the outset, they must be sure of a welcome when they do decide to join. Those who create the organization must understand that they are building with the final objective of obtaining Russian adherence.

THESE are abstractions, and it is not easy to outline the specific lines a partial world government must follow to induce the Russians to join. But two conditions are clear to me: the new organization must have no military secrets; and the Russians must be free to have observers at every session of the organization, where its new laws are drafted, discussed, and adopted, and where its policies are decided. That would destroy the great factory of secrecy where so many of the world's suspicions are manufactured.

It may affront the military-minded person to suggest a regime that does not maintain any military secrets. He has been taught to believe that secrets thus divulged would enable a war-minded nation to seek to conquer the earth. (As to the so-called secret of the atomic bomb, I am assuming the Russians will have this through their own efforts within a short time.) I grant there is a risk in not maintaining military secrets. If a sufficient number of nations have pooled their strength they can take this risk, for their security will be greatly increased. And it can be done with greater assurance because of the decrease of fear, suspicion, and distrust that will result. The tensions of the increasing likelihood of war in a world based on sovereignty would be replaced by the relaxation of the growing confidence in peace. In time this might so allure the Russian people that their leaders would mellow in their attitude toward the West.

MEMBERSHIP in a supranational security system should not, in my opinion, be based on any arbitrary democratic standards. The one requirement from all should be that the representatives to supranational organization—assembly and council—must be elected by the people in each member country through a secret ballot. These representatives must represent the people rather than any government—which would enhance the pacific nature of the organization.

To require that other democratic criteria be met is, I believe, inadvisable. Democratic institu-

tions and standards are the result of historic developments to an extent not always appreciated in the lands which enjoy them. Setting arbitrary standards sharpens the ideological differences between the Western and Soviet systems.

But it is not the ideological differences which now are pushing the world in the direction of war. Indeed, if all the Western nations were to adopt socialism, while maintaining their national sovereignty, it is quite likely that the conflict for power between East and West would continue. The passion expressed over the economic systems of the present seems to me quite irrational. Whether the economic life of America should be dominated by relatively few individuals, as it is, or these individuals should be controlled by the state, may be important, but it is not important enough to justify all the feelings that are stirred up over it.

I should wish to see all the nations forming the supranational state pool all their military forces, keeping for themselves only local police. Then I should like to see these forces commingled and distributed as were the regiments of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. There it was appreciated that the men and the officers of one region would serve the purposes of empire better by not being stationed exclusively in their own provinces, subject to local and racial pulls.

I should like to see the authority of the supranational regime restricted altogether to the field of security. Whether this would be possible I am not sure. Experience may point to the desirability of adding some authority over economic matters, since under modern conditions these are capable of causing national upsets that have in them the seeds of violent conflict. But I should prefer to see the function of the organization altogether limited to the tasks of security. I also should like to see this regime established through the strengthening of the United Nations, so as not to sacrifice continuity in the search for peace.

I do not hide from myself the great difficulties of establishing a world government, either a beginning without Russia or one with Russia. I am aware of the risks. Since I should not wish it to be permissible for any country that has joined the supranational organization to secede, one of these risks is a possible civil war. But I also believe that world government is certain to come in time, and that the question is how much it is to be permitted to cost. It will come, I believe, even if there is another world war, though after such a war, if it is won, it would be world government established by the victor, resting on the victor's military power, and thus to be maintained permanently only through the permanent militarization of the human race.

But I also believe it can come through agreement and through the force of persuasion alone, hence at low cost. But if it is to come in this way it will not be enough to appeal to reason. One strength of the communist system of the East is that it has some of the character of a religion and inspires the emotions of a religion. Unless the cause of peace based on law gathers behind it the force and zeal of a religion, it hardly can hope to succeed. Those to whom the moral teaching of the human race is entrusted surely have a great duty and a great opportunity. The atomic scientists, I think, have become convinced that they cannot arouse the American people to the truths of the atomic era by logic alone. There must be added that deep power of emotion which is a basic ingredient of religion. It is to be hoped that not only the churches but the schools, the colleges, and the leading organs of opinion will acquit themselves well of their unique responsibility in this regard.

EMERGENCY COMMITTEE OF ATOMIC SCIENTISTS

INCORPORATED

The Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists was organized informally in May, 1946 by a small group of atomic scientists headed by Albert Einstein and Harold C. Urey; the Committee was incorporated in August, 1946. The atomic scientists recognized, because of their unique knowledge, the tremendous new problems which faced mankind through the release of atomic energy. Their purpose in coming together was to arouse the American people to an understanding of the unprecedented crisis in national and international affairs precipitated by the atomic discoveries.

The part they had borne in these discoveries had aroused in scientists a deep sense of responsibility for the immediate and eventual uses to which this great new power might be put. As scientists, working in the interests of their country at a time of national peril, they had released overwhelming new forces. As citizens, they saw that the people were wholly unaware of the supreme implications of this new power, mainly because of the necessity of military security. They believed that the connotations of secrecy, national rivalry, and mass destruction that unavoidably attached to the atomic discoveries from their inception must be removed, that men might determine the future use and control of atomic energy in an atmosphere of free and democratic discussion.

During the year that has passed, every member of the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists has done his utmost to bring home to the people of the United States the simple facts of atomic energy and their tremendous implications for world peace or world destruction. By conference and letter this small group of men have reached directly over a quarter of a million key citizens. To reach a wider audience, they have the willing cooperation of hundreds of younger scientists who, forming themselves into the Association of Scientists for Atomic Education, have sent out teams of speakers to bring to large cities and small towns in simple concrete terms the facts of atomic energy. Their work is complemented by the nationwide educational effort of the National Committee on Atomic Information, likewise formed at the urgent behest of leading atomic scientists.

Also financed by the Committee is the uniquely valuable *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists,* which month by month presents and appraises every important proposal for international control, whether emanating from government or private sources. The *Bulletin* is perhaps the most valuable existing medium for disseminating information and opinion on atomic energy control. It reaches those who are responsible for governmental policy both in the United States and abroad, carrying to them the thoughtful conclusions of the world's leading atomic scientists.

To date over 11,000 private individuals have subscribed nearly $400,000 to this educational effort in the interest of national and world understanding of the momentous issues at stake. Fully to implement its educational campaign the Committee seeks a minimum of $1,000,000.

It is the unanimous belief of the members of the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists that such a nation-wide educational campaign provides the only assurance that public attention will be focused on the paramount necessity of securing effective international control to safeguard our civilization.

ALBERT EINSTEIN, *Chairman*
EMERGENCY COMMITTEE OF ATOMIC SCIENTISTS, Incorporated
90 Nassau Street, Princeton, N. J.

I want to help in your campaign of education to ensure that atomic energy will be used for the benefit of mankind and not for humanity's destruction. I enclose my gift of $ ..... toward your $1,000,000 Fund.

Name .....

Street Address .....

City ..... *Zone* ..... *State* .....

The Treasury Department has ruled that gifts to the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists, Incorporated, are deductible as contributions for federal income tax purposes.

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We are grateful to the many friends who have offered us mailing lists. If you have received a copy of this appeal, you can help us by passing on the duplicate to a friend.

A STATEMENT
by the
EMERGENCY COMMITTEE OF ATOMIC SCIENTISTS

These few facts are accepted by all atomic scientists:

1. Atomic bombs can now be made cheaply and in large number. They will become more destructive.
2. There is no military defense against atomic bombs, and none is to be expected.
3. Other nations can rediscover our secret processes by themselves.
4. Preparedness against atomic war is futile and, if attempted, will ruin the structure of our social order.
5. If war breaks out, atomic bombs will be used, and they will surely destroy our civilization.
6. There is no solution to this problem except international control of atomic energy and, ultimately, the elimination of war.

The program of the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists is to see that these simple facts become known to the public. To accomplish this purpose, it will work through all appropriate educational organizations, including the National Committee on Atomic Information, the Association of Scientists for Atomic Education, and the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists.*

The Committee does not propose to make governmental policy, either on the national or international level. Its purpose is to make available an understanding of the Atomic Era on which such policy must depend.

ALBERT EINSTEIN, *Chairman*
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I want to help in your campaign of education to ensure that atomic energy will be used for the benefit of mankind and not for humanity's destruction. I enclose my gift of $..... toward your $1,000,000 Fund.

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Out to John Pecoul

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School Desegregation

1966

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John Pescoul file

THE PERSECUTION AND ASSASINATION OF CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS BY THE INMATES OF THE SOUTHERN EDUCATIONAL ESTABLISHMENT WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF THE U. S. CONGRESS ACCORDING TO THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION 1966: THE SLOW UNDOING

The United States Supreme Court declared the operation of dual public school systems separated by race to be unconstitutional in 1954. All deliberate speed was ordered in ending racial discrimination in public schools. Twelve years later, presuming deliberation and speed, one would expect this decision to be full in effect defining the context for lawful operation of every public school. It does not of course.

Instead, the school year 1966-67 arrives amid clamorous controversy over the implementation of school desegregation guidelines and amid successful avoidance of an end to racially separated schools as ordered by the Supreme Court in 1954. It appears that southern educators and legislators have persuaded the Congress, much of the press, and apparently even the White House that the United States Office of Education has "gone beyond the law" in enforcing Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. What does Title VI require. Its section 601. states:

> No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.

This study assesses the present controversy over school desegregation. It finds that the thorough and effective combination of half-

truth with political pressure has created a widespread impression that federal officials went "too far" in the enforcement of Title VI. That impression may lead to piecemeal dismantling of Title VI by amendments to appropriation bills. (See below. Fountain Amendment.) The current debate has wrongly but successfully been focused both on possible excesses of administrative zeal and on the intent of Congress in the Civil Rights Act of 1964. These foci of discussion, however undesirable, will be examined here in the interest of providing more balance and enlightenment than our public discourse on this issues has had up to now.

THE GENUINE ISSUE

Administrative zeal and congressional intent are only the apparent centers of the present controversy, however. What is really at stake, although effectively hidden so far, is the constitutional guarantees of equal protection of the law as applied to public schools by the U. S. Supreme Court in 1954 and in a great body of subsequent decisions. Constitutional intent, not congressional intent, is the issue.

Given the language of Title VI and the weight of the nation's highest judicial opinion on equal protection under the Constitution, it can be asked whether in fact the U.S.O.E. has gone far enough in carrying out the mandate given in Section 602 of Title VI "to effectuate the provisions of section 601 [cited above].....by issuing rules, regulations, or orders of general applicability..."

No amount of qualification of intent by Congress could stand the test of constitutionality if its effect was to deny equal protection

of the law by allowing dual school systems to continue subsidized by federal funds. Only an attempt at a fundamental change of the nation's democratic political culture through a constitutional amendment could legally achieve what Southern schoolmen and legislators are audaciously attempting to seize through amendments to annual appropriations and through complaints about the "unreasonableness" of federal examiners.

Perhaps the very audacity of this show of effort is what has camouflaged the unconstitutional end being sought. Whatever truth there is in the idea that increasing the scope of a lie increases its credibility has never been lost on southern politicians. The only effective response is equal audacity about increasing the scope of the facts available to public opinion formation and decision making. The study which follows attempts to provide more facts. The premise on which it does so is that the body politic needs to be confronted with a clearer choice about itself on the desegregation issue. Will it allow the prime facie intent of Title VI and the Supreme Court decision of 1954 to be circumvented? Will it, despite John Kennedy's words, both witness and permit "the slow undoing of those human rights to which this nation has always been committed?"

John Record

II. THE 1966 GUIDELINES: THE END OF INNOCENCE

In 1965, the United States Office of Education assumed good faith on the part of Southern school officials in complying with desegregation guidelines. In view of the long history of attempted evasion of court orders since 1954 on the part of many of these same officials and on the part of governors and other public officeholders, this assumption of good faith was attacked by many interested in obedience to the law. A special report of the Southern Regional Council stated at that ;time:

> The most rigid checks are needed----and have been from the beginning---to be sure at every step of the administrative process ~~th~~ that plans for "voluntary" action comply with all requirements of the law, and that the plans are carried out so as to meet all requirements of the law. Any other course in the South in this matter risks criticism as naive and encourages the kind of winking at the law that has been for too long a serious fault of southern society.

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John Pecoul

Apparently, the U. S. Office of Education was responsive to its many critics. Late in January 1966, Harold Howe, II, the new U. S. Commissioner of Education requested suggestions for changing the 1965 guidelines for 1966. Wall Street Journal columnist Jonathan Spivak commiserated with the federal agency's "almost impossible assignment: Strengthening the standards sufficiently to satisy its civil rights critics and yet not so much as to provoke explosive Southern resistance, sacrificing the integration gains /6.01%/ in 1965/ already achieved. In this business, any decision is wrong; that's why no one wants to make them,' frets one school desegregation specialist." /7/ Acknowledging Negro parents' reluctance to subject their children to possible violence, the reporter

questioned "what is to constitute sufficient evidence of intimidation--mere complaints or documented incidents? Would the government guidelines accept some 'minimum' amount of violence as unavoidable?"

The day after Howe's request, representatives of eight civil rights and human relations organizations attacked the Office of Education's school desegregation program for 1965 as "too weakly drawn and too timidly enforced." They planned meetings in five southern states to try to persuade the federal government to carry out a "massive school desegregation program."

The Civil Rights Commission advocated a "federal law to protect Negro students who attend white schools---from intimidation and harassment." It also declared freedom of choice plans "should not be permitted as a device for perpetuation of dual school systems...The Commission recommended that the Office of Education adopt policies and procedures which "will assure adequate evaluation and monitoring of desegregation plans for the 5,000 school districts in the southern and border states. This would require on-the-spot inspection of some school districts and the Office of Education should, "according to the Commission,""seek more funds if needed for personnel to do such investigation." The Commission also suggested that "freedom of choice" plans should not be permitted as a "device for perpetuating dual school systems in local districts." The commission said its study showed that states which made the most use of freedom of choice plans had the lowest percentage of Negroes going to school with whites. Also recommended was a law to authorize the Attorney General "or victims to bring civil action to enjoin persons against intimidation or harassment against Negroes who choose to attend white schools." The Commission also articulated a wish long held by civil rights organizations; that school districts operating under court order be required to file plans complying

with federal guidelines.

"Informed Sources" later indicated that President Lyndon Johnson planned to "ask Congress to put new teeth into federal laws aimed at desegregating public schools.... a bill being drafted would give the Attorney General greater authority to initiate court action toward desegregation of schools instead of awaiting complaints and taking part in suits brought by Negroes." The proposed legislation would have been aimed at blocking intimidation of Negroes seeking to attend white schools. A provision making it a federal offense to interfere with the attempts of persons to exercise their civil rights was later included in the new defunct 1966 Civil Rights bill. Even so, there was candid admission at the Office of Education that something stronger than new guidelines will be needed to break segregation patterns in school systems outside the South.

THE NEW GUIDELINES ACCEPTANCE & REJECTION

On March 7 the new guidelines were issued. They included many revisions recommended by the U. S. Civil Rights Commission. In ten tightly written pages, the beginning of faculty desegregation in every school where it had not occurred in the south commissioner Howe noted that further plans would be needed to move against de facto segregation in the North. At a press conference Howe declared that "this year the emphasis will shift from negotiation to performance." Substantial achievement was stressed in directives outlining requirements. Howe indicated the following measures of substantial achievement would be used by his office. 1. If a system transferred 8 to 9 percent of its Negro pupils from a segregated school in 1965, at least twice that number would "normally be expected" in September of 1966. 2. In the cases where 4 to 5 per cent transferred, the number would be

expected to triple next term. 3. Where the transfer percentage was lower than 4 per cent, which would include Alabama, 43%; Georgia, 2.66%; Louisiana, 0.69%; Mississippi, 0.59%; and S.C., 1.46%, a minimum of 10% would be expected.

Two weeks after the guidelines were issued, the Southern Education Reporting Service noted that there had been "little immediate reaction from most southern states, except an indication of reluctant acceptance." The Nashville-based organization indicated that strongest opposition had come from Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi." Georgia Governor Carl Sanders termed the guides "another illustration of government by bureau," and Congressman Phil Landrum (D-Ga.) said the Office of Education was "pushing too hard, too fast."

In response, Attorney General Nicholas DeB. Katzenbach, speaking at the University of SouthCArolina, called the guidelines "moderate, perhaps even tardy benchmarks....They contain no sudden surprises nor do they in themselves break new ground." Nevertheless, southern schoolmen habitually express shock at the "suddenness" of any desegregation ordered by federal courts or suggested by federal agencies. Even with the passage of twelve yearsdsince the Supreme Court decision, they still claimed to be surprised.

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initally compliant school officials. Apparently, the officials were slow to realize that what the Office of Education had in mind, whether or not its methods were realistic or even desirable, was the end of dual school systems--not token desegregation.

In marked contrast to the South's growing assumption that the U.S.O.E. would require real change, Jack Greenberg, director-counsel of the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, spoke in the language of caution and doubt that civil rights organizations sometime use when contrasting glowing policy with actual perfomance by the federal administration. Guidelines' effectiveness in desegregating public schools will depend fundamentally on whether the Administration is willing to make a powerful political commitment on manpower and funds to achieve desegregation. We have had no encouragement in this area. Enforcing the guidelines, even with a great commitment of appropriations and manpower, will nevertheless be difficult because of their complexity, permissiveness in many areas, and wide scope of exceptions."

Meanwhile, after the initial period of reluctant acceptance of the new guidelines, substantive southern resistance began to emerge. South Carolina and Virginia killed efforts to pass compulsory school attendance laws. Similar laws had been repealed during the South's "massive resistance" to school desegregation. This was an indication that at least two states preferred not to force students to attend integrated schools even if it meant no schools at all for some.

COMPLIANCE DEADLINE NOVEMBER 1

On April 4, Howe announced that all systems which had not filed

plans for desegregation compliance (441-B) by the April 15 deadline would be notified that they faced loss of all federal aid. It was also made clear that these forms would be subject to future tests of performance and were not sufficient evidence of actual compliance. Compliance forms trickled in slowly. Georgia's state superintendent Jack Nix reported that only 20 of the state's 196 systems had complied. Alabama superintendents voted 76 to 4 to adopt a resolution urging their congressional delegation to seek a modification of the guidelines, adding, "We cannot follow directives." At a statewide meeting held by O.E, staffers in Birmingham, one school official became somewhat upset and asked "Where'ddyou leave your carpetbags, you dirty Commies?" Another asked, "Whateif I can't find a Negro teacher qualified to teach in a white school?" The Office of Education representative, Wallace McBain, a Marquette University professor, responded "If she isn't qualified, what is she doing in your system?....The 'separate but equal' ruling was made in 1894....You aren't even willing to go that far." The battlelines were forming.

Ironically, no funds had yet been cut off under the previous year's guidelines. According to Jack Nelson, Los Angeles Times-Washington Post correspondent, "To date, no funds have been withdrawn from school systems that have defied the 1965-66 guidelines. But the time is close when a final decision may be made in a number of cases."

Examiners had held hearings on 65 such systems and handed down 41 decisions, all recommending termination of aid. The commissioner has passed on 27 of the cases and upheld the examiners' recommendations in each instance. Secretary of H.E.W. John Gardner, the final authority, must keep each case a minimum of 20 days before issuing a ruling.

Nelson reported also that a Georgia school board attorney commented, "We are going to tell them we intend to comply. Then we are going to tell them, 'Make us.'"

On April 11 Secretary Gardner sent letters to governors, congressmen and state school officials in response to growing opposition in the South to the new guidelines. He assured them that his department was not trying to impose a formula of racial balance in schools or "instantaneous desegregation" of every teaching staff. HEW officials insisted this was not a softening of the guidelines, but it was in fact an attempt to head off the possibility of a full-scale revolt by southern school districts. Gardner answered criticism that racial percentages in the guides amounted to imposing "racial balance" by pointing out that percentages were an "administrative guide" for measuring progress toward the end in pupil assignment based on race under "free choice" plans.

Resistance continued however. Boycotts were in some school districts where the guidelines were considered too severe. By the 10th of April only one Louisiana school system had filed a compliance form; four in Alabama had complied. By the end of April only 1193 of the approximately 5000 districts in southern and border states had filed statements of compliance. The United States Office of Education extended its deadline to May 6.

COMPLIANCE DEADLINE NUMBER 2

On May 5 the Office of Education ordered a halt in federal funds

for new school projects in districts which did not file compliance forms on May 6. As of May 7, 255 districts had failed to comply. At the same time the House of Representatives "dealt a real blow to HEW's plans for compliance," according to Gardner. The House cut a budget request for compliance programs from $4,132,000 to $927,000. The budget had proposed 348 staff members and the House reduced this to_____.

By mid-May 1475 of the 1893 school districts required to submit form 441-B had done so. At the same time directors of 8 State Councils on Human Relations in a letter to Commissioner Howe urged withholding funds from school districts that "flagrantly disobey" the guidelines. A few such actions in each state would open the opportunity for real headway this year toward the final goal," the directors declared. "Besides being Southerners, we are human...We refuse to believe we have lost the war so long as you leave to us the reconstruction." They added that they were "heartened" by the guidelines, having made clear that dual school systems must be eliminated.

In late May Howe II spoke with about two-dozen southern congressmen, who declared the guidelines illegal. Alabama congressman and gubernatorial candidate James Martin said that Howe had been "shaken" by the encounter. Martin quoted Howe as saying that, if the federal agency did not pursue the guidelines, civil rights groups might "take to the streets again." Martin added that he was disappointed that southern governors had not notified the President "in no uncertain terms that they're not going to stand for" the guidelines.

As of June 4, twenty-one school districts, all of them in Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, had flatly refused to comply with the guidelines. While not refusing to comply, many others had not filed forms.

Eighteen southern senators sent a letter, dated May 2 but released to the press May 13, to President Johnson. The letter, written by Georgia's Richard Russell and distributed for signatures by Mississippi's John Stennis was labeled a "Most Solemn Petition" and said in part: "We come to you as Chief Executive of the nation to protest vigorously the abuse of power involved in the bureaucratic imposition of the guidelines and we earnestly beseech your personal intervention to right this wrong and have this order revoked....In our efforts to protect our schools and the children who will direct the destinies of our states tomorrow, we earnestly appeal to you to intervene and prevent illegal, unfair, and unrealistic action by the Office of Education."

The letter was signed by Alabama's Hister Hill and John Sparkman; Arkansas' J. William Fulbright, and John K. McCellan; Florida's Spessard Holland and George A. Smathers; Georgia's Richard Russell and Herman Talmadge; Louisiana's Allen Ellender and Russell B. Long; Mississippi's John C. Stennis and James O. Eastland; N.C.'s B. Everett Jordan and Sam J. Ervin, Jr.; S.C.'s Donald Russell and J. Strom Thurmond (republican); Virginia's Harry Flood Byrd, Jr. and A. Willis Robertson.

[The Southern Manifesto, signed only ten years and two months before and said, "The unwarranted decision of the Supreme Court in the public school cases is now bearing the fruit always produced when men substitute naked power for established law....We pledge ourselves to use all lawful means to bring about a reversal of this decision which is contrary to the Constitution and to prevent the use of force in its implementation."

The Manifesto was signed by Georgia's Russell and Walter F. George; Ark's McClellan and Fulbright; Fla.'s Smathers and Holland; Ala.'s Hill and Sparkman; La.'s Long and Ellender; Miss.'s Eastland and Stennis; N.C.'s W. Keer Scott and Sam J. Ervin; S.C.'s Olin D. Johnston and Thurmond (Democrat) Texas' Price Daniel; Virginia's Robertson and Byrd, Sr.

Although the letter itself was not made public, informed sources revealed that President Johnson had responded to the senators. In a single letter to old friend Richard Russell, who drafted the "Most Solemn Petition," Johnson replied that he considered the guidelines "fair". He pointed out that the regulations permitted continuation of "freedom of choice" plan and did not racial balance. Russell's office acknowledged the reply, while other signers said they had not seen the letter.

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John Pecoul

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SUMMER MANEUVERS:

RETRENCHMENT AND RETREAT

Despite the President's letter giving verbal support to the Office of Education, it was becoming apparent that numerous concessions which weakened the guidelines were being won from the U.S.O.E. by local school officials. As early as March 31, Commissioner Howe had told a meeting of Georgia's Congressmen and school administrators that the desegregation of the faculty would not have to begin in every school as the guidelines said. The pressures from lack of staff and funds for adequate enforcement of the guidelines prompted David S. Seeley, Assistant Commissioner of Education to indicate that the U.S.O.E. was "shifting its attach from the center to the edges of school segregation." In a report in the Birmingham News on June 12, Seeley admitted that his agency's enforcement of the 1964 Civil Rights Act "probably will not have sufficient impact to deal with large problems" of school desegregation in either the North or the South. Above all, many school districts were discovering that complaints to Washington backed by pressure from southern legislators were effective in by-passing the stringent demands of local U.S.O.E. compliance officers. A case in point is Commissioner Howe's over-ruling and subsequent transferral of Kruger, compliance

officer for South Carolina, Florida, and Georgia.

THE KRUGER CASE

The first clear indication that Kruger intended to require adherence to accepted plans for compliance came in a telegram to DeKalb County, Georgia Superintendent James Cherry on May 4. Kruger requested an immediate explantion of why DeKalb County was not following the plan approved by federal officials. Superintendent Cherry ignored the telegram. [pat: Cherry quote: Maggie Long?]

On April 7, Kruger said that the original DeKalb plan called for assignment of all students to schools by attendance zones. Transfers might then be considered. Still not responding to Kruger's telegram but speaking to the press, DeKalb school officials maintained that they intended this plan to have two phases. The first phase, they said, was the assignment of students by zone, which has occurred. The second phase was the freedom of choice plan being implemented. Kruger insisted that the county had not indicated that it planned a two-phase plan and that, at any rate, the zone assignment previously carried out covered only two grades. In effect, a racially segregated dual system still existed for all other grades. Allowing the alleged second phase to begin without first assigning zones for grades not previously covered was indeed free choice, which is legal, but free choice between racailly determined dual school systems receiving federal funds, which is not legal under Title VI.

DeKalb County would not concede the battle, however. Pleading that it never promised to do more than it was in fact doing, that it was

acting in good faith, and that its plan had been misunderstood by Kruger, school officials arranged a meeting with Commissioner Howe through its district Congressman James Mackay. W. Stanley Kruger was not present.

The result of the meeting was a complete victory for DeKalb. Superintendent Cherry emerged with a letter from Howe which stated that the dispute was indeed due to a misunderstanding, that zonal assignment and free choice were required, and that Cherry would do both according to the plan. It will be recalled that the initial zone assignment plan covered only two grades. The handling of this case called forth a searing memorandum to Secretary of H.E.W Gardner from H.E.W.Atlanta regional director William Page. Not intended for publication but somehow released to the press, the memorandum warned against the undermining of regional enforcement efforts by Washington officials. Said Page:in a reference to Supt. Cherry of DeKalb: "If any of the 2000 school superintendents can negotiate his case with Commissioner Howe, why should 10,000 hospital administrators not have direct access to the attorney-general?"

In late July and early August, Kruger had another well publicized confrontation with school officials, this time in Fulton County, Georgia. Suggesting a possible cut-off of funds, Kruger questioned whether the county was soing enough to discourage intimidation of Negroes who might transfer under the freedom of choice plan. Angry Georgia school officials protested this action to Commissioner Howe. No funds were withheld.

These officials and others representing Georgia and South Carolina

met in Washington with Howe on August 4. They demanded that Howe transfer Kruger. Congressman and other ~~xxxxxx~~ political figures echoed the demand. The irate educators called Kruger the "hatchet man" for the Office of Education, charging that he had been "disruptive." Kruger had been enforcing the 1966 guidelines to the extend that only five of S.C.'s 108 school districts had had their plans approved. Howe assured the Georgia delegation of school administrators representing Georgia and South Carolina dissidents that "he"would review the Kruger situation."

On September 9, the Atlanta Constitution reported that W. Stanley Kruger had been transferred. Commissioner Howe announced the move as part of a change to locating compliance personnel in regional offices. Kruger had worked out of Washington.

THE COMING OF FALL

Over the summer, defiance had burgeoned. At the annual meeting of the Southern Regional Education Board in Miami Beach, Governor George C. Wallace of Alabama sought to line up unified opposition to the guidelines. Governors and educators rejected open defiance, but agreed with Wallace that the guidelines go too far. In South Carolina, Atty. Gen. Daniel R. McLeod met with HEW officials to determine "how they justify the requirements of the guidelines." He was accompanied by Robert Alexander, federal coordinator for the governor's office. S.C. governor Robert McNair had said earlier that the attorney general's office would make its service available to any school district bringing court action against the guidelines in the event of loss of federal funds.

[OMIT?? Further evidence that integration was far from realized accumulated. On July 1, the Office of Education had issued a preliminary report on the progress of school desegregation required by the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The Office estimated that almost 80% of all white pupils attend schools that are from 90-100% white, and at least 97% go to schools that are more than 50% white. The report also stated that more than 65% of all Negro pupils in the first grade attend schools that are between 90 and 100% Negro. Furthermore, 87% of Negro pupils at grade one and 66% at grade 12 attend schools that are 50% or more Negro. In the South, the report added, "most students attend schools that are 100 per cent white or Negro." A complete 400 page report was to be issued later.]

As fall arrived and schools opened, the Wall Street Journal of September 12 reported that many school districts had decided to forego federal funds rather than desegregate. The largest increases in desegregation were coming in large cities which have been under court orders to integrate. For example, in New Orleans where frenzied cadres of mothers howled at the birth of desegregation in two schools in 1960, the number of Negro students attending schools with whites increased from 2800 to 5100. Faculty desegregation also began. Disturbance over desegregation in nearby St. Bernard Parish suggest that the mothers may have left the city. In Atlanta where desegregation began peacefully in 1961, the number was expected to increase substantially over the 6000 mark of the previous year but precise numbers could not be obtained. In these cities and others, however, there is evidence that officials include in desegregation counts students from pre-dominantly Negro schools which have only token white attendance.

OPTION:

[

Include section of state statistics here if we have some that are reliable enough.]

THE COMPLIANCE SITUATION CURRENTLY

As of mid-September, 2669 of the 4600 school districts in the 17 Southern and border states have desegregated satisfactorily according to HEW. Another 168 districts are desegregating under court order. 1800 other districts operating dual school systems have been told to submit plans of compliance with USOE guidelines. 1400 have done so and have been judged acceptable.

Of the remaining 400, 250 have proposed plans that are still being reviewed for acceptability. 150 have not turned in acceptable guarantees of compliance. Federal funds have been stopped for 39 of these. Action to cut off funds to 64 others has begun, and may begin shortly for 47 more.

THE SOUTHERN OFFENSIVE IN CONGRESS

As if the very limited effect of H.E.W. TITLE VI enforcement were not harmful enough, the South's men in Congress seem intent upon pouring salt in wounds just deepened by something called white backlash. Interpretive stories favorable to their cause have been distributed by usually unsympathetic sources such as the news services of the NEW YORK TIMES and the CHICAGO DAILY NEWS. Achievements assigned to under Title VI enforcement have come quickly.

First, on September 26, the Senate Appropriations Committee attacked a report to this year's H.E.W. appropriation bill saying that the 1966 guidelines may be illegal and asking Secretary Gardner to re-examine them. The report noted that a transcript of debate on the 1964 Civil Rights Act quotes the then Senator Hubert Humphrey as saying that Title IV of the bill precluded the Office of Education's using Title VI to require an end to racial imbalance. The report also said the committee members had received many complaints about "harrassment" of school officials by compliance officers. The fall debate has never really gone beyond these two points of inept administration and exceeding congressional intent to the constitutional issue of racial discrimination.

Second, on October 10, Democratic floor leaders in both houses struck from the $6.4 billion school aid bill a provision giving special aid to schools desiring to correct racial imbalance.

Third, the same day, the House voted a Southern sponsored amendment to the school aid bill which requires a full hearing before the U.S.O.E. can defer funds from a school district found to be in violation of the guidelines. While this amendment has since been amended

in conference with the Senate to say that funds may be suspended provided a hearing is held within 60 days and a decision reached within another 30 days, the initial adoption of the amendment reflected the climate of opinion in the House.

Fourth, on October 7, even President Johnson acknowledged instances of harassment, mistakes, and enthusiasm by U.S.O.E. staff.

While the ultimate success of the southern offensive is by no means assured, so far it has been devastating to the constitutional goal of ending dual school systems. The 1966 guidelines may have marked the end of innocence for U.S.O.E., but they did not mark the end of school segregation for the South.

III. Congressional Intent, Administrative Guidelines, and the Constitution

Evaluation of the effectiveness of both the guidelines and their application by U.S.O.E. can take place only after the intent of Congress in Title VI and the requirements of the Constitution as interpreted by the Supreme Court have been considered. The end sought must be clarified before the method can be analyzed properly.

Congressional Intent

The Senate Appropriations Committee with 8 Southern=members with great seniority and influence out of a total membership of 23, officially raised the argument that U.S.O.E. enforcement was

exceeding congressional intent in the report it attached to the H. E. W. appropriation bill. This argument had been repeatedly advanced by conservative newspaper columnists such as David Lawrence long before the Committee Report. The Negro noted then Senator Humphrey's linking of Title IV's prohibition of forced racial balances to application of Title VI. It therefore concluded that U.S.O.E.'s use of percentages to measure progress toward ending discriminatory dual school systems was a violation of Title IV.

This argument, though clear and subtle, is nevertheless a deliberate distortion of the prima facie intent of Title IV. It has gone unchallenged by many who know better; it has misled many more who should know better. Even the usually perceptive Tom Wicker of the New York Times uses the argument as a rhetorical question to conclude his column in the October 11 NEW YORK TIMES. Without analyzing Title IV as a whole, Wicker asks: "In enforcing desegregation as clearly required by Title VI of the Civil Rights Act, is the O. E. going to far as to violate the equally clear provision of Title IV that desegregation shall not mean the assignment of students to public shcools to overcome racial imbalance?"

The issue then is the interpretation of Title IV in relation to Title VI. Title VI as quoted earlier in this paper, clearly prohibits any discrimination subsidized by Federal Funds. Wicker admits this and so do the most vehement southern opponents of Title VI. The real question is the meaning of Title IV of the Civil Rights Acts of 1964.d

When the definition of desegregation in Title IV is considered as a whole rather than in part, its meaning can no longer be in question.

Title IV, Section 401, (b):

> "Desegregation" means the assignment of students to public schools and within such schools without regard to their race, color, religion, or national origin, but "desegregation" shall not mean the assignment of students to public schools in order to overcome racial imbalance.

Rightly or wrongly, this definition is aimed at dejure segregation in the South and the imbalance provision was an obvious attempt to win legislative support among Northern congressmen by proscribing one form of federal pressure against de facto segregation in northern cities. The forced bussing is the measure being prevented here is made explicit in Section 407 (a) of Title IV.

Thus, the intent of Congress is clear. The appeal of southern officials to Title IV is really only an appeal to a relatively minor qualification of the whole thrust of Title IV. That thrust is toward complete and total "assignment of students to public schools and within such schools with regard to their race", i.e. the complete and total end of segregated dual school systems. This thrust presupposes de jure discrimination. To be achieve it requires the reorganization and reconstitution of school patterns in the South which have not just arisen de facto but have been established by intent, state law, and educational policy. The same officials who established this pattern now ask that it be legitimized under "free choice plans" without

their making structural changes in those patterns. What was called separate but equal is now called free choice in a daring display of doubl think.

U.S.O.E. guidelines, by enforcing Title VI, attempted to prevent this kind of evasion of the intent of Title IV. They insisted that gradualllsteps be taken to eliminate assignment of pupils on the basis of race. They tried to guard against many reported instances of intimidation and riolence against Negroes who exercised their right to an education free from racial discrimination. The guidelines are, in short, consistent with theobvious intent of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Moreover, they require only token and preliminary steps toward fulfilling that intent.

CONSTITUTTIONAL PROTECTION AGAINST RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

That the intend of Congress rightly understood is in harmony with judicial interpretations of constitutional protections since 1954 is equally clear. There has been no direct judgement on the guidelines but recent court comments indicate their consistency with the Constitution and judicial opinion. These are also "the law" and the guidelines hardly go beyond them. In fact, they lag behind many court orders.

In april, the Office of Education requested federal courts to change school desegregation orders to conform with the new guidelines. The fact that the bulk of city school districts in the South, including Atlanta, New Orleans, Miami, Jackson, Montgomery, Birmingham, Nashville, Charleston, Little Rock, and Richmond, were operating under court-approved desegregation plans made the request

important.

The New Orleans Times-Picayune reported on April 27 that the Justice Department has made a formal proposal for a uniform school desegregation order for federal courts and asked the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans to adopt it as a model in its many Negional cases. The proposed order generally followed the guidelines, calling for desegregation of all public school grades by the fall of 1967 under genuine "freedom-of-choice" plans. John Dear, head of the civil rights wing of the Justice Department, sub itted the proposal to the South's highest federal court. In emphasizing the need for a uniform plan, the Department cited 99 plans approved by district courts in the past 10 years that fell below federal requirements in the guidelines.

On May 31, the Supreme Court refused to hear an appeal by Jackson, Mississippi school officials, whose plea before the Fifth Circuit Court had prompted Appeals Judge John Minor Wisdom to comment that such cases "tax the patience of the court." In their appeal, school officials lamented that, if the Circuit Court decision were left standing, "it will result in a finding that there are no conditions or circumstances under whihh educators and administrators may ever take into consideration the racial characteristics and aptitudes regardless of the effect that such may have upon the education of the children or upon the educational system as a whole." Before the Circuit Court acted, U. S. District Judge Sidney Mize had ruled in favor of Negro plaintiffs, although he said that to desegregate schools "would substantially destroy the present levels of academic achievement in the school district." Mize said he was

bound by superior court decision on the issue of racial disparities and differences. (The Fifth Circuit in reversing a Georgia federal district court ruling in the famous Stell v. Savannah-Chatham County Board of Education, held that: "We do not read the major premise of the decision of the Supreme Court in the first Brown case as being limited to the facts of the cases there presented. We read it as proscribing segregation in the public education process on the stated ground that separate but equal schools for the races were inherently unequal. This being our interpretation of the teaching of that decision, it follows that it would be entirely inappropriate for it to be rejected or obviated by this court.) (RRLR II (1966) p. 178)

But Mize called for "a reappraisal and complete reconsideration" by the Supreme Court of its 1954 decision against racial segregation in public schools."

On August 16, the Fifth Circuit Court ruled that Mobile County, Alabama's school desegregation plan must be revised so that complete desegregation would beaccomplished by the fall of 1967. In so doing the Court held that the plan approved by federal district court to be "far short of the requirements of the law....Even as to those grades which, under the plan, have actually become desegregated, there is no true substance in the alleged desegregation. Less than two-tenths of 1 per cent of the Negro children in the system are attending white schools." In the decision the court called attention to the guidelines, adding, "This appeal....points up, among other things, the utter impracticability of a continued exercise by the courts of the responsibility for supervising the manner in which segregated school systems break out of the policy of complete

segregation into gradual stepxsof compliance....During the past 18 months pronouncements of this court have interpreted the Supreme Court's interim decisions as requiring considerably greater measures of desegregation. Thus a decision by a trial court 18 months ago is not likely to reflect the current law on the subject."

In the light of these court actions and others since 1954, the consistency of the guidelines with constitutional protection cannot be questioned.

THE GUIDELINES AND THEIR APPLICATION: AN EVALUATION

Do we need this section?

Glenda, Bob, or whoever

(Parts in Glenda's material marked - may be useful)

Re-capitulate comments about goal of guidelines; i.e. and of dual schools; evaluate relative to their being admittedly only a first step toward goals.

Elements that shoudd be discussed: lack of enforcement funds and staff, intimidation, free choiced reports of over-zealousness, use of % to measure change

IV. CONCLUSIONS

1. Southern educational and political establishment has successfully avoided desegregation in 1966 by diverting attention from their failure to end segregated dual systems to fears of forced racial balance.
2. Congress intended to end the discrimination inherent in dual school systems (see above) in Title IV & VI Civil Rights Acts of 1964 despite a prohibition of imposed racial balances. This prohibition presupposed de facto not de jure segregation. Hence it is not relevant in the South until de jure segregation ends.
3. The guidelines would not have ended dual schools even if perfectly applied and accepted; they were intended only as instruments for a significant beginning toward the goal of no racial discrimination. They would have made such a beginning if implemented. Desegregation only increased to_____this year. The guidelines were not fully implemented.
4. Political pressure on administrators, fear of white backlash, and confusion about the intent of Congress in Title IV have all weakened pressures for strong enforcement. Lack of enthusiasm for the guidelines by civil rights groups who though them too weak must also be considered.
5. The administration of the actual compliance process was_____. It was hampered by lack of staff and funds.
6. Above all, attention was returned to the proper focus, the end of discriminatory dual schoolssystems and the establishment of genuine freedom of choice - free from reprisal.

More than two decades ago, the civil rights movement set equality in education as a basic ~~xxxxx~~ goal. More than one decade ago, the

U. S. Supreme Court held that dual public school systems discriminating by race were unconstitutional on their face. After as long a time, it may be asked whether the persistence of segregation is not an important factor in the frustration of which civil strife is born. Are the anomic outbursts which the press calls riots essentially angry lamentations?

The fate of the 1966 guidelines is lamentable. "The slow undoing" of human rights cannot be observed with complete dispassion by anyone.

File Projects John Pecoul

John Pecoul

Table 1

FEDERAL PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PAYMENTS

Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1965

EXPENDITURES (In Thousands)

PROGRAM	TOTAL U.S.	SOUTH	% OF TOTAL U.S.
TOTAL FEDERAL FUNDS	$ 2,885,320	$ 867,325	30%
SPECIAL TYPES OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE			
Old-age assistance	1,323,352	538,079	40.7%
Medical assistance to aged	271,288	15,331*	5.7%
Aid to blind	46,872	18,598	39.7%
Aid to permanently and totally disabled	287,338	94,552	32.9%
Aid to families with dependent children	956,470	165,719	17.3%

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTING PROGRAM

SPECIAL TYPES OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE	100%	100%
Old age	45.9%	62.0%
Medical Assistance to aged	9.4%	1.8% *
Aid to Blind	1.6%	2.1%
Aid to permanent and totally disabled	10.0%	10.9%
Aid to families with dependent children	33.1%	19.1%

* No program: Georgia, Mississippi, Texas

Table 2

EXPENDITURE FOR PUBLIC ASSISTANCE FROM STATE FUNDS

(Amounts in Thousands)

	ALL 50 STATES	SOUTH	% OF ALL OTHERS
TOTAL FROM STATE FUNDS	$ 1,782,992	$ 251,941	7.1
SPECIAL TYPES OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE	1,578,963	244,933	15.5
Old-age assistance	632,653	168,106	26.6
Medical assistance for the aged	159,994	4,885	3.1
Aid to the blind	45,539	6,159	13.5
Aid to the permanently and totally disabled	177,295	28,314	16.0
Aid to families with dependent children	563,483	37,468	6.6
GENERAL ASSISTANCE	204,028	6,910	3.4

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION

TOTAL ~~STATE FUNDS~~)	100%	100%
SPECIAL TYPES OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE	88.6	97.3
Old-age assistance	35.5	66.8
Medical assistance for the aged	9.0	1.9
Aid to the blind	2.6	2.4
Aid to the permanently and totally disabled	9.9	11.2
Aid to families with dependent children	31.6	14.9
GENERAL ASSISTANCE	11.4	2.7

AGGREGATE EXPENDITURES FOR PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

(Federal, State, Local)

(In thousands)

	50 STATES & D.C.	SOUTH	% OF 50 STATES
TOTAL	$ 5,285,321	$ 1,150,925	21.8
SPECIAL TYPES OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE	4,903,394	1,133,481	23.1
Old-age assistance	2,042,572	748,886	36.7
Medical assistance to aged	523,694	20,979	4.1
Aid to blind	98,898	25,527	25.8
Aid to permanent and totally disabled	513,346	127,161	24.8
Aid to families with dependent children	1,724,883	209,801	12.2
GENERAL ASSISTANCE (Cases)	381,927	18,573	4.9

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTING PROGRAM

TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%
SPECIAL TYPES OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE	92.8	98.4
Old-age assistance	38.6	65.1
Medical assistance to aged	9.9	1.8
Aid to blind	1.9	2.2
Aid to permanent and totally disabled	9.7	11.1
Aid to families with dependent children	32.6	18.2
GENERAL ASSISTANCE	7.2	1.6

Table 3b

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY SOURCE OF FUNDS

100%	FEDERAL		STATE		LOCAL	
	U.S.	SOUTH	U.S.	SOUTH	U.S.	SOUTH
TOTAL	54.6	75.4	33.7	21.9	11.7	2.7
SPECIAL TYPES OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE	58.8	76.5	32.2	21.6	9.0	1.9
Old age assistance	64.8	71.9	31.0	22.4	4.2	5.7
Medical assistance to aged	51.8	73.1	30.6	23.3	17.6	3.6
Aid to blind	47.4	72.9	46.0	24.1	6.6	3.0
Aid to permanent and totally disabled	56.0	74.4	34.5	22.3	9.5	3.3
Aid to families with dependent children	55.5	79.0	32.7	17.9	11.9	3.1
GENERAL ASSISTANCE	....	....	53.4	37.2	46.6	62.8

Table 4

TOTAL WELFARE EXPENDITURES IN SOUTH BY STATE (In Thousands)

PROGRAM	ALL SO. STATES..	TEXAS	LA.	ALA.	GA.	FLA.	N.CAR.	KEN.	TENN.	ARK.	MISS.	VA.	S.CAR.
TOTAL:	$1,150,925	$227,590	$184,633	$112,910	$103,731	$100,803	$91,345	$82,866	$62,982	$61,990	$55,477	$34,399	$32,200
% OF SOUTH	100%	19.8%	16.1%	9.8%	9.0%	8.8%	7.9%	7.2%	5.5%	5.4%	4.8%	3.0%	2.8%
SPECIAL TYPES OF PUBLIC ASST.	1,133,481	224,216	179,440	112,899	102,849	97,856	89,418	82,289	62,427	61,579	55,245	32,579	31,555
OLD-AGE	748,886	193,450	133,255	91,178	62,759	58,108	31,610	42,650	29,566	45,139	34,641	10,198	16,332
MED. ASST. TO AGED	20,979	.....	1,078	892	.....	2,881	2,020	3,791	3,445	1,977	.....	2,319	2,576
AID TO BLIND	25,527	3,956	2,713	1,488	2,280	2,106	4,069	2,098	1,382	1,649	1,446	958	1,382
AID TO PERM. TOT. DISABLED	127,161	6,656	13,555	8,302	19,242	14,511	19,236	9,527	8,345	6,838	9,580	5,624	5,745
AID TO FAM. W DEP. CHILD.	209,801	20,153	28,839	11,039	18,568	20,250	32,482	24,224	19,690	5,977	9,579	13,480	5,520
GENERAL ASSISTANCE	18,573	3,374	5,193	11	882	2,946	1,927	576	556	411	232	1,820	645

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY PROGRAM

TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
SPEC. TYPES ASST.	98.4	98.5	97.2	99.9	99.1	97.1	97.9	99.3	99.1	99.3	99.6	94.7	98.0
OLD AGE	65.1	85.0	72.2	80.7	60.5	57.7	34.6	51.5	46.9	72.8	62.4	29.6	50.7
MED. AID AGED	1.8	.0	.6	.8	.0	2.9	2.2	4.6	5.5	3.2	....	6.7	8.0
BLIND	2.2	1.7	1.5	1.3	2.2	2.1	4.4	2.5	2.2	2.7	2.6	2.8	4.3
AID PERM. DISABLED	11.1	2.9	7.3	7.3	18.5	14.4	21.1	11.5	13.2	11.0	17.8	16.4	17.8
AID FAM W/DEPEND. CHILDREN	18.2	8.9	15.6	9.8	17.9	2.0	35.6	29.2	31.3	9.6	17.3	39.2	17.2
GENERAL ASSISTANCE	1.6	1.5	2.8	.1	.9	2.9	2.1	.7	.9	.7	.4	5.3	2.0

Table 5

FAMILES (%) BELOW $3000 (1960 CENSUS)

		PERCENTAGE	WHITE	NEGRO
U.S.	.4	21.4	18.6	47.9
SOUTH				
ALABAMA		39.1	29.6	67.8
ARKANSAS		47.7	41.0	79.5
FLORIDA		28.4	24.1	54.5
GEORGIA		35.6	25.7	67.7
KENTUCKY		38.8	36.7	57.7
LOUISIANA		35.6	24.2	65.8
MISSISSIPPI		51.6	34.4	82.9
N. CAROLINA		37.1	28.8	70.1
S. CAROLINA		39.5	24.5	77.0
TENNESSEE		38.3	34.2	63.8
TEXAS		28.7	25.2	57.6
VIRGINIA		27.9	13.7	54.1

file cc

Rough Draft for
Comment and Revision

John Pecoul

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE IN THE SOUTH

Make file
John Pecoul

THE FACT OF NEED.

More of the poor live in the South than in other regions of the United States. Approximately half live in the South.

The proportion of households trapped by poverty is larger in the South than in other regions. Almost one of every four is poor.

Within the South, the proportion of black households in poverty is more than twice that of the white households. 17.9% of 12 million white families is ppor as opposed to 58.3% of 2.3 million black families by the Orshansky index. 97 of the 100 poorest counties in the United States are in the South.

These economic facts must underg~~ind~~ any intelligent assessment of the scope and adequacy of present public assistance programs in the region. These facts are the unanimous conclusions of analysts of American poverty who use differing economic categories and differing statistical sources. Whether the Conference on Economic Program, the Social Security Administration, the President's Council of Economic Advisers, or the Bureau of Labor Statistics is the source for data and analysis, the conclusions are the same. Whether the poverty-line is defined as $300 or $400 or as a dependent variable of

family size, age, and farm residence after Mollie Orshansky or Alan Haber, the conclusions are the same. The South has more poverty overall, a higher rate of its occurrence, and the highest rate among its black people. (See also Table 8 and 9)

THE PLACE OF PUBLICE ASSISTANCE.

Public assistance in the South must be considered against this background. It is not the purpose of the present study to jointthe controversy over welfare policies. It is rather to provide an information for all participants in the debate and for whatever consensus finally emerges.

The perspective proposed here is that public assistance* --direct cash subsidy to those outside the work force in its present or emergent form as negative income tax or guaranteed annual income--provides a crucial floor for bare or hopefully comfortable subsistence without which any talk of self-help is a mockery. This perspective is important from two points of view. First, the current sophistication about poverty as a broad socio-cultural phenomenon has caused some to ignore the economic component. While it is clearly true that for many of the poor cash payments alone will not end poverty, it is equally true that better schools, health service, consumer education, housing and so forth will not buy food, clothing, or the simplest amenities on which joy, hope, self-pride and iniative thrive.

Second, while cash payments alone will not suffice for some of the poor, they will be sufficient to end poverty among those for whom deprivation is primarily or solely monetary. S. M. Miller argues persuasively that the majority of the poor are "stable", i.e. free from family or social pathologies and employed at steady but very low pay, low skill jobs.** Many of these stable poor need nothing more than direct cash aid for their children or their own old age - plus job re-training for themselves and good education for their children. The boost from this support should be enough to break the poverty cycle permanently for about half the American poor according to Miller.

Thus, both the need for a minimum subsistence and the possibility of ending poverty for so many "stable" poor require attention to the facts about cash payments now. What follows is primarily an examination of the status quo in public assistance. It initially leaves aside the more basic question of the adequacy of present programs in the South in order to discover precisely what the South is doing vis a vis its degree of need and its receipt of national resources.

WHAT IS SPENT IN THE SOUTH FOR PUBLIC ASSISTANCE.

21.8 % of all expenditures for public assistance payments in the U. S. in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1965 occurred in the South. (Table 1) While this reflects the South's having

25.9% of the U. S. population in 1960, it does not reflect adequate consideration of the concentration of the nation's poverty in the South and the high incidence of poverty within the region.

Among individual states Texas and Louisiana spend significantly more than all the others. The size of the Texas expenditure can be attributed to the size of the state. It is less impressive when considered on a per inhabitant basis (Table 3) or a rate per 1000 basis (Table 4).

The Louisiana expenditure is even more striking when either the size of the state, the number of recipients, the rate per 1000 population and the average payment per recipient or all of these is considered. (Tables 2-4) Prima facie, this state's program cannot be judged to be adequate simply because it is large relative to national as well as southern standards. That conclusion would require more investigation. That it is a questionable conclusion will be seen when the specific programs to which states allot their resources are considered. Nevertheless, the case of Louisiana is atypical of the South in the public assistance field. The roots can be traced to the atypical southern politics of the regime of Huey Long in which desirable social welfare programs served the political welfare of Mr. Long to the chagrin of both the more innocent liberals and the conservative business elite. The political function served by welfare in Louisiana today is another issue that would have to be investigated before conclusions could be drawn.

At the other end of the scale stand Virginia and South Carolina. (Tables 2-4) They are low by all the standards by which Louisiana is high. Total expenditures, degree of coverage, payment per recipient, and number covered are generally near or at the bottom of the region and the nation. Two notable exceptions occur in Virginia and thereby differentiate it from South Carolina. First, Virginia expends nore than twice as much overall for aid to dependent children than does South Carolina. It pays more per recipient to more families although its rate of coverage per 1000 is almost the same. (Table 4) Second, while Virginia assists those aged covered with higher payments, the degree of coverage per 1000 over age 65 is one-fourth that of South Carolina. (Table 4)

The other states fall in irregular patterns between the extremes of Louisiana and South Carolina. Alabama and Mississippi attract special comment because of their positions in total spending and their way of distributing funds. Mississippi's per inhabitant effort is relatively high although total spending ranks near the bottom just aheah of Virginia and South Carolina. (Tables 2 and 3) Mississippi is unique, however, in that its degree of coverage per 1000 children is highest in the south. Its coverage per 1000 over 65 ranks third, just below Louisiana and Alabama. At the same time, the average payments to the aged and to dependent children are the lowest in the region. Mississippi spreads its resources to give a little to many. Alabama acts similarly in aiding dependent children but aids the aged with highpayments and a degree of coverage per 1000 over 65 second only to Louisiana. The scope

of aid to the aged in Louisiana, Alabama, and Mississippi suggests the political utility of aid to the voting aged when contrasted with the meager aid to non-voting dependent children.

HOW THE SOUTH ALLOCATES PUBLIC ASSISTANCE RESOURCES

The contrast between aid to the aged and aid to dependent children is not limited to Louisiana, Alabama, and Mississippi. It is a regional pattern which is more pronounced in these states. (Table 1)

The percentage distribution by program reveals that both in the South and in the nation these two programs account for the great bulk of public assistance expenditures. (Table 1) With this, the similarity ends. Whereas in the nation as a whole, assistance to the aged uses 38.6% of all funds and aid to dependent children uses 32.6%, in the South the respective percentages are 65.1 and 18.2. The only southern states which approximate the national proportional distribution are North Carolina and Virginia, (Table 2) but their coverage per 1000 is very limited. (Table 4). The proportion given to the aged is above the regional average in Texas, Louisiana, Alabama, and Arkansas. The proportion given to dependent children is below the regional average in Texas, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, rkansas, Mississippi and South Carolina. (Table 2)

The relative proportions allotted to the aged and to dependent children are a point of controversy. Most critics

attack the national proportions as severly discriminatory against the needs of children and barely sufficient for the aged poor. If the national proportions can be called inequitable, those in the South can be called iniquitous. Remembering that the South includes two times as many poor as any other region, Burton Weisbrod's analysis of Social Security Administration statistics indicates the degree of need among children. In this country, there are 15 million poor under age. 18 in contrast to 1.5 million poor over age 65 according to the Orshansky indes.*** When it is considered that the number of recipients of public assistance to the aged was 2.1 million while the number of children aided was only 3.3 million,**** it can be concluded that public assistance does not begin to cover the vast 15 million child poor. Even those covered receive average monthly payments of only $33.83 in the nation as a whole. For the South, dependent children receive no higher than $25.55 in Kentucky and as low as $9.13 in Mississippi. (Table 4(That racial discrimination makes the burden of Negro children even more onerous than it is on white children is suggested by the findings of a study by the Georgia Council on Human Relations in cooperation with the Columbia University School of Social Work.

Clearly, the present system of aid to dependent children does not begin to deal with the scope of poverty in nation or region. While the aged poor may not be receiving sufficiently large payments, it does appear that most if not all of them are being aided. Most of the 15 million child poor go largely unhelped by public assistance. A bare 3.3 million of them

are aided negligibly as "dependent" and deserve more systematic and substantial aid if the developmental roots of poverty are to be severed. They are "dependent" upon a society which shuns them as illegitimate for being poor while refusing to acknowledge the illicit socio-economic intercourse which sired them.

The children-aged assistance proportions are not the only ones deserving comment, although they are the largest programs. Equally symptomatic they are the largest programs. Equally symptomatic of problems in the region's public assistance policies are the low allocations for medical assistance to the aged and general assistance. (Table 1) The South accounts for only 4.1% of the total national expenditures for medical aid to the aged under public assistance programs.***** It spends only 4.9% of the funds for general assistance, i.e. individual cases of special need determined by case-workers. Whereas in the nation a a whole, medical assistance to the aged receives 9.9% of all public assistance funds and general assistance receives 7.2%, in the south medical aid accounts for only 1.8% of all public assistance funds spent in the region and general assistance accounts for only 1.6%.

The implication ~~xhxx~~ here is twofold. First, Southern states have not availed themselves of available federal resources for medical aid probably because of non-discrimination conditions for full participation and because state funds are also required. Mississippi, and Texas had no programs at all. Others were very limited. (Table 2) Second, since there are

no federal funds for general assistance to special cases, most southern states have made no effort to fulfill their own responsibility. Only Louisiana makes a significan effort relative to its size. Texas spends less for a population three times as large. Both states have important revenue sources in their extensive petroleum deposits. The other states either do not have or have not allocated adequate or even minimal resources for casework. (Table 2)

SOURCES OF FUNDS

The discussion of resources for general assistance raises the question of source of funds. In general, the South is much more dependent on federal funds than is the nation as a whole. (Table 5) Further, local governments give proportions of aid in the South much smaller than in the nation except on general assistance. On this program, southern local governments compensate for deficiency of state government efforts. Also worthy of note is the extent to which federal funds subsidize the southern preference for aid to the aged over aid to dependent children. Consequently, 45.9% of all federal public assistance funds go for old age assistance. (Table 6) Also, the South accounts for 43.3% of all federal oldage assistance funds as opposed to 30% of all federal funds and only 21.8% of all public assistance funds--local, state, and federal. Once again a question occurs as to whether this would be so if children were voters like the aged. Finally, when state funds alone are considered, southern states spend considerably less than both their

population and their degree of poverty require. (Table 7)

CONCLUSION

1. As a whole and in almost all the individual states, public assistance expenditures in the south are below the national average in terms of total funds, amounts per inhabitant, average payment per recipient, and coverage per 1000 population in the given category for special assistance. Louisiana is an exceptiontto this regional pattern.

2. Expenditure of both federal and all public assistance funds in the south is not commensurate with the degree of need indicated by comparative statistics on poverty in region and nation. It appears to be more commensurate with population and hence voting strength and congressional representation.

3. The per recipient payments and number covered under aid to dependent children is woefully inadequate to the number of child poor in region and nation.

4. Southern states give a larger proportion of assistance to the aged than does the nation as a whole; they give a smaller proportion to aid dependent children.

5. Southern states avoided pre-medicare programms of aged-medical aid.

6. Southern states except Louisiana make little effort to aid cases of special need when compared with the nation.

7. Southern states depend much more on federal funds for public assistance programs than the nation as a whole.

* "Public assistance" as used here does not include Old Age Survivors, and Disability Insurance, unemployment compensation, job-retraining, and anti-poverty programs. It is primarily direct cash payments to individuals in special need under the federally subsidized state programs noted in Table 1 and under general assistance programs supported solely by states. General assistance is aid to the poor beyond what is covered by the special assistance program. They depend wholly upon the individual states and thus vary widely with the available resources and the commitments of the states.

** S. M. Miller, "The American Lower Classes: A Typological Approach", New Perspective On Poverty (ed. X/ Shostate and W. Gamberg (Englewood Cliffs, J. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965) p. 27.

*** Burton Weisbrod, "The Economics of Poverty". (Englewood Cliffs, J.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965)

****Division of Research, Bureau of Family Services, Dept. of Health, Education & Welfare: Statistics for June, 1965.

*****It should be noted that this analysis is based on the most recently available data i.e. the fiscal year ended June 30, 1965. Thus, it does not consider the effect of Medicare which began July 1, 1966.

Richard Dalks Report

See Research + Info (special file)

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE - TO WHAT END?

Introduction

Much criticism of public welfare stems from the need for a basic change, a redefinition -- a restructuring of the premises upon which the present basic welfare programs were built. This report originated from the belief that such a restructuring is necessary and holds the basic hypotheses that, first, the poorest and most needy persons of the United States are not receiving and would not receive, even with the fair administration of welfare regulations, aid commensurate with their need and, second, the relatively and absolutely small amount of expenditures for public assistance is due not to the lack of need but rather to harsh welfare qualifications and a lack of sincere concern for the needy.

In order to test these hypotheses, the 100 poorest counties[1] of the United States were chosen for investigation. These were felt to be areas in which public assistance would be most needed and in which both the faults and the assets of assistance would be most pronounced. Ninety-seven of the 100 counties were in the southern states[2]: one in both

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[1] The median family income of the counties is used as a measure of poverty in selecting these counties, since it seemed to indicate better the central characteristic of the population than did other possible measures.

[2] The three non-southern counties were: Wade Hampton, Alaska; Bethel, Alaska; and Adair, Oklahoma, with respective rankings from poorest to least poor of 12, 46, and 89.

Louisiana and Virginia; three in North Carolina; four in South Carolina; six in Texas, eight in both Arkansas and Alabama; nine in Georgia; 11 in Tennessee; 22 in Kentucky; and 24 in Mississippi. The welfare programs decided upon for use were primarily Old Age Assistance; Aid to the Blind; Aid to Families with Dependent Children; and Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled; and secondarily Medical Assistance to the Aged, and General Relief. Individual states' variations of these programs, such as Aid to the Aged for Old Age Assistance, Aid to Dependent Children for Aid to Families with Dependent Children, and General Assistance for General Relief, differ mainly in detail from those named as basic and are therefore included here in the basic programs. Since these programs for the major part of public assistance efforts and are fairly widespread, they obviously should cover most cases of need. Most basic data was drawn from the U. S. Census of population: 1960. There are so substantial reasons for questioning the relative validity of the figures obtained, though the concrete numbers used have undoubtedly changed. Information concerning the amount and distribution of public assistance was drawn from individual states' annual welfare reports and from regional offices of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW). Information concerning welfare regulations was drawn primarily from the latest (1964) edition of Public Assistance Report number 50, "Characteristics of State Public Assistance Plans Under the Social Security Act."

The investigation led to four major conclusions:

1. Need in the 100 poorest counties of the United States is extreme.
2. Public Assistance in the 100 poorest counties is totally inadequate to relieve existing need.
3. Not only is the total amount of public assistance expended inadequate for need, but the public assistance standards of living are also inadequate.
4. The qualifications necessary for the receipt of welfare work to restrict the number of recipients rather than to reach those in need.

Let us examine these conclusions one by one.

THE NEED IS EXTREME

Need in the 100 poorest counties of the United States is extreme. -- The median family incomes per year among the 100[3] counties ranged from a low of $1,260 in Tunica County, Mississippi ($1,740 below the generally accepted poverty level of $3,000[4] and $4,400 below the U. S. median family income), to a high of $1,956 in Atkinson County, Georgia ($1,044 below poverty level and $3,704 below the U. S. median family income). The percentage of unemployment of the civilian labor force in these counties ranged from 1.8 per cent in Robertson, Kentucky, to 21.3 per cent in Magoffin, Kentucky, with an overall median percentage of 4.9 per cent. Median unemployment for the entire nation was 5.1 per cent.[5]

(The U. S. Department of Commerce defines persons as employed if they are either (a) 'at work' -- those who did any work for pay or profit, or worked without pay for 15 hours or more on a family farm or in a family business; or (b) were 'with a job but not at work' -- those who did not

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3 While this report actually deals with only 97 of the 100 poorest counties, none of those omitted from comparison fall at the extreme rankings of either the poorest or the least poor. Because of the position of these counties, generalizations made concerning the 100 poorest were not felt to be prejudiced.

4 This $3,000 level of income seems still to be the basic and generally accepted definition of poverty though it is being constantly limited and expanded, and qualified and broadened.

5 Hereafter, all statistics concerning median family income will be noted merely as family income. Statistics identified as medians will generally refer to overall medians.

work and were not looking for work but had a job or business from which they were temporarily absent because of bad weather, industrial dispute, vacation, illness, or other personal reasons" [emphasis added].[6] By this definition, all sharecroppers, tenant farmers, many kinds of piece laborers, and unskilled workers in various services as well as industrial or other workers who have been on strike for several months or years, regardless of the amount of income earned or the constancy of the work done, may be counted as employed. While unemployment statistics are given in this report, it can be seen by the comparison of the median unemployment percentages of the 100 poorest counties and the United States that underemployment and not unemployment is the real problem.)

LOUISIANA AND VIRGINIA

Louisiana had one parish (county) among the 100 poorest; Tensas Parish ranked 32nd from the poorest in the nation in family income, $1,683. Seventy and nine-tenths per cent (1,836) of its families had an income of less than $3,000 per year, and unemployment stood at 4.9 per cent of the civilian labor force. Thirty-nine and one-tenths per cent (4.612 persons) of Tensas' population lived on farms.[7] Virginia also had one county in the poorest 100,

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[6] U. S. Census of the Population: 1960 Final Report, PC (1)-1C, p. xxviii.

[7] The U. S. Department of Commerce defines rural farm residents as "rural residents living on farms" -- "places of 10 or more acres from which sales of farm products amounted to $50 or more in 1959 or on places of less than 10 acres from which sales of farm products amounted to $250 or more in 1959." (U. S. Census of the Population: 1960 Final Report, PC (1)-1C, p. vii.)

Lee. Here the family income was $1,856 and unemployment was 10.0 per cent (634 persons). Sixty-nine and one-tenths per cent of Lee's families had an income of less than $3,000; 35.0 per cent lived on rural farms.

NORTH CAROLINA

North Carolina had three of the 100 poorest counties: Greene, Clay, and Tyrell, ranking 9, 90, and 92, respectively, with respective incomes of $1,451, $1,921, and $1,927. Unemployment rates were 5.0 per cent (237 persons), 9.8 per cent (154 persons), and 7.1 per cent (103 persons), respectively. The percentage of rural farm population varied from 31.9 per cent in Tyrell County to 61.9 per cent in Greene. Clay had 41.2 per cent. The families with incomes below $3,000 per year varied greatly in absolute numbers while staying fairly constant relatively, Greene having 2,444 families or 70.3 per cent, Clay having 971 families or 70.9 per cent, and Tyrell having 752 families, or 71.8 per cent.

SOUTH CAROLINA

South Carolina had four counties among the poorest: Williamsburg, ranking 24; Lee ranking 31; Calhoun ranking 49; and Clarendon, 98. Respective family incomes were $1,631; $1,680; $1,766, and $1,945. Unemployment ranged from 2.3 per cent (145 persons) to 7.5 per cent (701 persons).

The percentage of rural farm families ranged from 42.1 per cent (5,160) to 52.8 per cent (11,527). In these counties, the percentage of the families with an annual income of less than $3,000 had a median of 68.3 per cent; the range was 1.9 per cent.

TEXAS

Texas had six of the 100 poorest counties. These counties with these respective rankings were: Starr, 34; San Jacinto, 44; Zappata, 48; Kenedy, 63; Houston, 80; and Leon, 99. Family income ranged from $1,700 in Starr to $1,946 in Leon with a median of $1,803. The percentages of families with incomes below $3,000 had a low range of 5.9 per cent with a median of 67.6 per cent. The percentage of rural farm residents ranged from 5.0 per cent to 53.2 per cent with a median of 22.2 per cent. The greatest number of rural farm residents (3,836) were found in Houston County, where they comprised 19.8 per cent of the population.

ALABAMA

Eight Alabama Counties ranked in the nation's 100 poorest. They were: Lowndes, Greene, Wilcox, Bullock, Sumter, Perry, Hale, and Crenshaw, ranking 5, 6, 18, 19, 20, 29, 35, and 87, respectively, in descending order of poverty. The median family income of these families was $1,561. The median unemployment percentage was 4.6; the rural farm population, 36.3 per cent. Of these counties' families, a

median of 71.0 per cent had an annual income of less than $3,000.

ARKANSAS

Eight counties in Arkansas were among the poorest: Newton, Lee, Stone, Fulton, Sharp, Woodruff, Lincoln, and Madison, ranking 28, 39, 45, 76, 81, 82, 85, and 93, respectively. The family incomes in these counties ranged from $1,666 in Newton County, to $1,928 in Madison. The median family income was $1,894. Per cent unemployment ranged from 2.1 per cent to 6.1 per cent with a median of 4.2 per cent. Rural farm families composed 31.9 per cent of the families in Lincoln County to 55.9 per cent in Lee, with a median at 43.7 per cent. The per cent of families below a $3,000 income had a rather narrow range of 13.5 and a median of 69.6 per cent. The total number of families below this $3,000 standard was 13,953.

GEORGIA

The state of Georgia had nine of the 100 poorest counties. These, with their respective rankings, were: Webster, 23; Baker, 27; Early, 36; Taliaferro, 56; Burke, 67; Union, 75; Calhoun, 86; Dooly, 97; and Atkinson, 100. These counties had a better-than-average median family income of $1,855 per annum but a still high unemployment median of 4.8 per cent. The median rural farm population was 34.5 per cent and the percentage of families making less than $3,000

per annum was 68.5 per cent.

TENNESSEE

Eleven of the poorest 100 counties of the United States were in Tennessee. These counties with their respective rankings were: Fayette, 3; Hancock, 8; Jackson, 33; Clay, 37; Haywood, 52; Johnson, 54; Lauderdale, 64; Claiborne, 73; Hardeman, 84; Lake, 88; and Fentress, 96. The median family incomes ranged from $1,363 in Fayette County to $1,942 in Fentress with a median of $1,784. The median percentage unemployment was 3.8. Unemployment percentages ranged from 2.5 to 8.4. The percentage of families living in rural farm locations had a wide range of 52.2 per cent with a median of 54.8 per cent. In these poorer counties, the percentage of families with incomes of less than $3,000 had a range of only 12.1 per cent and a median of 69.2 per cent.

KENTUCKY

Kentucky had 22 counties included in the 100 poorest. Family incomes ranged from $1,324 in Owsley County to $1,939 in Adair County. The overall median was $1,818. Unemployment ranged from 1.8 per cent in Robertson County to 21.3 per cent in Magoffin County with a median of 6.5 per cent. Kentucky contained both unemployment percentage extremes for the poorest counties. The percentage of families living on rural farms ranged from 8.9 per cent in McCreary to 70.8 per cent in Metcalf with a median of 52.1 per cent. The range of percentage of families with an income of less than

$3,000 was narrow, 17.7 per cent, with a median of 72.1 per cent.

MISSISSIPPI

The state of Mississippi had the largest number of poorest counties -- 24. The median income of these counties was $1,760. One was under $1,300 per year, five were under $1,500, and 17 under $1,800. Unemployment ranged from 2.7 per cent in Kemper County to 8.5 per cent in Bolivar. The median unemployment percentage was 4.9. The percentage of persons living and working on farms, rural farm residents, had a surprising range for an agricultural areas of from 20.8 per cent in Claiborne County to 64.8 per cent in Benton. The percentage of families with an income of less than $3,000 had a small range of 13.5 per cent with a very high median of 69.9 per cent. The highest percentage was 77.8 per cent (2,700 families) found in Tunica, Mississippi.

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE IS INADEQUATE

Public assistance in the 100 poorest counties is totally inadequate to relieve existing need. --Whether or not assistance is adequate for the existent need depends largely upon the definitions of the terms "adequate" and "need". In the context of this report, each of these terms has two possible meanings. "Need" may refer to a family's having an annual income of less than $3,000, or it may refer to a family's having less than a particular state's definition of need. (That which is adequate may be that which fulfills the need or that which fulfills a majority of the need.) When the poorest counties are spoken of, the choice of definitions is of little importance. These 100 counties have a median of 70.4 per cent of their families with income of less than $3,000. Of the standards which each state sets for its welfare programs, levels of income below which the individual or family is considered needy, only North Carolina was able to pay 100 per cent in all of its programs.

A LOOK AT THE STATES' EFFORTS

Louisiana made the fourth greatest effort in the nation in public assistance according to 1965 HEW figures. (See Table 1.) Even with this effort, however, in January, 1965, the state was able to provide only $82 of the $123 standard it set for the aged woman on Old Age Assistance, 66.7 per

cent of the standard. For a typical family on Aid to Families with Dependent Children, a woman, a boy aged 14, a girl aged 9, and a girl aged 4, who were living in rented quarters, the state could pay only $108.00 of a $164.75 standard which it set, 65.5 per cent of the standard.[8]

For the fiscal year of 1965, Virginia made the smallest effort of any state of the nation for public assistance. (See Table 1.) Although figures for the actual number of welfare recipients are not available, the Virginia welfare program is able to provide 100 per cent of what it defines as a minimum standard of living in its Old Age Assistance, Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled, and General Relief programs. It provided 90 per cent or 100 per cent, depending upon the funds of the local agencies, of what it considered a minimum standard for its Aid to Families with Dependent Children program. For the two member assistance group, two related persons who are both eligible for assistance, basic needs are set at $74 for APTD and OAA. For a four-member assistance group under AFDC, a mother and three children ages 15, 11, and 5, basic needs are $108 at 90 per cent of need and $120 at 100 per cent of need. A

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8 Although the states of HEW Region IV, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee, have now discontinued the practice of allowing differential amounts of aid for AFDC recipients depending upon whether the children are under 2 years of age, between 2 and 7, between 8 and 13, or between 13 and 18, Louisiana continues the practice. Whether or not this practice is continued in Texas, Arkansas, Kentucky, Virginia, and North Carolina was not determined.

maximum of $75 is allowed for shelter and utilities. Basic needs for two blind adults are set at $93, with the additional $75 for shelter and utilities. These are standards, amounts allowed those qualifying as completely needy. Virginia's actual state average for Old Age Assistance recipients last year was $73.39. For Aid to Families with Dependent Children recipients, it was $111.94 per family. For General Relief recipients, it was $53.95.

Adequate assistance is not available in the three poorest counties of North Carolina. The state is able to pay the full standard of living it sets in the various programs, but these standards are very low. A family of four receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children is entitled to $84 for basic needs, and a maximum of $60 for shelter and utilities. A single aged or disabled adult is allowed $34 for basic needs; an aged or disabled couple is allowed $57; a blind couple is allowed $81. The amount allowed for shelter and utilities in each of these cases is $60. The median amount spent per case per month in the North Carolina Old Age Assistance program for these three counties was $47.19. In the AFDC program, it was $84.07.[9]

South Carolina sets a standard for an elderly adult living alone under the Old Age Assistance program at $77.55 per month. Of this standard, funds permit the payment of a

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9 In North Carolina the Aid to the Blind program is headed by an agency separate from Public Welfare. The state average payment per recipient per month last year was $27.97 in the AB program.

maximum of $75 per recipient. For an elderly couple, the standard is $102.80. A maximum exists of $150. Here the $77.55 and the $102.80 are for basic needs. The additional money of the maximum is allowed for nursing care, custodial care, and housekeeping services when these are required. For blind adults and couples, assistance is available at about the same rate as it is for the aged. For the mother and three children in the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program, South Carolina sets a standard of $155.80. Of this it is able to pay $77. The maximum amount payable for any case, regardless of the number of children or the need of the family, is $99.00.

According to January, 1965, HEW figures on Texas welfare, Texas set a standard of living - that level of income below which the individual was felt to be in need - of $82 for an average Old Age Assistance case, an elderly woman keeping house alone in rented quarters. The state was able to provide 100 per cent of this amount. Of a standard of living of $153.95 for the average case on Aid to Families with Dependent Children, a woman and three children, ages 14, 9, and 4, respectively, the state was able to provide $98, in effect, 63.7 per cent. The median amount per case per month of the actual expenditures in the OAA program for the past year in the poorest counties was $59.77. For the AFDC program, it was $87.85.

The latest HEW figures from Revion IV indicate that the

Alabama standard of living for a single adult living alone under the Old Age Assistance program is $124.85. Of this standard, Alabama pays a maximum of $82. For an elderly couple, the state sets the standard of $199.30. Of this standard, it is able to pay a maximum of $164. For a typical case on Aid to Families with Dependent Children, consisting of a mother and three children, the state sets a standard of $177.00. For this family, the state can pay a maximum of $81. The maximum for a family of any size and need is $127. In percentages, Alabama is able to provide 66 per cent of what is declared minimal for the aged individual. For the aged couple, it is able to provide 82 per cent, and for the dependent family, less than 46 per cent of the need.[10] In actual expenditures, the median expenditure per case per month for the OAA program of Alabama in the poorer counties was $65.93. For the AFDC program, the median expenditure was $51.84.

According to the Arkansas Department of Public Welfare Manual, updated December 15, 1966, each eligible person for Aid to the Aged, Blind, and Disabled, AABD, can get a maximum of $81 per person for food, clothing, personal supplies, and medical supplies. Each eligible case for Aid to Families with Dependent Children can receive a maximum of $45 per adult

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10 While figures for Aid to the Blind and Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled were not available, payments for the programs generally run the same as Old Age Assistance payments or a few dollars, $3, to $8, higher each month.

per case and $25 per child per case. The maximum payment for Aid to the Aged, Blind, and Disabled and Aid to Families with Dependent Children recipients' basic and other needs is $174.

HEW figures indicate that as of January, 1965, Arkansas was able to pay 88 per cent of the Old Age Assistance standard which it set and only 57.3 per cent of the standard which it set for Aid to Families with Dependent Children. A median expenditure for OAA per case per month of $66.93 was made in the poorer counties of Arkansas during the past year.

For the state of Georgia, the standard for the single elderly adult living alone is $87.25. Of this amount, the state is able to pay $80, 92 per cent of the standard. For an elderly couple, living alone, the state standard is $141.30. Of this amount the state has a maximum of $100, 71.0 per cent of the standard. Aid to the Blind and Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled standards and payable amounts, which were unavailable, run about the same as Old Age Assistance. The Georgia Aid to Families with Dependent Children standard for a woman with three children is $197.60. Of this amount, the state is able to pay a maximum of $125.63 per cent of the standard. The state is able to pay an overall AFDC maximum of $154.00. This amount is for any number of children. Georgia's actual payments in the OAA program per case per month for the past year had an average of $60.69.

The Aid to Families with Dependent Children program averaged $89.66.

For the single aged adult living alone under Tennessee's Old Age Assistance program, a standard of $92 is set. Tennessee is able to pay 98 per cent of its standard, $90, which is the highest absolute amount actually paid in Region IV. For the OAA case of an elderly couple living alone with both eligible, a standard is set by the state of $129. The state maximum payment for this case is $180. For a family of four, the standard is set at $198. Of this, the state of Tennessee is able to pay $120. A maximum, regardless of family size and need, is set at $150. In both the specific cases given and in the overall maximum, Tennessee provides more welfare than does Alabama, Mississippi, or South Carolina. In the past year, the median average amount actually paid in the poor counties per case per month to OAA recipients was $61.01. For Aid to Families with Dependent Children recipients, the median average was $98.40.

According to the latest HEW data, Kentucky sets a standard of $79 for an elderly woman living alone in rented rural quarters and $94 for the same recipient when living in urban quarters under Aid to the Aged, Blind and Disabled. For a woman living alone with three children ages 15, 11, and 5, respectively, in rented rural quarters, Aid to Families with Dependent Children sets a standard of $173. The same case in urban quarters has a standard of $189. Of these standards,

the AFDC program is able to provide $150 and $162, respectively.

For the single adult living alone, Mississippi sets the standard of living at $101.32. Of this standard, the state is able to provide $50. This is approximately 49%. The situation for the elderly couple is a little better. Mississippi sets the standard at $151.35. Of this, it is able to provide a maximum of $100 or 66 per cent of the standard. For the mother and three children in the Mississippi Aid to Families with Dependent Children program, the state set the standard of living at $194.09, and of this standard, it is able to pay a maximum of $50 -- 26 per cent of the standard. The state maximum for any family on AFDC is $90.

THE TWIN FAILURE: LITTLE HELP, LOW STANDARDS

Not only is the total amount of public assistance expended inadequate for need, but the public assistance standards of living are also inadequate. -- The standards for an aged adult living alone in rented urban quarters range from South Carolina's,$77.55, to Alabama's $124.85. Texas sets a standard of $82.00; Arkansas, $83.00; Georgia, $87.25; Tennessee, $92.00; North Carolina, $94.00; Kentucky, $94.00; Mississippi, $101.32; Virginia, $115.00; and Louisiana, $123.00. This amounts to a range of annual income for the single aged adult of from $930 to $1,476.

According to the latest available figures, for the elderly couple living alone in rented quarters with both eligible, the range is from that of South Carolina, $102 to that of Alabama, $199.30. North Carolina sets a standard of $117; Tennessee, $129; Kentucky, $134; Texas, $138; Georgia, $141; Arkansas, $144; Virginia, $149; Mississippi, $151.35; and Louisiana, $191. These standards amount to a range of annual income of from $1,224 to $2,391.60.

Data on the specific states' standards for Aid to the Blind and Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled recipients' was unavailable. These standards are usually, however, only $5 to $10 higher than the standards of the Old Age Assistance recipients.

For the Aid to Families with Dependent Children case of a woman with three children, one between the ages of 2 and 6, one between the ages of 7 and 12, and one between the ages of

13 and 18, standards of living range from that of Arkansas at $124 to that of Tennessee at $198. North Carolina sets a standard of $144; Texas, $153.95; South Carolina, $155.80; Louisiana, $164.75; Alabama, $177; Kentucky, $189; Mississippi, $194.09; Virginia, $195; and Georgia, $197.60. These standards amount to a range of annual income from $1,488 to $2,376.

State welfare standards of living are the states' judgments as to what constitutes poverty. These are standards up to which each state attempts to bring all of its residents. Insofar as the standards are levels to which all persons will hopefully rise, they are ideals. Of great significance is that no state seen here has established $3,000 as the level of poverty - the level set by the federal government - and many have established it <u>much</u> lower.

EIGHT WAYS TO EXCLUDE THE NEEDY AND KEEP WELFARE ROLLS LEAN

The qualifications necessary for the receipt of welfare work to restrict the number of recipients rathern than to reach those in need. -- An examination of various qualifications necessary for the receipt of welfare by category by states shows this structured self-restrictipn:

a. Age limitations - While generally set up to prevent the overlapping of welfare programs, the age limitations placed upon recipients in some of the states deny aid to the needy. All of the states investigated require a minimum age of 65 years to qualify for Old Age Assistance. Recipients of Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled must be over 18 and under 65. Kentucky, which places all of its adult programs in one category, Aid to the Aged, Blind and Disabled, has no upper limit. It must be assumed that at the age of 65, Kentucky recipients are reclassified with no change to their benefits. The state of Tennessee changes the upper limit from 65 to 66, i.e., recipients are eligible through their 65th year. Six of the states investigated (Kentucky, Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia) make no provisionsfor the age of Aid to the Blind recipients. Three states, Alabama, Arkansas, and Georgia, limit recipients to those who are 16 or over. Mississippi makes no provisions for age but requires that recipients under the age of 18 be attending either a school for the blind or a public school if the child is capable of attendance. Texas limits its Aid to the Blind recipients to 21 years of age or older. The 16

and 18 year age limitation seems at first to be of little importance since these might be thought to qualify for Aid to Families with Dependent Children. The blind do not, however, qualify for AFDC. Children under the ages of 16 and 18 must be cared for entirely by their parents and/or family. The states apparently feel that a blinddchild is no more trouble to care for than is a perfectly normal one. Children are assumed only to become problems when they turn 17 or 19. Texas' limitation of Aid to the Blind recipients to 21 years of age or over is one of the most stringent of all of the welfare qualifications.

Six states; Alabama, Arkansas, Kentucky, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee, limited recipients to under 16 years or if in school under 18 years. Georgia and Texas limited their recipients to those under 16 years of age. It would seem from the example of Louisiana, Mississippi, and Virginia, that the 18 year requirement is set to correspond with graduation from high school. After this time presumably the child is prepared for independence from parental supervision. If this age limit is made to correspond with the completion of high school, Georgia and Texas effectively discourage individuals from completing high school.

b. <u>Citizenship limitations</u> - Of the 11 states' 44 programs investigated, five programs require a welfare recipient to be a citizen of the United States. South Carolina requires its Old Age Assistance recipients to be citizens. Texas requires citizenship of its Old Age Assistance, Aid to the Blind, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, and Aid

to the Permanently and Totally Disabled recipients. The southern areas of Texas use vast numbers of seasonal agricultural laborers. Many of these laborers are Mexican-Americans. Without the welfare citizenship requirement, Texas apparently assumes that needy laborers, the majority of them, would flood the assistance rolls. Texas overlooks the fact that only a small number of these workers would have to receive assistance if adequately paid for their labor.

c. Residency limitations - Residency requirements effect, in all likelihood, the most severe restriction of the needy from aid. Only five of the 44 programs have no residency requirements. South Carolina makes no provision for residency for Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled recipients. Kentucky requires merely that welfare recipients in the Aid to the Aged, Blind and Disabled and Aid to Families with Dependent Children programs be living in the state at the time of application. Six states, Alabama, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, and Tennessee, require that the recipient have spent continuously one year immediately preceding application in the state. This is commonly known as the one-year durational residency requirement. Georgia requires durational residency of one year. This year may, however, have been spent up to one year before the application was made. Old Age Assistance recipients in Arkansas must meet the one year durational residency requirement as well as the requirement of having lived for

three of the last five or five of the last nine years preceding application in the state. Texas and Louisiana allow the recipient no choice. For Old Age Assistance, the recipient must have lived the duration of the year immediately preceding application in the state as well as a total of five of the last nine years immediately preceding the application.

Residency requirements for the Aid to the Blind programs are a little less stringent. (Kentucky and Mississippi merely require the recipient to be in the state at the time of application. Alabama, North Carolina, Virginia, and Tennessee have the one-year durational requirement. South Carolina requires the one-year durational residency or the recipient must have been made blind while in the state and must have been in the state when the bill concerning residency was passed. Arkansas' requirement concerning AB residency is similar to its Old Age Assistance requirement, i.e., the recipient must have spent in the state either three or the last five years, or five of the last nine years, as well as continuously the year immediately preceding application. The AB recipient may also meet the requirement if he lost his sight while in the state. Louisiana also has the stipulation that an individual who lost his eyesight while in the state may be considered as meeting the residency requirement. Otherwise, the Louisiana recipient has to have spent five of the last nine years in the state as well as having continuously spent the year immediately preceding application in the state.

Texas makes no stipulation about having lost eyesight in the state. In order to receive Aid to the Blind in Texas, the recipient must have lived for five or the last nine years in the state as well as continuously the year preceding application. None of the residency requirements reveal more clearly attempts to exclude the needy than in the residency requirements for AB.

Texas, Arkansas, and Louisiana almost say that they will take care of their own or those who happen to become blind in the state, but that any other needy blind are not welcome and will not receive aid. South Carolina's Aid to the Blind residency requirement borders on the absurd. The AB recipient must have met the one-year durational requirement or he must have lost his sight while in the state <u>and</u> have been in the state at the time the bill was passed. Apparently South Carolina feels that individuals would go to the extreme of putting out their eyes in order to receive AB, which in South Carolina is approximately $75 per month.

Residency requirements for the Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled program do little to weaken the feeling that the needy are unwelcome. While South Carolina has no residency provision for the disabled, Kentucky requires that the applicant only be in the state at the time of application. Five states, Alabama, Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia, have the one-year durational requirement immediately preceding application. Georgia has the one-year

durational residency not necessarily immediately preceding application. Arkansas has its three of the last five, or five of the last nine years requirement as well as the one-year durational requirement.

Most states' Aid to Families with Dependent Children programs require that either the child or the parent of the dependent child meet the one-year durational residency. Many allow this requirement to be fulfilled by a near relative with whom the child is living if the parent is not living with the child. Alabama and Louisiana allow payments to mothers of unborn children if the mother meets the one-year durational residency requirement. Two other states, Georgia and Kentucky, make no durational residency requirement upon AFDC applicants. AFDC residency requirements are fairly uniform.

d. Definitional limitations - Limitation of the number of qualified applicants for welfare is extremely varied, ranging from tight to extremely stringent. Limitation by definition does not occur in Old Age Assistance, since all persons 65 and over are eligible. More than minimal limitation does not occur in Aid to the Blind. Most states define blindness as having visual acuity of no better than 20/200 in the better eye with correcting glasses. A field defect in which the widest diameter of visual field subtends at an angular distance no greater than 20 degrees may also meet the definition of blindness in a few states.

The limitation of recipients of Aid to the Permanently

and Totally Disabled by definitions is in several states extreme. Mississippi's limitation is not so much in definition as in the proof of the disability. HEW Public Assistance Report #50 says that Mississippi defines a disability as, "Physical or mental impairment, or a combination of impairment, which is expected to continue and which subsequently prevents [the recipient] from engaging in useful work that is within his competency and that exists in community in which he lives. Permanent and total disability must both exist and must be determined by substantiated medical findings together with complete and specific social information on the patient." (~~Italics~~ Emphasis added).[11] Mississippi is the only state investigated which requires "complete and specific social information" on a patient with a physical disability. Texas does not require the social information but sets the definition of the actual disability so tightly that only those who should have the type of care found only in a nursing home can qualify. Report #50 shows Texas' definition of a permanent and total disability as being a "physical or mental impairment, disease, or loss which is irreversible or progressive and not amenable to ordinary treatment; renders the person completely invalid so that he is helpless or is bedfast, chairfast, or requires considerable

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[11] Characteristics of State Public Assistance Plans Under the Social Security Act," Public Assistance Report No. 50, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D. C., 1964 edition, p. 58.

help in locomotion from others; and impairment renders him unfeasible for vocational rehabilitation."[12] Limitation by definition in Aid to Families with Dependent Children is also varied. One of the areas of limitation is in determining when a child is deprived of parental support. Most states merely require continued absence from the home. Apparently this is not for any specified number of days. In Louisiana, however, the parent must be away for at least 90 days before the child can be considered as non-supported. In Mississippi, "absence due to desertion or non-support must have existed for six months unless under specified conditions affecting the absent parent."[13] In these states, the family must manage to survive for three or six months before the departments will consider their need.

Individual states' definitions of non-support are varied. Many states say that not only must the father have deserted the family, but that there must be no individual who can act as a substitute for the father, particularly in regard to support. This stipulation, known as the "man-in-the-house ruling," is often extended locally to cover almost any male acquaintance of the mother. Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia, all require that the child be living in a suitable home. That which is

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12 Ibid., p. 98.

13 Ibid., p. 58.

suitable is that which meets state standards of care and health. This requirement seems, unfortunately, to also be characteristic of the South's concept of public welfare. It sets up a state standard of what constitutes suitable health and care and ignores the fact that it is precisely those who are most extremely deprived whose home will be the most likely not to measure up to the standard. Theoretically, then, such regulations could produce a situation in which a child or family with some financial ability is eligible for aid, but make ineligible for aid a family who is totally destitute.

e. Need limitations - No state allows the highest possible amount exempt from personal income as allowed in the Social Security Act by Amendments of 1965. Many allow little more than that which is mandatory. The Social Security Act allows states to disregard as much as $5 of any income and of the first $80 additional earned income no more than $20, plus one-half of the remainder, in determining need for Old Age Assistance recipients. Of the states investigated, Alabama, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas, disregard no income for OAA recipients. Virginia disregards a flat $10 per month of earned income. Arkansas, Georgia, Kentucky, and Louisiana disregard, of the first $50 of earned income, the first $10 plus one-half of the remainder. (Public Assistance Report #50 is dated 1964. Since this time, state allowances may have been changed.) Of the

total amount which the states may disregard for Aid to the Blind recipients in all of thesstates investigated, only that amount which was mandatory is disregarded, i.e., the first $85 of earned income plus one-half of the earned income in excess of the first $85. Income which may be disregarded is that which the individual may need for a plan for achieving self support approved by the state agency. In the Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled programs, states may disregard no more than $20 of the first $80 or earned income and up to one-half of the remainder of the first $80 earned income. States may also disregard income during the time in which the individual is undergoing vocational rehabilitation. Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia allow no disregard of income. Texas states that, "consideration must be given to income from legally responsible relatives who are financially able to support."[14] No state actually disregards any income of the APTD recipients. The Social Security Act also allows the state to disregard up to $50 of earned income for each child under 18 years of age in Aid to Families with Dependent Children up to $150 per household and no more than $5 of any other income. Only North Carolina and South Carolina allow any income to be disregarded in AFDC.

f. Property and income limitations - Property and

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14 Ibid., p. 98.

income limitations on recipients vary greatly throughout the states investigated. The items limited and the strictness of limitations vary. Generally, however, recipients of all programs in all states are limited severely as to the amount of property they are allowed to have in order to qualify for assistance. Louisiana limits Old Age Assistance and Aid to the Blind recipients to a total value of property of $1,500 for an individual and $2,500 for a couple. Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled and Aid to Families with Dependent Children recipients' property value, excluding that used as a home, is limited to $400 if the recipient has no dependents, $600 if he has one dependent, and $800 if he has two or more dependents. Virginia's limitations in this area are restrictive. HEW Report #50 states the following as being Virginia's regulations concerning this limitation. "There are no statutory limits on the value of real property owned and occupied as home. Other real property, if non-productive, must be liquidated if possible. Sale value of income-producing personal property, if non-productive, is considered a resource. Cash assets may not exceed $300 for each assistance unit, including cash surrender value on insurance with face value in excess of $1,000. Recipients may own household equipment and furniture, but the ownership of non-essential automobile disqualifies. The recipient cannot have signed or transferred property within five years immediately preceding application in order to qualify.[15]

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[15] Ibid., p. 106.

(Emphasis added.) This same requirement is held for applicants of Aid to the Blind. The provision concerning transfer or assignment of property prior to application is excluded in APTD and AFDC.

Discouragement from applying is clearly seen in Old Age Assistance, for income-producing but non-productive property includes tools and machinery acquired by the skilled worker or artisan who is unable temporarily to use them. The provision concerning the assignment or transferral of property aimed directly at eliminating those persons with significant financial resources can also easily eliminate persons who have owned property which they were unable to use but which disqualified them for assistance.

North Carolina includes in its limitations "savings, cash value of insurance, bonds, and other cash reserves, or real property not used as a home."[16] All of this is limited to $500. Included are machinery and buildings which the individual or family might own, such as a sewing machine, wheelbarrow, shed, or washing machine. Poverty must be extensive to be even considered for aid in this Old Age Assistance program. In the Aid to the Blind program, the home and income producing property may be kept. All other real property that is not income producing, however, must be liquidated within a year or "proved to be unsaleable."[17]

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16 Ibid., p. 76.

17 Ibid., p. 76.

The $500 limit for the individual is still applicable though real property other than the home is not included in the figuring of the reserves.

South Carolina's property limitations are also rather strict. Old Age Assistance, Aid to the Blind, and Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled recipients may own a home. "Other real property is considered in determining eligibility in each individual case. Personal property is limited to $500 for an individual plus $300 for the spouse. If neither has savings, the other may retain savings up to $800 for use by both as a burial fund, which may not be used for current living expenses. Each dependent group may retain insurance with face value of $1,000 regardless of loan or surrender value. If insurance is more than $1,000 face value, loan or surrender value may not exceed $750. A combination of insurance loan value and cash savings may not exceed the amount allowed for savings. Applicants may not have transferred property in order to qualify." Aid to Families with Dependent Children recipients have the same property limitations except that the applicant is limited to a total savings for dependent group of $800 which may not be used for living expenses.

Texas' Old Age Assistance recipients may own a homestead, defined as both a home and a small amount of land, and have less than $1,500 (for a couple, $2,500) of non-income producing property. No individual may have transferred

property to become eligible for welfare. These requirements also apply to Aid to the Blind recipients. Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled and Aid to Families with Dependent Children recipients are limited to 50 acres in their homestead; the homestead must also provide shelter.

The tone of Alabama welfare is evident in its Old Age Assistance program property limitations. A single recipient or couple is limited to a home value of $2,500 or less, and may retain a reserve of other property, real or personal, worth up to $1,000. The recipient or recipients may not in the past year have disposed of a homestead valued at more than $2,500 in order to become eligible for welfare. If the applicant is found to have disposed of a homestead within this time and is denied welfare because of this, he is ineligible for consideration for welfare for one year from the date of refusal of welfare unless "destitute and a community problem."[18] (Emphasis Added.) Similar limitations are placed upon Aid to the Blind recipients although they have home property disregarded and may have other real property valued at up to $5,000 and other reserves up to $1,200. Alabama's Aid to Families with Dependent Children property limitations are the same as the OAA ones.

Arkansas' major limitation placed upon property is that the home property is "limited to a market value of from

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18 Ibid., p. 8.

$4,500 to $6,500 depending upon location."[19] When the price per acre of land and the price of even the most simple houses, particularly in urban areas, are taken into consideration, this requirement is not as lenient as it may seem. Georgia recipients of Old Age Assistance, Aid to the Blind, and Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled have the value of home property disregarded. Other real and personal property is limited to $800. An automobile of a value over $1,000 disqualifies the applicant. If the applicant has transferred property within the past two years, he is considered ineligible for the period of time which the property income would have taken care of his need. Aid to Families with Dependent Children recipients have the same limitations except that property transferral limitation is lifted. Tennessee's property limitations are similar to those discussed although recipients are allowed a home property of a value of $5,000, if the property is unencumbered, and $7,000 if the property is encumbered. The owner's equity may not exceed $5,000. Kentucky disregards home property value and limits other income to $500 and a burial fund of not more than $1,000 or a cash surrender of a life insurance policy of not more than $1,000. Mississippi limits property to a home valued at $2,500 if owned by an individual, or $5,000 if owned by a group, less encumbrances. Other real property and personal property is limited to $500 for the

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19 Ibid., p. 14.

individual and $800 for a person with dependents. Essentially, the same limitations exist for AFDC recipients.

g. Other limitations - Other restrictions which are placed on the recipients of welfare are generally few but are among the most onerous of those existing in welfare. Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Texas all have some requirement which forces parents or relatives responsible for a child or children to accept "suitable work" if the work is available. "Work" in the various states differs. No state, however, draws distinct lines between what is and is not suitable. Mississippi states that the parent must accept employment if physically able and work is available, under certain specified conditions. While these conditions usually pertain to the care of children while the parent is at work, the work which the parent must accept is not specified. Here a tremendous amount of ambiguity exists and in the past has been a point of much discriminatory treatment. What white welfare workers regard as "suitable" work for Negroes may well be regarded as unsuitable for whites, for example, chopping cotton, twelve hours a day at the accepted pay rate of $3.00 a day. Work which the parent is able to do may be more expensive in terms of energy and time than it can be possibly worth to his family. The expense is often not taken into account.

One curious limitation which is placed on North Carolina Aid to the Blind recipients is that the applicant may not be

soliciting alms at the time of his application for aid. If he is, he is declared ineligible.

Restriction of the number of welfare recipients does not come entirely from welfare regulations. Some states have laws which are less easy to uncover, but often more effective restrictions. Mississippi, for example, now requires the fine or imprisonment of up to 90 days of the parent of a second illegitimate child. Subsequent conviction carries a fine of up to $500 and imprisonment of up to six months. A similar Louisiana law sets the fine at up to $1,000, and imprisonment at up to one year, (Miss. Code Ann., Title II, §2018.6; La. Code Ann. 14:81, §79.2.) The relation here to welfare, of course, is indirect, but nonetheless real. A mother seeking aid for her dependent child must state the father's name. Where the child is illegitimate, she is making herself liable for imprisonment by telling the truth, as required by law.

h. Recoveries, liens, and assignment limitations - The recovery of aid, while existing in only four of the states investigated, in three of these states are so set up as to discourage any needy person from applying for welfare. Tennessee states that "payments made to an abandoned or deserted wife or dependent child shall be recoverable against the husband or parent as a debt due the state."[20] While a provision such as this is defensible on the grounds that a

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20 Ibid., p. 97.

family is the responsibility of parents, the much more extensive provisions of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia are not. North Carolina makes a provision for the recovery after death of all assistance given through Old Age Assistance. HEW Report #50 states that "receipt of assistance after October 1, 1951, creates a general lien on real property owned by recipient and a claim against him and his estate. May not be satisfied while property is occupied as homesite by recipient, surviving spouse, minor dependent child, or dependent adult child, if such person is incapable of self-support because of total mental or physical disability. Recoveries are mandatory."[21] (Emphasis added.) South Carolina also makes a provision for the recovery of OAA. Recovery is, however, not mandatory. Report #50 states that the "total amount of assistance paid subsequent to July 1, 1956, (is) allowed as unsecured claim against estate on death of recipient. No recovery is made on real property used by dependent relatives nor when gross market value of estate is less than $500."[22] Virginia, while making no provisions for the recovery of aid given through Aid to Families with Dependent Children, makes strong provisions for Old Age Assistance and Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled. Report #50 states that "total assistance paid

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21 Ibid., p. 77

22 Ibid., p. 93.

constitutes claim against estate upon death of recipient prior to all other claims except prior liens, funeral expenses not in excess of $200 and hospital bills, doctors' bills, and medical expenses not in excess of $150. Not enforced against real estate occupied by the surviving spouse, if remains unmarried, or dependent child. Provisions for requiring deed of trust or for filing notice or receipt of assistance creating lien against real property of recipient but no deed of trust or lien enforced while recipient is eligible for assistance unless the real property is disposed of."[23] Provisions for aid given through Aid to the Blind are the same except that no deed of trust is required.

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[23] Ibid., p. 107.

CONCLUSION

Public assistance is lacking in areas in which it is most desperately needed. It is lacking, in large part,[24] because it is so structured as to be self-restricting, to expend exactly enough to sooth the consciences of those with comfortable standards of living and no more.

This self-restricting nature of public welfare is not due to discriminatory administration which is widespread in many states. Discriminatory administration only redoubles the faults of an already impotent structure. What produced such a structure is a concept of welfare at once sentimental and condescending. The poor must be taken care of, that concept says, but they must never be allowed to forget that they are poor and that they exist entirely on public sufferance. Exponents of welfare reform argue that a comprehensive program must include, in addition to adequate monetary payments, a rethinking of approach to the problems of people who make up our welfare rolls. In any such a rethinking the place of the aged, for example, in a modern technical society would have to be examined and evaluated and, in all likelihood, the modern technical society would have to loosen its

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24 While it is true that some states are unable to provide the funds necessary for the public assistance standards which they set, this lack is by no means the cause of inadequate welfare payments, since the majority of the states' welfare aid is of federal origin. (See Table 3.)

joints a little to accommodate humanity. The blind and the disabled would have many more and much more comprehensive training and rehabilitation centers, and society would have to strike its prejudices and admit that the blind and disabled are often less blind and more able than the physically normal person. Desertion and illegitimacy would have to be recognized as facts of life and adequate provisions made for the care of the dependent.

Most important, men would have to realize, emotionally as well as intellectually, that no individual is ever or can be completely responsible for his social situation.

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TABLE 3

FEDERAL SHARE OF TOTAL STATE PUBLIC ASSISTANCE EXPENDITURES

July 1, 1963 through June 30, 1965

State	Federal Medical Percentage	Federal Percentage
Alabama	78.29	65.00
Arkansas	80.00	65.00
Georgia	73.69	65.00
Kentucky	75.27	65.00
Louisiana	73.46	65.00
Mississippi	80.00	65.00
North Carolina	74.99	65.00
South Carolina	80.00	65.00
Tennessee	75.53	65.00
Texas	61.45	61.45
Virginia	65.05	65.00

In brief, these percentages are used as follows in determining the Federal share of assistance:

1. OAA: The Federal Government pays $29 of the first $35 of the average monthly grant per recipient. Of the amount in the average grant above $35 and up to $70 the Federal Government pays the "Federal percentage". Of the amount in the average grant above $70 and up to $85--assuming this amount equals or is less than the average vendor payment for medical care--the Federal Government pays the "Federal medical percentage"; as an alternative to this last provision, however, the State may receive from the Federal Government 15 percent of the average vendor payment for medical care up to $15.
2. AB: The Federal Government pays $29 of the first $35 of the average monthly grant per recipient. Of the amount in the average grant above $35 and up to $70 the Federal Government pays the "Federal percentage".
3. APTD: Same as for AB.
4. AABD: If State has chosen the 2-category pattern of administration (Aid to the Aged, Blind, or Disabled and AFDC), the provisions outlined for OAA above apply to AABD.
5. MAA: The Federal Government pays the "Federal medical percentage" of total expenditures under the program, which is limited to vendor payments for medical care.
6. AFDC: The Federal Government pays 14/17ths of the average monthly grant per recipient up to $17. Of the amount in the average grant above $17 and up to $30 the Federal Government pays the "Federal percentage".

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Georgia	73.69	65.00
Kentucky	75.27	65.00
Louisiana	73.46	65.00
Mississippi	80.00	65.00
North Carolina	74.99	65.00
South Carolina	80.00	65.00
Tennessee	75.53	65.00
Texas	61.45	61.45
Virginia	65.05	65.00

In brief, these percentages are used as follows in determining the Federal share of assistance:

1. OAA: The Federal Government pays $29 of the first $35 of the average monthly grant per recipient. Of the amount in the average grant above $35 and up to $70 the Federal Government pays the "Federal percentage". Of the amount in the average grant above $70 and up to $85--assuming this amount equals or is less than the average vendor payment for medical care--the Federal Government pays the "Federal medical percentage"; as an alternative to this last provision, however, the State may receive from the Federal Government 15 percent of the average vendor payment for medical care up to $15.
2. AB: The Federal Government pays $29 of the first $35 of the average monthly grant per recipient. Of the amount in the average grant above $35 and up to $70 the Federal Government pays the "Federal percentage".
3. APTD: Same as for AB.
4. AABD: If State has chosen the 2-category pattern of administration (Aid to the Aged, Blind, or Disabled and AFDC), the provisions outlined for OAA above apply to AABD.
5. MAA: The Federal Government pays the "Federal medical percentage" of total expenditures under the program, which is limited to vendor payments for medical care.
6. AFDC: The Federal Government pays 14/17ths of the average monthly grant per recipient up to $17. Of the amount in the average grant above $17 and up to $30 the Federal Government pays the "Federal percentage".

Research & Info (Watters, Dir Info, Adams, Miles)

April 4, 1966

File Research + Info.

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: ~~Pat Watters~~ Pat Watters

RE: Report on work from January 1 through March 31, 1966

1. Voter Book - Most of ~~my~~ time has been spent in the major part of researching and the writing in collaboration with Reese Cleghorn of the Atlanta Journal of the book on current political effects and the long-range implications of the entrance of Negro voters in full into the South's democracy. This is the book which SRC contracted with Harcourt, Brace and World to produce. It had originally been scheduled for publication in October, 1966. A recent decision has been to postpone this until February or March, 1967, in order to include a final chapter on the outcome of the fall elections this year. While not a history of VEP as such, the book draws heavily on the first VEP research, as well as other research materials of SRC. A table of contents is attached.

2. New South - The first issue of New South in its new quarterly format was issued, and the second is in the works. Its contents will include an extensive study of current Negro movement strategy, including political strategy, by August Meier; a study of Negro family structure in Birmingham by Dr. Beryle McCloskey of Miles College; an article on intermarriage by Charlayne Stovall; Attorney General Katzenbach's speech; a study of white volunteers in SCOPE last summer, and other material. Some 3,400 of the first issue were sent out as samples, and subsequently a larger mailing was made of an advertising brochure.

3. Other publications have included a warning on the pitfalls of co-ops and credit unions by Al Ulmer, addressing himself to grass roots leaders looking for cure-alls; "Neighborhood Stabilization: A Program," by Moreland Smith, setting out how community organization can save a neighborhood from block-busting and develop racial balance; another study by Mr. Ulmer, a pioneering how-to approach on the all-important subject of community organization in southern Negro slums, based on his experience in Vine City. A

press release was issued urging compliance with new school desegregation guidelines.

Bob Anderson processed the above reports editorially. He also contributed to the editing of the first new New South and development of the second, as did Margaret Long.

Insert I

js

Attachment: "Contents of VEP Book"

Insert I

Margaret Long has written an article to appear in a spring issue of Progressive. She has also spent considerable time with Josephine Rider, an author from San Fransisco, who's under con ract to do a book on Negro women. She is working with Ray G. Mack and other sociologists on an HEW sponsored study of school desegregation and is doing a chapter of a book for that project on Atlanta school desegregation and its effect on education. She is working with Mrs. Adolphine Terry of Little Rock on a book length manuscript which Mrs. Terry hopes to have published.

We saw 29 visitors during the quarter including 23 European teachers and three Ivory Coast leaders who were with us fof four days.

II

Sam Adams has completed an extensive study of Atlanta housing for the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing. We may publish a portion of this study.

Considerable time has been spent on a study of recent intimidat on and violence in the region. This information coupled with our exression of concern over the growing likelihood of exlosions within urban slums and rural areas will be published in May in cooperation with the American Jewish Committee.

Attachment II

ATTACHMENT 2

CONTENTS OF VEP BOOK

I. A Definitive Crisis in American History. -- Setting out the historical background and current situation to support the idea that the entry of a full Negro vote into southern politics will be a changing point in the nation's history, its long struggle with the Negro problem, comparable to the changes when the fronteir closed and corporations were curbed.

II. An Analysis and Interpretation of Southern Politics Since 1960.--Emphasizing the increased influence of the Negro vote.

III. The Movement and the Vote.--Tracing the brief, forceful history of the Negro movement, and the little known role of voter registration in this history. This includes the history and accomplishments of VEP.

IV. The Struggle. -- Describing in detail how Negroes organized themselves and carried out the 1962-64 voter registration effort, and how in its different parts and varying degrees of resistance, the South responded.

V. Crisis of the Courts and in the Uses of Federal Power. -- Setting out the failure of the courts to achieve access to the ballot, or to protect the voter registration effort, and seeking reasons for these failures. One suggestion is that ignorance and naivete about southern reality was a large part of it.

VI. Victory? -- Describing the Selma breakthrough to a voter rights law, enforcement and effect of the new law, and the related development of reform of that other needed bedrock for real democracy, southern justice. The analysis here is to show that the South is at a turning point -- but that the next few years are crucial in whether the full-turn to an equal society is made. So far, as in the voter registration figures themselves, it is all potential.

Contents of VEP Book - 2.

VII. The Future of the Movement. -- Setting out problems, from alienation to black nationalism, from floundering to lack of money, and hopeful developments, including the new voter effort and the merging of movement structures into community organization and political-action units. This suggests the possibilities of at least part of the movement developing as a radical left voice in southern politics, something never before in history heard in the South.

VIII. Negro Political Power. -- Discussing and analyzing past, present, and possible future uses of the power of the vote, including failures and pitfalls and the need for a general forcing of southern government to confront the real problems of the region. This includes implications for national politics, social welfare, etc.

IX. Politics in the Cities. -- Discussing the places where the Negro vote has been effective and where it has not, including some northern cities, and an analysis of what makes the difference. This suggests the importance of the development of effective Negro politicians.

X. The First Returns. -- To be written after next fall's elections, and analysis of the outcomes, and an updating of movement developments.

XI. Conclusions.-- A brief recapitulation, suggesting that the crisis period is now; the change is not guaranteed; the need is for effective Negro voting and politics and real reform of justice.

file Info. & Research

July 25, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Pat Watters, Information and Research

~~RE: Report on work from January 1 through June 31, 1966~~ -

1. Voter Book - Most of ~~my~~ the time of the Dir of Info. has been spent in the major part of researching and ~~the~~ writing in collaboration with Reese Cleghorn of the Atlanta Journal on current political effects and the long-range implications of the entrance of Negro voters in full into the South's democracy. This is the book which SRC contracted with Harcourt, Brace, and World to produce. It had originally been scheduled for publication in October, 1966. A recent decision has been to postpone this until February or March, 1967, in order to include a final chapter on the outcome of the fall elections this year. While not a history of VEP as such, the book draws heavily on the first VEP research, as well as other research materials of SRC.

2. New South - The revamping of New South in its new quarterly format has been a major concern. The first two issues contained articles of substance by such writers as Leslie Dunbar, James Silver, Margeret Long, Robert Coles, August Meier, Finley Campbell, Vincent Harding. A news round-up section contains summaries of developments in each of the eleven states, a compilation not available elsewhere, and a permanent record of value to research. Efforts are made to find for each issue material close to the reality of what is happening in the South. A

proposal for radical innovations in community planning in Mississippi and a report of a day in the life of a southern city ghetto resident are examples. The need for research grounded yet pertinent articles is great; several, including a report on a study of the Negro family in Birmingham, are in the works. The summer issue, in preparation, will include coverage of the Meredith Mississippi march and discussion of black power. Many of the Council's information & research interests are reflected in the articles published & commissioned

3. Other publications have included a warning on the pitfalls of co-ops and credit unions by Al Ulmer, addressing himself to grass roots leaders looking for cure-alls; "Neighborhood Stabilization: A Program," by Moreland Smith, setting out how community organization can save a neighborhood from block-busting and develop racial balance; another study by Mr. Ulmer, a pioneering how-to approach on the all-important subject of community organization in southern Negro slums, based on his experience in Vine City; "The Continuing Crisis," a joint publication with the American Jewish Committee describing the range of racial and poverty problems in the South, and warning of the possibility of disruptions in the South similar to those in the northern ghettos; a handbook on appropriate actions to improve southern justice ~~particularly court room procs~~ developed by Mrs. M. E. Tilly for use with ~~church~~ women's groups throughout the South ~~and the like.~~

and special distribution is given to issues of the magazine or to reprints from it.

A press release has been issued urging compliance with new school desegregation guidelines. The Voter Education Project

has issued press releases on the election results in Alabama and South Carolina, ~~and~~, on voting effort violence as a commentary on the shooting of James Meredith and an analysis of the effectiveness of federal registrars.

~~Bob Anderson~~ processed the above reports editorially. Mgn Editor B-A — He also contributed to the editing of the first new New South and development of the second, as did Margaret Long.

4. In preparation: Dr. Robert Coles will develop a report on conditions in Negro communities where past major civil rights demonstrations have occurred. Wilson Minor is preparing a report on the Citizens Council, past and present, and Robert Sherrill is developing a report on other white hate groups, including the Klan. These are a part of a study, again jointly with the AJC, of forces competing for the attention of the South. Also part of this study is a survey by Anthony Whitfield, an SRC summer intern, of intergroup relations organizations regarding their efforts to influence white Southerners. Dean B. R. Brazeal of Morehouse College is developing a series of studies on voter registration in selected Georgia counties, contrasting the situation today with that of 1956 when he did a similar survey. Other projects include a study of the South's portion of the 100 poorest counties in the nation (which is most of them); a study of welfare expenditures in the South; a plan for state government action in the various social problems of the South; a study of the mechanics of housing desegregation in Atlanta ~~by Sam Adams of SRC,~~ a set of instructions for low

income families on how to buy a house or rent an apartment ~~by Moreland Smith of the SRC staff~~; a study of 1966 (including fall) school desegregation developments, and various other projects.

~~Discussions~~ are being

Sam Adams, Dir of Res
Pat Waters, Dir of Info.

PW:js

- : -

Memo to : Pat Watters

From: Al Ulmer

In good fashion, as I promised, here are the two ideas you, Glenda, and I talked about at lunch the other day.

1. In South Carolina and in Mississippi there appears to be a growing trend in making certain offices that have in the past been elective, appointive. There is, for instance, in Lee County, S.C. the example of the county school board being appointed rather than elected. The county has been divided into precincts in such a way as to make it difficult for a Negro majority to be elected to the county commission, but the county school board could be dominated by Negroes. I don't know how many counties in S.C. have such appointive systems. Glenda has clippings showing that in Mississippi two or three counties have, in the past year, opted for appointive school boards, town marshals and town clerks. The question is, of course, how many counties have this appointing business already and how many are changing to it with increases of Negro voters imminent.

2. We spoke of the possibility of our doing a piece on public accomodations, stressing the lack of compliance in the South other than the big cities, and the main highways. I think that this non-compliance could be shown to be almost complete in many small towns and rural areas and a piece written about it could show some of the problems of passing laws and "hoping" for the good will of men to seep out.

3. Also, though we didn't talk about it yesterday, I hope we are still planning to do something on economic retaliation across the South. And if we do this I wonder if it would be possible to somehow show the dilema of trying to solve any problem in the South without somehow improving the situation of Negroes in regard to income, land, jobs etc.

File Sub Projects & Research & Info

I. Urban planning. Sam's study? Carry through with Atlanta, Richmond, Houston, Little Rock: the inner workings of segregated housing, ghettoization.

II. Fair employment and anti-poverty. Select 100 poorest counties in South and do rundown on what they've gotten from poverty program, and why they have not received more. Profiles of rural and urban poverty, white and Negro.

A summary survey of the employment situation in the South: estimate of amount of equal hiring; kinds of concerns doing it; a thorough discussion of the myth of unavailable Negroes; efficacy of Title VI enforcement; how to get such jobs.

A survey of state employment office practices . . . large sample of large city, small city, small town situation. Possibly with aid of Urban League and NAACP across South.

III. School Integration. Tape record Winifred and Connie on their efforts to encourage Negro parents to integrate schools and results.

Guidelines tightening: southern political and educational reaction; practical effect next fall. SERS statistics—

Nov

Collection of student descriptions, Negro and white, all grades, of desegregation in action, good and bad.

IV. Welfare Programs. As a start, a rundown on the amounts spent each state, the per person, per family maximums and averages on the various kinds of aid, ADC, etc.

The case against ACD to fatherless children only; relation to Monyhan Report.

Technological unemployment.

Who, how many, what circumstances unemployment?

VI. Community organization and technical assistance. Check out SSOC's efforts with poor whites.

Al's information on efforts to get adequate, decently financed houses.

VII. Other:

1. Higher education in the South. Amount of desegregation; number of faculty ph.d's comparative, now and say 1950; number of graduate students, same comparison; amount federal research grants, same comparison, with explanation of why short-deal, i.e., lack of requests.

2. Whatever became of the southern school of fiction? Assessment of writing generally, including contributions of civil rights writers.

3. Economics. Basics of it: what are the major industries, agricultural products, state of mining, transportation, etc.? Latest per capita, per family income; unemployment, underemployment; birth rate. Assessment of trends, major shifts in above. New industry -- how much and what kind? Prevalence and effect of subsidizations of industry.

4. In terms of above, and other factors, outline a realistic political campaign platform -- in terms of the South's real needs. Offer it to both parties, for state and localuse, and for a southern plank in the national convention platform. Moving southern politics, that is, away from race into reality.

5. What is the financial basis of Negro politics in the South? Who is paying the bills of Negro candidates? Are

costs comparable with white candidate campaigns? Are these sources entirely different, the same, or merely the black counterpart (business, special interests) of the white power structure? Is there anything in this picture which encourages low-cost campaigning, i.e., a freer political agent?

6. The radicals in the movement. We need to come to grips with this; all-black rationales in staffing and politics, etc. Viet Nam stances. Ask the hard questions.

7. The plight of the Negro teacher. How whites have effectively emasculated the logical leaders of Negro Southerners, the educators. Grade school, high school, college, teachers, administrators -- these have been the most intimidated of all the South's Negroes. And, having been blocked from normal pursuits, they are far more than white counterparts, the elite of Negro society. Is this changing to any extent? Importance on such things as anti-intellectualism in the movement . . . (See civil rights commission hearings, Prothro and Matthews, etc.)

8. In the Black Belt. A good reporter's tour of the Black Belt, its tent cities, cooperatives, political movements, demonstrations, poverty, small towns, changing agriculture, etc. A New South travel piece. Color story.

9. Who speaks to the white South? A survey, perhaps state by state, of what, if any, effective work is being done toward reaching the average white Southerner with the hard truths, the moral truths about desegregation, poverty, etc. The thesis to be proved or disproved would be that, by and large, the field has been vacated to the Birchers.

10. After the run-offs and assuming some victories, a story on a day with the new Negro sheriff of Killnigger County, Alabama.

11. Coalition. What has developed in the way of practical alignment of the forces that logically should be together in the South, politically and otherwise? With attention to the splits, as in Alabama, Tennessee, of labor and Negro politics; assessment of which has delivered most -- i. e., Negro vote more so than labor in Alabama. Implications of inability, ability to join forces.

12. Playing down South. From culture boom, to Atlanta Braves, auto racing and cock-fighting, how does the South re-create itself? Seeking anthropolitical significance.

13. The Continuing Crisis: A hard run-down on economic coercion, intimidation, reprisal. Methods, history, extent, results, efforts to counter. Case histories, lists of incidents.

The battlefields re-visited. Re-visit Albany, Birmingham, Selma, St. Augustine, Bogalusa -- to see the effect on Negro and white communities of the gains made by the sacrifices in each.

14. Survey of the extent of use of prison labor as a resource or source of resource of state governments. . . i.e., convict road gangs, etc. Relation of this to entrenched power of sheriffs, their ability to block needed county consolidations.

15. Labor's role in southern civil rights movement. What has organized labor done? Summary. Where could it do more? Forces working as a brake on further action. Management's lack of leadership as a contributing factor. Political action. Figures on organization.

16. Capital punishment. Why South retains it and why the move for elimination of makes little headway? Use of as a form of racial intimidation. Hard figures & racial breakdown on executions — examples of cases where guilt may be doubtful.

17. Textbooks and Negro history. Southern history as presented to school children.

18. Prisons. How is North Carolina plan working? Is theory still retaliation, punitive? How much progress toward rehabilitation? State level and federal.

19. The many Souths. (Reflections following state by state research for round-ups.) In Alabama, for instance, the primitive is still much in evidence. Slightly less so in Mississippi and Louisiana. Concern is still for voting rights. In Virginia and Tennessee it moves to more sophisticated plane. Tennessee primary in which both candidates are described as "acceptable" to Negro leadership. Yet across the state lines are Alabama and Mississippi. What are the forces that produced the differences -- political leadership, economics, industry, federal government, northern capital, Negro votes. Dramatic changes in recent years -- Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina. The outlook for the future.

20. Human Relations Councils and militant action groups. Definitions. Is there any basic differences in what they try to achieve or is the difference in means only? The

white liberal in the councils, the "respectable" civil rights group. The Negro in the councils.

21. Federal subsidization in the South . . . who gets what, which states get most (include industrial). What has it meant in desegregation or lack of it in highway construction, etc.?

22. Political methods and laws limiting involvement of the poor and the uneducated.

23. Survey of cities where the action was -- how have they changed? A look at former movement figures, e.g., Bob Moses. Contrast their progress or lack of it with political party workers, etc.

24. The use of grand juries and other mechanism for/against racism.

25. The decline in Negro land-holding. Hard figures. Why. How can trend be reversed (Bob Thompson, a good resource).

26. Negro churches -- a new look at their function. Contrast those that accept and those that reject racial status quo. Their leaders.

27. Courts and judges (federal and state) whose decisions generally undercut Supreme Court in racial area. Who are the liberal southern judges. What is right or wrong with system for their election or appointment.

28. The racial "undecideds" -- why they don't take positions . . . the kinds of people they are. Who and what position their lack of decision aids.

29. Occupational distribution -- changing trends, e.g., white replacements for tradional Negro bellboys.

30. The press and race.

31. The return of racism in Florida gubernatorial campaign.

32. Bussing in the South -- how its used to maintain segregation. Contrast with desire to use it for "racial balance."

ADDENDA:

Two suggestions from Al Ulmer:

1. The amount of outright defiance of the public accommodations section of the Civil Rights Law across the South. Restaurants, motels, bathrooms. Documentable. Negroes still have to plan their trips in terms of places they know will accept them.

2. The ominous beginnings in South Carolina and Mississippi of a revival of post-construction statutes allowing local officials to be appointed rather than elected. Will correlate with Negro registration where such has been enacted.

INFORMATION AND RESEARCH

The publications and information work of the Southern Regional Council during the first six months of 1967 have reflected the organization's expanded program and the strange mixture of progress and failure and uncertainty that characterizes the region at this time.

Reports.--The work has included assistance with the editorial processing of such reports of the various projects as Labor's pamphlet on the minimum wage; Urban Planning's series on integrated neighborhoods, slum ghettos, and buying a home. Other reports have included "Hungry Children," the telling of the medical effects of starvation on children in Mississippi; "In Their Own Words," the accounts of Negro students in Alabama of their good and bad experiences in desegregated schools; "Public Assistance in the South," the statistics on how the South spends federal welfare funds. Response to the reports this year -- despite a national drop-off of interest in civil rights -- has been if anything better than usual.

New South.--The quarterly publication and format have continued to absorb material that in previous years would have been issued in report form. Articles this year have included an excerpt from Robert Coles' new book, Children of Crisis; analysis of Atlanta housing;

a highly realistic account of prison life by Ronald Sturrup, a former inmate of a federal penitentiary; a hard look at U. S. Agricultural and Stabilization and Conservation Service discrimination in the South. "New South Notes" and the state-by-state roundup of new events continue to provide probably the most comprehensive coverage of the region available in the nation. Articles of importance and high quality are being submitted for publication now in more quantity almost than we can handle. Among those planned for the summer and fall issues are an extraordinary account of southern labor history by Vera Rony; an article by Bayard Rustin, probably on southern political strategy; an excerpt from Fred Powledge's excellent new book contrasting northern and southern racism.

In the Works.--Future publications, most of them special reports, will include: the joint publication with the American Jewish Committee of a study of the Klan by Robert Sherrill, of the Citizens Council by Wilson Minor, and on political developments, probably by Reese Cleghorn and Pat Watters. A joint publication with the Anti-Defamation League of an analysis of southern college admission discrimination. A study by Mark Chesler (who did "In Their Own Words") of racial attitudes in Alabama. A thorough study of the continuing severe poverty among white and Negro people, rural and

urban, over the South -- pointing up failures of federal and local programs and making clear that children and adults are starving not only in Mississippi but across the region. Work on this is underway by Paul Good, a writer particularly sensitive to this subject, and Al Clayton, whose photography of an Atlanta slum was one of the outstanding features of last year's NEW SOUTH. The combination of the talent of these two men, and the skilled use of photography, the strongest way of telling this story, should have considerable effect. Work by Dean B. R. Brazeal on counties he visited ten years ago and recently, describing changes. A study being developed under the prisons project of disparity in southern court sentences. A study by Emory University law students working in research this summer of the recent Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals school desegregation decision -- which will probably be part of the annual school desegregation report. The study of southern literature and writers that Mr. Dabbs is working on; possibly, a follow-up on the "Hungry Children" with fuller medical research and information; writing by Bill Beardsley, intern with the Voter Education Project, on people he has worked with across the South during the past three summers.

Miscellaneous. The book based on Voter Education Project research, Climbing Jacob's Ladder, by Pat Watters

and Reese Cleghorn, and the property of the Southern Regional Council, will be published in November by Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc. People at Harcourt are expecting it to sell well; various promotion plans for it are planned.

Relations with the national and local press continue excellent. The confidence and trust they have in us is among our greatest assets. It can be maintained by the simple procedure of continuing to concentrate our efforts on facts, and dealing completely honestly with them.

The research department in the past six months has answered requests for information from many sources. About half of the projects handled by the staff come from outside SRC; college students and professors; lawyers; various federal agencies, such as the Office of Education, the Office of Economic Opportunity, and the Civil Rights Commission. Requests for information from the news media continue. Generally the requests we receive are more complex than they were as recently as two years ago.

The expansion of SRC's programs has directly affected the research department. Specifically, we have had to enlarge our collection of materials to cover a much broader range of subjects. We rely more and more on specialized publications of government departments such as Agriculture, Labor; HEW, etc., and of those government

agencies mentioned above. We continue to clip approximately twenty newspapers per day, about that many magazines a week, and to catalogue and file publications of other private agencies.

As well as handling SRC staff queries, we also provide supplementary data to those involved in special SRC projects. The research department provided background information to people preparing the Fifth Circuit school decision and the public assistance in poorest counties reports now in progress; and to the doctors who visited Mississippi.

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Southern Regional Council

BULLETIN

of

The Institute of Arab American Affairs

160 Broadway, New York 7, N. Y.

VOL. II DECEMBER 15, 1946 NO. 6

A CHRISTMAS MESSAGE

WE WISH our readers, supporters and friends a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year. We join with you in the hope that peace, good will and justice will prevail among small as well as big nations all over the world. We trust that God may so guide the delegates to the United Nations Assembly as to hasten the peace which is so sorely needed by all mankind.

WHAT ARAB LEADERS ARE THINKING

The dinner given by the Institute of Arab American Affairs in honor of the heads of the Arab delegations to the United Nations Assembly on the eve of November 29th at the Waldorf-Astoria was more than a social occasion. It was a vivid manifestation of Arab solidarity and Arab unanimity on the fundamental issues of national policy.

There were seven official speakers—the five heads of the Arab states and Mr. George Wadsworth, newly appointed ambassador to Iraq, and Miss Virginia Gildersleeve, Dean of Barnard College and member of the Institute's Advisory Board. Three other speakers represented the family of the Institute—Dr. Philip Hitti, who acted as toastmaster, Dr. John Hazam of the Institute, and Dr. Khalil Totah, Director.

Throughout the speeches there were two thoughts which saliently wove out their pattern and left a lasting impression

M. Price

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Southern Regional Council

BULLETIN

of

The Institute of Arab American Affairs
160 Broadway, New York 7, N. Y.

VOL. II MAY 15, 1947 No. 11

PALESTINE IN THE U. N.

In compliance with a request from the British Government a special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations convened at Flushing Meadows on the 28th of April to discuss the problem of Palestine. The purpose of the British Government in taking this action was to appoint an investigating or inquiry committee to study the whole question and report to the regular session of the Assembly which will meet on the first of September.

The special session of the United Nations brought new Arab faces to our midst, some of whom have attained world reputation. In addition to such statesmen and diplomats as Prince Faisal of Saudi Arabia, Faris Bey al-Khoury of Syria, Mahmoud Hassan Pasha of Egypt, Dr. Charles Malik of Lebanon, Ali Jawdat Bey of Iraq and Dr. Constantine Zurayk of Syria, there were others who are not as well known to our American public. These include Fadil Jamali, foreign minister of Iraq, Naim Antaki, former foreign minister of Syria, Mahmoud Fauzi Bey, Egyptian minister in Washington, Victor Khoury, Charge d'Affaires of the Lebanese ministry in London, Dr. Fareed Zain Din, Syrian Minister to Moscow, Rajai Husseini, Emile Ghory, Henry Cattan and Esa Nakhlah, Palestine Arab delegation.

WHAT HAPPENED AT UNITED NATIONS:

From the start the dice were loaded against the Arabs in the United Nations special session. And from the start,

RECEIVED
AUG 5 1947

ARAB NEWS BULLETIN

(A Bulletin issued by the Arab Office, Washington, D. C.)

Volume II | August 2, 1947 | Number 9

PROBLEM OF THE SUDAN

IS CONSIDERED TO BE A MATTER OF LIFE AND DEATH TO EGYPT

The following letter by His Excellency Mahmoud Hassan Pasha was published in the N. Y. *Times* on July 18th. It is reprinted by the kind permission of the author and the N. Y. Times.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE N. Y. TIMES:

My attention has been called to an editorial in the July 14 issue of the *Times* under the title "Egypt and the Sudan." While in no way wishing to discuss the merits of the article or to question the policy of your newspaper, may I be permitted to elucidate a few points concerning a matter most vital to Egypt?

The appeal to the Security Council of the United Nations is taken in the name of the people of Egypt and in the best of faith under the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations. The Charter, developed at the San Francisco sessions of the United Nations Organization, at which I was privileged to be a delegate, makes definite provision that obligations not in consonance with the Charter shall not prevail.

As to your reference that the "evacution . . . . of Egypt is nearly complete . . . . with only a few British troops scattered along the Suez Canal," may I say that you have oversimplified the problem. As a point of fact, the withdrawal of these important forces was only to a point seventy miles distant from our capital, Cairo. Their complete withdrawal today from Egypt is conditioned upon the satisfaction of British imperial claims.

You say that the question of the Sudan is complex. It may be too complex to be explained completely by me within the confines of this brief letter or, for that matter, to be settled definitely by your editorial in the compass of a half-column article.

Suffice it to say that the mass of people of Egypt and the Sudan, alike as to race, religion and interests, desire a firm and friendly union between themselves, without the intervention of any alien power with its own axes to grind. The one big problem that we hope shall have a decision from the Security Council is whether any of the so-called larger powers may, with abandon, exploit their concept of imperialism at the expense of smaller countries.

British blood, as you say, has been shed in the Sudan, but may I remind you that valiant Egyptian blood, too, has drenched many a Sudanese redoubt. If we consult official records of the Dongola expedition in the reconquest of the Sudan, we find the military force composed of 16,682 Egyptians and Sudanese, with 870 English soldiers. At the Battle of Omdurman, under Kitchener, four-fifths of the total force employed were Egyptians.

In addition the records show that the warfare in question cost 2,354,000 Egyptian pounds, of which the British Treasury bore 800,000 pounds and the Egyption Treasury the balance.

Let us make it plain that the Sudan is not tied to Egypt by "conquest". The racial and cultural bond between the two, stretches back into the dim vistas of antiquity, as the inscriptions on the tombs of the Pharaohs will testify.

And while we are at it let us quote the well-known British statesman and author, Winston Churchill, when he writes in his book "The River War": "Among and about the headstreams and tributaries of the mighty river lie the wide and fertile provinces of the Egyptian Sudan. ***The Sudan is joined to Egypt by the Nile, as a diver is connected with the surface by his airpipe. Without it there is only suffocation. 'Aut Nilus, Aut Nihil.'"

You speak of certain dissident elements in the Sudan. Contrary to your statement, it is a well-known fact that the large majority of the Sudanese are in favor of unity with Egypt, and when the real spirit of the Egyptian point of view becomes known to the dissidents they too will fall in line.

To sum up the situation, the problem of the Sudan is a matter of life and death to Egypt. But to Britain it is just another Jewel in the imperial crown.

Certain that the justice of the Egyptian case will appeal to the Security Council, Egypt has faith that the United Nations will live up to the letter and the spirit of the Charter.

MAHMOUD HASSAN,

Ambassador of Egypt to the United States,
New York, July 15, 1947.

ARAB NEWS BULLETIN

(A Bulletin issued by the Arab Office, Washington, D. C.)

Volume II | September 1, 1947 | Number 11

POPULATION INCREASES IN PALESTINE AND OTHER ARAB COUNTRIES

One of the most common, and most fallacious, arguments brought forward by Zionists to justify their policy in Palestine is that their presence has greatly benefited the Arabs economically. To quote one typcal statement: "We maintain unanimously that the economic position of the Palestinian Arabs, *under the Jewish colonization and owing to the Jewish colonization,* has become the object of envy in all the Arab countries." (1) According to the Zionists one of the most striking indices of this prosperity is the spectacular growth of the non-Jewish population, from 661,000 in 1922 to 1,197,000 in 1944, or by 81%. This growth (estimated by some Zionists at "hundreds of thousands") is, according to many Zionists, too great to be accounted for by natural increase, and must be attributed to a heavy immigration of Arabs from neighboring countries. Others, while prepared to admit that practically all the increase is due to natural growth, regard it as indicating an exceptional degree of prosperity, unmatched in any other Arab country.

In order to refute these claims, we shall first of all show that Arab immigration into Palestine is insignificant. We shall then show that the rate of increase of the Arab population in Palestine is no greater than in other Arab countries, and is, in fact, smaller than in Syria and Lebanon. Finally, we shall prove that the Arab rate of increase is generally greatest in those areas which have been *least* affected by Jewish colonization.

ARAB IMMIGRATION

It is difficult to get an exact figure for Arab immigration into Palestine since, until 1935, immigrants were classified by religion, not "race". In addition, there is a certain amount of "illegal" immigration of neighboring Arabs into Palestine and of Palestinian Arabs into neighboring countries. "For example, a crop failure in the Hauran may lead to a movement into Palestine, almost entirely masculine in character, so that the immigrants may acquire funds with which to recoup their losses and, on their return to their own villages, invest in their normal agricultural pursuits. Conversely, if grazing conditions in Sinai (Egypt) are more favorable than in Palestine, there will be an outward movement of the Beersheba Beduins." (2)

But it is certain that the total figure for Arab immigration is so small as to be hardly perceptible. The survey quoted above, after a review of the evidence ,declares, "The conclusion is that Arab illegal immigration for the purposes of permanent settlement is insignificant."

The total Arab immigration, legal and illegal, is estimated, in the same survey, to account for only 4% of the total increase in the Arab population. (3) This figure is corroborated by the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry of 1946, which states in its report that "of this Moslem growth by 472,000 (i.e. between 1922 and 1944), only 19,00 was accounted for by immigration." (4)

We may therefore categorically deny that immigration has had any appreciable effect in swelling the numbers of the Arab population of Palestine.

GROWTH OF POPULATION IN NEIGHBORING ARAB COUNTRIES

Statistics for Iraq, Transjordan, Yemen and Saudi Arabia are not sufficiently accurate to provide any exact basis for comparison. The figures for Syria, Lebanon, and Egypt are, however, significant. In 1921-22, the population of Syria was put at 1,511,000. By 1944, it had risen to 2,901,000, an increase of 92% in 22 years. Between 1941-2 and 1946, the population of Lebanon similarly rose from 629,000 to 1,150,000, an increase of 83%. The 1946 total for Lebanon would have been much higher had it not been for the considerable amount of emigration to South America and West Africa that went on during that period.

In Egypt, the population figures can be traced back well into the 19th century. The total population rose from about 3,000,000 in 1830 to 6,800,000 in 1882. By 1917 it had risen to 12,750,000 and in 1947 had reached the total of 19,090,000, a sixfold increase in a hundred years.

The same rapid growth took place in many other countries, notably India (whose population is increasing by about 5,000,000 *per annum*) and Indo-

(Continued on Page 2)

(1) V. Jabotinsky—Evidence submitted to the Palestine Royal Commission, 1937. (Italics not in original.)

(2) A Survey of Palestine—submitted by the Government of Palestine to the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry—Vol. 1, page 211.

(3) Volume 1, Page 142.

(4) Report—Page 23.

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PARTITION OF PALESTINE

In recommending partition as a solution for the "Palestine Problem," the United Nations Special Committee was doubtless inspired by King Solomon's decision to cut up the contested child and divide it between the rival mothers.

King Solomon was, of course, the wisest man of his age and his device was completely successful in achieving the desired result, namely identifying the real mother of the child. But UNSCOP need not have proceeded in such a roundabout way. The real mother of the Palestinian child is known to everyone. The rival claimant is merely a self-appointed stepmother who has forced herself into the house with the intention of supplanting the rightful mother.

There is another important difference between King Solomon and UNSCOP. Solomon was not trying to effect a "compromise acceptable to both parties". Living in a less subtle age than ours, he knew that where one party had claims and the other none the only just solution is the one that accords to each his rights—in that particular case to one party the whole child and to the other no child at all. Today, however, no international body seems capable of examining any problem in the light of right and wrong. Instead, these problems are studied as "conflicts of interests", "rival pressures", "incompatible desires", etc. Hence no case can be decided on its own merits but only in the light of a hundred irrelevant considerations, most of which only serve to obscure the issue.

This comes out particularly clearly in UNSCOP's recommendation of partition. Had the Committee attempted to base its judgment on *principles* of morality and law it would have argued somewhat as follows:

"The only title to ownership recognized in public and private, international and local, law is long uninterrupted possession. The Arabs have occupied Palestine, without contest, for at least 1300 years. Hence their title to the land is unimpeachable. The Jewish settlers who entered Palestine during the last 30 years have done so against the will of the Arabs. Hence, the utmost they can expect, is to enjoy the ordinary rights accorded by the Arab state to its own citizens. Squatting on someone's land does not give one a title to it when the owner is continually protesting against the intrusion of the squatters.

The first Arab objection to partition, then, is one of *principle*. If the Arabs' presentation of their case during the last thirty years has seemed to some to be somewhat monotonous and repetitive it is merely because they have always sought to base their case on a general principle of law and morality.

But there are other objections to the scheme concocted by UNSCOP. In order to avoid having a Jewish minority of 31% owning less than 10% of the land within an independent Arab Palestine, it cuts up the country in such a way as to avoid indeed having any but a few thousand Jews living under Arab rule; but it does this only by placing 510,000 Arabs under Jewish rule. The proposed Jewish state will be a curious combination: a state 51% of whose subjects owning about 80% of the land detest and reject the very basis on which it is built.(1)

Nor is the proposed Arab state in a much better position. A congested land of rocks and barren soil, most of which defies cultivation; a state which does not contain a single acre of first grade agricultural land; a state whose water supplies run off into the Jewish-held plains; a state which has been stripped of all its seaports; a state many of whose biggest towns and centers of culture have been placed under the rule of an alien and hostile power; such a state would be the first—and probably the last—of its kind in history.

Finally there are the purely practical objections. Partition. as a solution, was not first discovered by UNSCOP, but was recommended as early as 1937. But the careful investigations of the Woodhead Commission, sent out to study the ways and means of implementing partition, showed that it was technically not feasible. This was also recognized at the time by such Zionists as Lord Samuel, a former High Commissioner of Palestine.

The Report of UNSCOP does indeed stress that "the preservation of the economic unity of Palestine is indispensable to the life and development of the country and its peoples." But, by a logic which is hard to follow, it thinks to ensure that unity by breaking up the country into two units which, by the very nature of the settlement, cannot ever be expected to cooperate, much less to unite.

King Solomon was truly wise—he knew that if one cut up a child one could not expect the severed parts to live. He, at any rate, would not have tried to console the rightful mother by saying "half a child is better than none at all."

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(1) The summary of UNSCOP's report put the number of Arabs in the proposed Jewish state at 416,000. The full text however states that that state will have "a slight majority." The figure of 510 000 is an estimate made by the Palestine government.

BULLETIN

of

The Institute of Arab American Affairs

160 Broadway, New York 7, N. Y.

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ANOTHER PALESTINE REPORT

A summary of recommendations by the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) was published September 1st and the full report eight days later. Of the eleven members of the committee seven supported the majority report, three members submitted a minority report. The eleventh member, Australia, abstained from voting on either proposal.

Majority Report

The majority report recommends partition giving 62 per cent of the country—including the fertile coastal plains, Tel Aviv, Haifa and Jaffa (the latter port of 70,000 almost wholly Arab)—to the proposed Jewish state; a district including Jerusalem and Bethlehem to make up an international zone; the remainder of the country to become an Arab State. A transition period of two years is suggested during which 150,000 Jews would be permitted to immigrate at a uniform monthly rate. An economic union is suggested as prerequisite to the granting of independence. Administration during the interim period would be under the British subject to United Nations direction.

Minority Report

The minority report recommends the creation of a federal union made up of two states, one Arab and one Jewish, with Jerusalem as the capital. A federal legislative body dealing with all matters of common concern would be made up of an equal number of representatives of Arabs and Jews regardless of population differences. Immigration would be controlled by a commission composed of an equal number of

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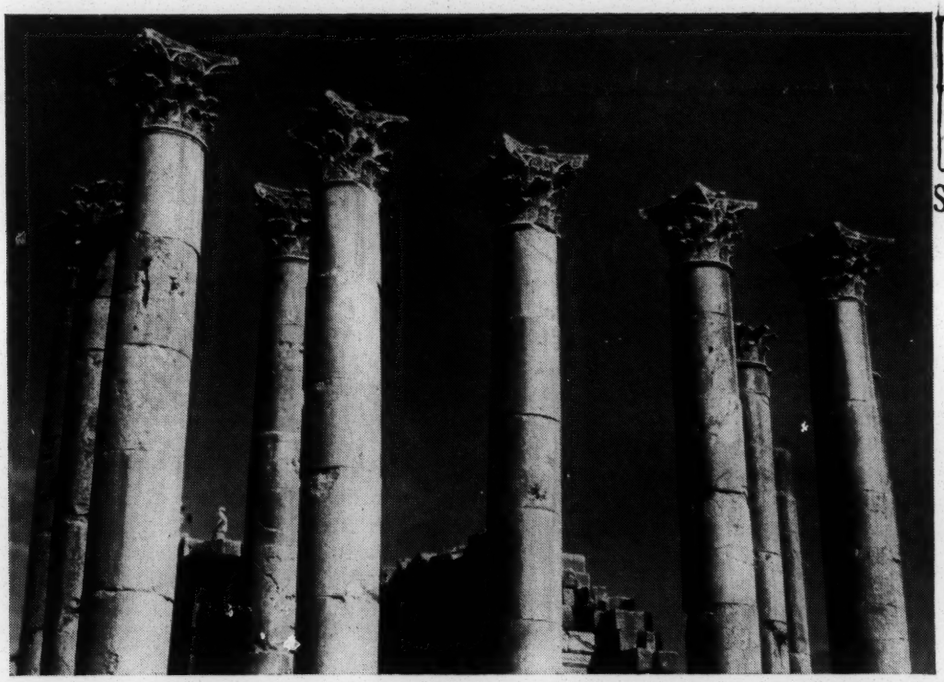
TEMPLE AT JERASH, TRANS-JORDAN



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Southern Baptist Convention

Jerash, the Gerasa of the New Testament, is probably, after Pompei, the best preserved Roman City at present known. One of the principal caravan cities of antiquity, it has always been inhabited by the same stock which, at successive periods has been known under the name of Aramean, Moabite, Nabatean and Arab. The ruins date mainly from the first two centuries of the Christian Era.

ZIONIST ECONOMY FACES A CRISIS:

While it is certain that man does not live by bread alone, it is equally true that man cannot live without bread. No state can hope to survive in the difficult conditions of today unless it rests on a solid economic basis, and one of the main objections to the proposed Jewish state in Palestine is that its economy is fundamentally unsound.

Before the last war, Jewish agriculture in Palestine was in a sorry plight. Jewish produce was twice as expensive as that of Palestine Arabs or that of Syria and Lebanon. Jewish citrus groves carried twice as heavy an indebtedness per acre as Arab groves, which were equally productive. Finally the Jewish collective farms showed substantial losses in their balance sheets, although they received their land free of rent and paid insignificant amortization on the large capital sums (about $45,000,000) advanced to them by the Jewish National Funds.

Nor was industry in a better position. Between 1936 and 1939 Jewish industry was in a chronically depressed condition with all the familiar aspects of slumps: numerous bankruptcies, a heavy fall in capital investments, a sharp drop of nearly 30% in real wages, severe unemployment and so forth. Moreover, in spite of the most strenuous efforts, exports of manufactured goods never exceeded the trifling sum of $2,500,000.

This weakness of the Jewish economy was reflected in the foreign trade of Palestine. In no year between

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Regional Council

Mohamed Ali Square, Alexandria, Egypt

With a population of nearly 1,000,000, Alexandria is not only the second largest town in the Arab world and its greatest port but also the busiest port of the Eastern Mediterranean.

The Arab Office was opened some two and a half years ago with the object of giving information upon the affairs of the Arab world to the American public, and of cultivating better relations between the Arab and American peoples. Since the support which the Zionist movement received from the United States was the biggest obstacle in the way of Arab-American friendship, it was natural that a large proportion of the efforts of the Arab Office should have been devoted to explaining the true facts of the situation in Palestine, in the hope that in time an enlightened public opinion might arise to counterbalance the pressure of Zionist groups and their utilization of internal American politics to push their plans in Palestine.

It was the constant theme of the Arab Office in all its publications on the subject of Palestine that Zionism, the movement to build a Jewish State in Palestine at the expense of the Arabs, constituted the only obstacle to full and free collaboration between the Arab world and the United States: but also that the obstacle which Zionism constituted was not a slight or secondary matter which the Arabs might be persuaded

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FORCE OR LAW?

If one's sources of knowledge concerning the Palestine problem were limited to the American press, he would get the impression that peace in the Holy Land can be established only through an international army equipped and trained by the United States but waving the crusading banner of the United Nations. Is there no way out of the Arab-Jewish dilemma except by the use of instruments that kill innocent peoples and cause useless destruction of property? Haven't we had enough of war as a means to impose unfair settlements?

Miss Virginia C. Gildersleeve, former dean of Barnard College who helped frame the United Nations Charter at San Francisco and who was named a delegate to U. N. Assembly by President Truman but was unable to serve because of illness, cites the sensible, decent course that man should follow to solve the vexatious problem which has taken a toll of more than 1100 lives since the U. N. recommended partition on Nov. 29, 1947.

In a letter to the NEW YORK TIMES on Jan. 22, 1948, Miss Gildersleeve suggested that: "In considering any dispute which endangers international peace and security, the Security Council under the Charter must first of all call upon the parties concerned to 'seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements or other peaceful means of their own choice.' (Article 33)."

Miss Gildersleeve also cited Article 36 which says that "The Security Council must also 'take into consideration that

Building Unity Within A Community

MARION EDMAN[1]

"Civil War Breaks Out in Detroit." This was the kind of headline which was flashed by newspapers all over the country on June 20 and 21 of last summer to inform their readers that in one community, at least, even the semblance of unity among its people had been destroyed. As the year wore on, from various other communities in different parts of the United States, the same kind of news again and again startled the citizens of a country engaged in a war to guarantee basic human rights to all men everywhere.

It is not intended here to trace the causes of race riots nor to argue whether or not such open conflict may be evidence of the birth pangs of social change which may in itself be desirable in many respects. Agreement is general that all violent action is contrary to the tenets and practices of democracy and that social change should rather come about through the legitimate channels of democratic processes. The various avenues for such democratic action through which desirable social change can be effected are too numerous and too complex for the compass of a single paper. It is the purpose of this discussion to indicate only the program of the public schools of Detroit in aiding the community in its desire to bring about greater understanding and unity among the diverse populations of the city.

That Detroit's problem of assimilation has been great is evidenced by the fact that from 1910 on through 1930, roughly one person in three was foreign born. In 1940, the foreign-born still numbered one-fifth of the total population. The total number of these foreign-born is not only large, but is comprised of very many diverse groups. A certain amount of friction has always been attendant upon the acculturation of these groups, but these frictions were largely psychological and personal rather than physical and of mass proportion.

World War I brought Detroit its first large immigration of Negroes. By 1920 this group constituted 4 per cent of the total population; by 1940 it had reached 9 per cent. Since the outbreak of World War II, the increase in Negro population has gone on apace, with no definite figures available as to the exact number of increase.

The types of conflict between races is more acute than the conflict among nationality groups. In Detroit, as elsewhere, unrest among Negroes has centered on four major areas: (1) lack of adequate housing; (2) discrimination in employment; (3) a feeling of uncertainty concerning the meaning of the war for their own group; (4) dissatisfaction caused by discriminations in eating places, in recreation, in travel, in the newspapers, in the courts, and many other specific areas of everyday activity.

Not only the community, but the public schools have long been aware of these four major manifestations of tension which cause disunity and misunderstanding among the peoples who must live together in the close proximity which urban life imposes upon its population. The schools have not been unmindful of their responsibility in the years past, but since the outbreak of open conflict have sharp-

[1]Supervisor of Language Education in the Detroit Public Schools.

ened and intensified their program in intercultural education to meet the present challenge of the community's concern for the rights of all its citizens.

The present program of the Detroit Public Schools in intercultural education attacks the problem of building greater unity in the community on four major points: (1) administrative policy and direction; (2) teacher education, both pre-service and in-service; (3) school experiences for pupils, both curricular and so-called extracurricular; (4) community cooperation. School experiences for children will be described in some detail in this paper; only brief mention can be made of the other three ways in which the schools hope to realize their objectives of aiding the people of Detroit to understand all groups better.

The Superintendent of Schools has set up an Administrative Committee whose function it is to propose matters of policy to the Superintendent and his staff and to serve as a clearing house for various types of activities in the schools. Within the past several months this Committee has studied the number and positions of Negro personnel employed by the Board of Education; has stimulated the setting up of individual school committees in each school building of the city to study closely the particular problems in intercultural education in that school; has conducted a city-wide institute for the chairmen of these school committees; has presented at teachers' meetings a series of speakers on intercultural education; has studied teacher selection and placement techniques and policies as they have bearing on matters pertaining to prejudices concerning race and nationality; has sponsored the preparation of a bulletin on intercultural education which will shortly be distributed to all teachers of the city; has accepted the services of a field worker supplied by the Julius Rosenwald Foundation to study race relations in the school and in the community. These are only a representative listing of the many activities which engage the efforts of the Administrative Committee. Briefly, its chief value is to give status and impetus to the program in intercultural education; to act as a coordinating agency for the various developments which are worked out by the individual schools and teachers of the city; and to study general school policies as they have relationship to the problem of intercultural understanding in the total school program.

Effective teacher education is, without doubt, one of the most vital concerns in the over-all program of eliminating prejudice and building good will among children. In this respect, Detroit is fortunate, for it draws heavily upon Wayne University for the training of its teachers and the University is itself a unit in the public school system. At the present time required courses introduce all student teachers to basic social problems. In addition, many of the students elect courses in anthropology, race relations, and others of similar content which are offered in the College of Liberal Arts. Before entrance to the College of Education, teaching majors are required to complete one hundred clock hours of service in some community agency where they have contacts with a wide sampling of the city's population. Directed teaching is carried on in schools with heterogeneous populations which again helps acquaint student teachers with children from various national backgrounds and racial groups.

For in-service teachers, Wayne University has recently inaugurated two new courses: "Problems of Intercultural Education" and "Inter-Americanism in the Elementary and Secondary Schools." In addition to these courses, reference has already been made to committees, to institutes, to teachers' meetings, to a lecture series, to bulletins—all of which help to educate in-service teachers in the

materials and techniques of intercultural education. Demonstration lessons have been presented in various fields to which groups of teachers have been invited. The lessons have further acquainted teachers with materials and techniques.

The need for close cooperation with various community groups if real progress is to be made in this area of education is definitely recognized. During the past month, the Board of Education acted as one of the sponsors of a two-day conference on intercultural education which was attended by over two thousand persons, all representatives of a broad cross section of the total population in the community. More than seventy organizations in the city and from nearby cities were likewise sponsors of this effort. Included were labor groups, religious organizations, racial and national organizations, civic clubs, professional groups, and many others. The conference was, by common consent, of great value to the community, both for the fine material which was presented by the eminent speakers who participated in it, but more particularly, perhaps, for the splendid opportunity it afforded for representatives of these many varied groups to work together in planning and managing such an undertaking. The contacts which were thus made possible for the representatives in the school system were particularly helpful.

The Board of Education and Wayne University each maintain a Speakers' Bureau which has on its roster trained speakers in the various phases of intercultural education who are sent to those organizations in the community which request their services. Thus another point of contact is constantly maintained between school and community.

A standing committee, composed of representatives from many organizations of the type named in connection with the sponsorship of the conference, meets regularly to gain information concerning developments in the schools' program of intercultural education and to make recommendations for the further development of that program. This committee has a chairman appointed by the Superintendent of Schools and an official representative from the Board of Education. The committee is an effective channel for interpreting the schools' program to the community and likewise serves as a clearing house of information concerning the desires and interests of various groups in the community as these refer to the schools' program.

With such organizations as the Congress of Parents and Teachers, and the Round Table of Christians and Jews, the schools work closely, using special facilities and resources which these organizations may provide which are suitable for school use.

The school program itself is concerned with two areas of education in this field: (1) the curriculum proper and (2) those opportunities for education which come from classroom living, from extra-curricular activities, and from teacher-pupil and pupil-pupil relationships. Up to the present time, no curricular materials have been prepared which have been sent out on a city-wide basis. Rather, teachers have been left to their own initiative to develop significant programs which fit their unique situations. Visual aids, recordings, books, unit outlines, and other similar helps have been made available to them. A suggested outline for the observance of Negro History Week was sent out to all teachers during the current year.

The program as it is being developed in the schools stresses four different types of approach: (1) contactual; (2) appreciational; (3) factual; (4) ethical and patriotic. None of these is stressed to the exclusion of the others. The degree to which any *one* is stressed depends upon the groups represented in the

school population and upon the age level of the children.

The contactual approach attempts to build up understandng and unity among diverse groups by promoting satisfying face-to-face contacts and happy group living among children of differing races and nationalities. In schools of widely heterogeneous populations, the challenge of providing for happy person-to-person experiences for all the children within the school is one of the greatest facing the teacher. Most teachers find ways to help children minimize their differences as ingeniously as did Miss X. Mary, a Negro child, was chosen by her class to be the mother in the play the children were about to present. She in turn chose two daughters; one a white child, one a Negro child. The big smart boy in the back row immediately piped up concerning the incongruity of such a situation. For a moment the children seemed uncertain as to how to proceed until the teacher reassured them by saying, "I think it's perfectly all right for Mary to choose Alice and Sue for her daughters, if she wants them. After all, Mary who is the mother is only ten years old, and Alice and Sue are ten and twelve. It's even more impossible, you know, for a mother to have a daughter older than herself than for her to have one of a little different color." The class immediately saw that no dilemma had been created by Mary's choice—for what did age matter? And therefore, what did color matter? The play went on to the satisfaction of all.

Schools with mixed populations offer endless opportunity for children's learning to live together on a democratic basis, to respect one another's customs and traditions. Recently I listened to third graders, representing some fifteen nationalities and all three of the major religious groups, discussing the ways in which their families celebrate Easter. No one's way was considered "queer"; each was interesting because it was different. Jewish children felt comfortable in describing some of the ceremony of the Passover, all because the teacher had built up a social climate in that classroom where every individual was respected, and everyone's particular way of life was accepted as an interesting contribution to a total pattern of living.

In those schools where such opportunities are not present because all the children are of a relatively homogeneous population, schools plan two types of programs: (1) they invite adults from the community who represent various culture groups to speak to the children or (2) they exchange programs with schools where the children come from different background than the children know first hand. In both types of program, care is taken to orient the pupils for their experiences with the groups or individuals with whom they are to make contact. The children of the Higginbotham School in Detroit have prepared an excellent original program around the life of George Washington Carver which has been presented to a number of schools where there are no Negro children. On such occasions, provision has been made for the children to have face-to-face contact with one another through lunch periods, tours of the school building, and informal conversation.

One of the finest outcomes of this type of activity has been the inter-school planning which has gone on between the faculties of various schools. In many instances it has given white teachers their first opportunity to work closely with Negro teachers and the contact has been of mutual help in building better understanding and respect for each group.

Many organizations in the city are glad to furnish speakers for school programs and through this type of contact, children have come to know fine persons representing Negro, Chinese, Jewish, and many nationality groups.

Since face-to-face contacts with minority groups are necessarily limited for many children, this means of education must be supplemented by vicarious experience. A library of visual aids, both moving pictures and still films which develop a feeling of one-ness, with people, is available for school use. Greatest dependence for worthwhile vicarious experience is placed, however, upon those fine portrayals of personal and group living which modern children's books make so readily accessible to teachers and children. Such books as *Tobe, The Blue Willow, Up the Hill, Steppin and Family*, and *All American*, to mention only a few of the hundreds of good titles available, all present children of differing racial, religious, national, and socio-economic background so convincingly as individual human beings with hopes, aspirations, and interests very similar to those which all children know, that it is impossible not to feel kinship with them. These books offer splendid opportunity to measure the way of life the children know first hand with that of these book friends and to make comparisons and contrasts which do not point out any evidence of *superiority* or *inferiority* in cultures, but which point up *differences* which should be accepted as welcome enrichment to the American way of life.

Books of this sort are supplied to teachers and children in the school libraries and in classroom collections for literature and reading classes. Lists of titles have been prepared which guide children in making choices of such books from the public library.

The second type of approach is appreciational. This involves an understanding of the contributions made to world civilization and particularly to American life by the outstanding representatives of the many cultures represented in the American scene. It involves knowing the facts concerning the great names of both contemporary life and generations past; it involves also knowing the folk contributions made by various peoples. Children learn that Marian Anderson is a great Negro singer; they also learn that Negroes have made a great contribution to American music through the spirituals they have developed. In addition, they sing spirituals and by this means understand better their true beauty and meaning. They study biography to understand who the outstanding representatives of the various nationalities and races are and what their contributions have been; similarly they examine exhibits of art and handicraft developed by these peoples, they dance their dances, they wear their costumes, they eat their food, they learn something about their language and their way of life. All of this activity is pointed toward one consideration: *differences do not constitute inferiority or superiority*—they are merely facets of an intricate and interesting pattern of living.

The third approach is the presentation and analysis of factual data. This approach is perhaps the backbone of all the others. It may be that a class is studying housing. So far as possible, facts concerning housing in Detroit, particularly as it affects certain of the less favored groups in the city, are presented. Analyses are made of the effect of the type of living conditions available to these people, both upon them and upon the city in general. In a class studying propaganda, such myths and clichés as the one that Jews control the money of the country are refuted by presentation of the facts in the matter. In practically every subject matter field in the curriculum are opportunities given to present facts which will further understanding of diverse groups of people and destroy old myths and clichés. In some schools, the boys and girls have made special studies of the facts of race and their social significance. These pupils consider the

implications for such data as these: While white soldiers surpassed Negro soldiers in intelligence tests during World War I, Northern Negroes surpassed Southern whites.

The Detroit Board of Education has been fortunate in securing from the Cranbrook Institute of Science its unique and splendid exhibit "The Races of Mankind." This exhibit portrays in graphic form the chief anthropological concepts which are presented in Benedict and Weltfish's pamphlet bearing the same title. This exhibit will travel from one high school to another, where it will be on display for the benefit of the students in each school and will also be available to pupils in the elementary and intermediate schools of the surrounding district. Teachers will be supplied with classroom sets of the pamphlet, *Races of Mankind*. These will be used in preparing their pupils to see the exhibit and in carrying on follow-up work after they have seen it. This exhibit doubtlessly will clear up, both for teachers and pupils, many of the common misconceptions concerning race differences.

The fourth approach is the ethical and patriotic one. Many teachers are evolving with their boys and girls statements of what it means, in terms of concrete community living, to carry out the ideals of the Declaration of Independence or the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag. They are helping pupils to see that our country and our community is really faced with what Myrdal has termed "the American dilemma" in that there is extreme discrepancy between what we declare in the "American Creed" and what we practice in our treatment of minority groups. Boys and girls are being made to realize that the ideals of democracy must be realized on the home front if they are to be made effective in any large scale plan for a better post-war world.

As was stated earlier in this article, no city-wide "plan" for injecting these approaches into the school programs has been put into operation. Rather, teachers have been encouraged to use these approaches according to the peculiar needs of the community and the unique character of the school. Furthermore, teachers have not been specifically instructed as to how these materials should be organized for incorporation into the regular curriculum of the school. A number of ways are possible, and observation bears out that all are in operation in the Detroit Schools. First is the observance of special days and weeks such as Negro History Week, Good Will Day, Pan-American Day, and many others. Likewise, special assemblies as pageants prepared by pupils or by speakers from the community are planned. This method of organization has certain points in its favor, but it lacks continuity and continued emphasis on the problem and therefore can be used only to a limited extent.

The second method of organization is the all-school project. The entire school spends a period of time in studying the culture of a group of people or of several groups of people. Each subject matter field contributes to the general development and enrichment of the general theme. Not long ago the Cadillac School in Detroit made a detailed and enriched study of the culture of Latin America.

The third plan of organization is to present a special unit in a subject matter field. The eighth-grade English class of the Harding School recently spent eight weeks in studying the question, "What has the Negro contributed to American life from the day of slavery to the present time?" An original program in the auditorium culminated the study, in which the historical and cultural development of the Negro was presented as an integral part of the country's history and development.

The final form of organization—the best,

perhaps, and most difficult to achieve—is the completely integrated curriculum. Thus, when the Revolutionary War is being studied, incidental mention is made of the fact that Crispus Attacks, the first man to give his life in the battle for freedom, was a Negro; that Haym Salomon, who managed the finances of the country at that period, was a Jew; that Kosciusko, who ventured much for freedom in this country during that period, was a Pole; and so on for the special contribution of all groups. At the present time, supervisors in the various subject-matter fields are checking on ways in which topics which give a more complete picture of the contributions made to the life of this country by all its peoples may be pointed up in the various subject-matter fields of the curriculum. They are encouraging teachers to use supplementary aids to supply materials that present textbooks now fail to include.

No program is complete without some attempt at the evaluation of its effectiveness. The Department of Research is at the present time engaged in building two types of tests: one to use as stimulation and motivation for teaching; the second to use as a means of diagnosis for measuring existing prejudices.

Detroit is attempting to meet the challenge inherent in Lewis Mumford's observation that in the time between 1930 and 1940 passed not a decade but a thousand years. Perhaps the decade through which we are now passing will bring about even more rapid and more far reaching change. The challenge to society is to keep the human spirit and social organization abreast of technological and physical change in community living. The schools of Detroit are attempting to do their part in meeting their present responsibility and in being organized to make provision for whatever challenge the future years may bring.

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For Colleges, Schools, Agencies
Church and Civic Groups

Lloyd Allen Cook, Director
Paul Hatt, Associate Director
Wayne University, Detroit 1

THE COLLEGE STUDY BULLETIN

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The College Study in Intergroup Relations
Council on Cooperation in Teacher Education
American Council on Education

RECEIVED
SEP 23 1946
Southern Regional Council

WHAT THIS ISSUE IS ABOUT

1. A Note on Our Workshop
2. Current Staff Activities
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5. Autobiography, Biography
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I. A NOTE ON OUR WORKSHOP

In spite of heat, in spite of heavy enrollments, our Workshop in Intergroup Relations got off to a promising start. In all, 35 graduate students enrolled, and others will enter for short periods as we move along. Participants come from a variety of places, as far apart as Birmingham and Albany, St. Louis and Chisholm, Minn. Several are college committee chairmen here, as we had hoped, to plan an intergroup program for their school.

> JOHN DONNE'S FAMOUS BELL
>
> No man is an Iland, intire of it selfe; every man is a Peece of the continent, a Parte of the Maine. If a Clod be washed away by the Sea, Europe is the lesse.. as if a Mannor or thy friend's or thin owne were. Any man's death diminishes me, for I am involved in all Mankinde; and therefore, never send to me to ask for whom the bell tolls. It tolls for thee.
>
> John Donne, 16th Century poet.

Although we shall never blame anyone, certainly no person in our own teaching business, who spends the summer in fishing, or in humoring any kind of bug that may have bitten him, yet we do want to invite visitors. If you come from out of town and plan to stay overnight in Detroit, be very sure to make a hotel reservation, or write or wire us so that we can do so! Our workshop closes on August 2nd.

TO VISITORS, WELCOME!

Day in and day out, through the year, we have been pleased, greatly pleased, by an increasing flow of visitors. Having set atop a cracker barrel as a youth, or warmed my shins on a winter day around a red-bellied stove, swapping yarns with the countryside, I find in these casual interchanges of news and ideas a stimulating experience, an inward satisfaction. Drop in on the workshop if you can; if not, and you are passing through town, stop in any time for a quick hello. Detroit is a curious community, a friendly town, an exciting one.

Our College Study office is 5272 Second Ave., two blocks west of Woodward, the city's main boulevard north from downtown, and it takes about 15 minutes to reach us by bus or streetcar from say the Statler Hotel. Our phone is TEmple 1-1450, Ext. 387, and there is no service after 5:15 PM or before 8:00 AM.

II. STAFF ACTIVITIES

Paul Hatt, our new associate director, has moved in, settled down, and gone to work. Workshoppers find him especially helpful on any kind of study form, notably

attitude scales and projective tests. In passing, we would add that the next issue of the BULLETIN will be devoted to the folio of tests the staff is at work in developing. These instruments are much needed by our colleges in their intergroup programs, in fact by any person concerned with the need for, and effects of, intergroup education. Our study forms will not be ready for distribution before September. We would like to make our office a center for the collection of all sorts of intergroup study instruments--questionnaires, scales, inventories, etc., about which we shall write from time to time. For a copy of whatever instrument you have developed, we'll send in return anything we have that will be of use to you!

A FOLIO OF TESTS

Workshop or no, our colleges keep moving right on so that, if we are not to lose step with them for the summer, we must make such hurried trips as are possible. In addition to committee planning for the coming year, several colleges are holding their first intergroup education workshop. It has been helpful to them to hear what our experimental institutions have been doing, their "suffering and undergoing" in a year of difficult work. Nothing has been of as much concern as technics, strategy, procedures, in group study and management, i.e. the age-old question of how to do a better teaching job.

UTILIZING THE LOCAL ENVIRONMENT
A 62 p. booklet by Margaret Koopman. Community study in theory &practice. Hinds, Hayden & Eldridge, 105-5th Ave., New York.

TEACHING TEACHERS CO-OPERATIVE ACTION
A report on our first year's work in College Study. To appear in 25th Yrbk, Amer. Assn. Teach. Coll., Oneonta, N.Y. Reprings (from us) on request after about Aug. 1.

We are now at work completing our selection of colleges for next year's program. With a budget several times its initial size, with a well working headquarter's setup at Wayne University, with the growing good will of the educational profession, we will be able to increase the number of colleges in our program from eight to perhaps twenty. While teacher educating institutions anywhere in the nation are invited to make application, our greatest need at this writing is for colleges in the South, white and Negro, and for Catholic institutions. Our aim is, as it was last year, to secure a small but representative sample of teacher education in the nation, to improve the sample for each of the three years the College Study is to run. We take some pride in stating that all our old colleges, our eight original schools, have applied to the executive committee of the COUNCIL COOPERATION IN TEACHER EDUCATION and been accepted for 1946. Two are on a limited service basis, due to unusually heavy enrollments, while the others will work as they did last year.

WANTED--A FEW MORE COLLEGES TO COMPLETE OUR 1946 SAMPLE

MASS MURDER OF 6,000,000 JEWS
Of the 9½ million Jews in Europe at the outbreak of the war, 6 million have been killed by the Nazis. In it all, German scholarship men of great reputation, have played an active, cooperative part. See Max Weinreich's HITLER'S PROFESSORS, Yiddish Scientific Institute, 535 W. 123rd, N.Y. 291pp. $3.50.

During the month, we have addressed three national meetings, one state meeting and several local groups, a service we want to extend as time permits. The further ahead dates can be made, the better it is for us. All that is wanted are expenses.

III. ONCE AGAIN, A BIBLIOGRAPHY

Of bibliographies on intergroup relations there is at present no end, a situation in contrast to what we found a year ago when our first bibliography (BULLETIN No. 4, July 1945) was issued. This is, we believe, a good indication of the growing interest of educators in what we now view with some confidence as a big and vital field. Writings range from substantial works as Conant's thoughtful inquiry to a lot of throbbing trash of which no serious minded educator can be at all proud. Likewise, bibliographies show variety--some good some better, and some, well, pretty bad.

A READING "MUST", NOW!
James Bryant Conant's Public Education and the Structure of American Society, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia Univ., 1946.

All bibliographers face problems of space limitation, selection and annotation. We have tried to select readings that are reliable, useful, and up-to-date. In so far as possible, we have followed the general line of thinking developed in BULLETIN No. 3, May 1946. Writings do not fall readily into certain of these categories so that listings are rather thin. Where we were unable to complete a reference, mostly as to pages and price, we have had to let it go. Only major titles are annotated and that, perhaps, all too briefly for reader needs.

> ONE WORLD IN SCHOOL
> An excellent, up-to-date bibliography on race, prejudice, anti-Semitism, the Negro, Orientals, Mexicans and Indians. American Teachers Assoc., P.O. Box 1, Montgomery, Ala. 53 Pp. 1946.

In addition to this general bibliography, we shall publish a series of special bibliographies, more inclusive and technical in nature. We would appreciate criticism of the present listing, plus readings not included that have been helpful.

IV. FICTION, AN INTEREST GETTER

Fiction is an "interest getter," an arouser rather than an informer. It deals, in the main, with very personal problems, the hates and hopes and loves and fears of people. Its formula is pretty constant: get somebody in trouble, get them out, get them in again, etc. Thus fiction tends to define interpersonal problems, rather than to solve them, to make our rather ordinary life exciting.

> FROM AN OLD MASTER
> "I recall that, in concluding his lectures, Knapp (Strassburg) referred us, not to a treatise, but to a novel, which I bought and read. It suggested an idea from which I have greatly profited, the value of fiction in giving a student a more realistic view of life."
> ....Robert E. Park

Aside from personalizing issues, fiction has the function in intergroup relations of providing an array of characters which students use throughout a course to illustrate a point, to advance an argument. They project themselves, their conflicts and solutions, ambitions and aspirations, into the doings of Sammy, Aunt Cissy, Marc Reiser, and the rest. Happy is the classroom where the teacher is a fiction addict, a skilled user of people to teach about people!

OLD AMERICAN

Here are books about native whites of native parentage, socalled "Old Americans." Listings deal with many themes--old family, class backgrounds, our drive to get ahead, child acculturation, prejudices toward out group members. In general, we see life as symbolical majority-group members find it, a display of their basic values. We have kept the list short and sharply pointed.

Allen, Elizabeth, Not Hers Alone
Bellaman, Henry, Kings Row
Browne, Louis, See What I Mean
Davenport, Marcia, Valley of Decision
Flavin, Martin, Journey in the Dark
Lewis, Sinclair, Main Street
Marquand, J. P., H. M. Pulham, Esq.
Morley, Christopher, Kitty Foyle
Nash, Eleanor, Footnote to Life
Passos, John Dos, Number One, The Big Money
Randall, Lois, Roughly Speaking
Smith, Betty, Tree Grows in Brooklyn
Thane, Elswythe, Yankee Stranger
Tunis, John, A City for Lincoln

IMMIGRANTS, 2ND GENERATION

In these volumes, we glimpse immi- life histories--the migrant's high aspirations, bewilderment, gradual adjustment, in sum how he has become an American. One must read with some insight into Old world backgrounds, some feel for second generation culture conflicts, some abiding concern for people as people. Even then, unless he has lived abroad, he will miss much, for example the social role of Hersey's "bell" in the life of Adano.

Cather, Willa, My Antonia
De Jong, David, With A Dutch Accent
Driscoll, Paul, My Felicia
Farrell, John, A World I Never Made
Freeman, Jos., Never Call Retreat
Hershey, John, A Bell for Adano
Maltz, Albert, Cross and the Arrow
Papashvily, G., Anything Can Happen
Ravage, M., An American in Making
Steinbeck, J., The Moon Is Down
Vardoulakis, Mary, Gold in Streets

NEGRO AMERICANS

Writers about Negro Americans tell a number of stories. Favorite themes are intermarriage, the Negro's struggle to achieve status, his reactions to discrimination, the street life of children, a stress on simple human vices and virtues.

Carter, Hugh, Winds of Fear
Cook, F., Mrs. Palmer's Honey
Fast, Howard, Freedom Road
Fauset, J., Chinnaberry Tree
Hughes, L.Not Without Laughter
Jackson, J., Call Me Charlie
Means, F., Shuttered Windows
Moon, Bucklin, Darker Brother
Cvigton, Mary, Zeke
Petry, Ann, The Street
Smith, Lillian, Strange Fruit
Thompson, E. American Daughter
Tunis, John R., All American
Van Vechten, C. Nigger Heaven
Wright, Richard, Native Son

ANGLO-AMERICANS, ASIATICS

Under this title, we want to include books on Spanish-American peoples, Mexicans, Japanese, Chinese, and Indians. It must be remembered many are citizens, full-fledged citizens by right of birth, hence not to be viewed as "birds of passage." Some of their problems involve prejudice, others the culture conflicts common to any 2nd or 3rd generation.

Crichton, K., Proud People
Glick, C. Three Times I Bow
LaFarge, O., Laughing Boy
Means, Florence, Teresita of the Valley, Mover Cuters
Roberts, Martha, Tumble Weeds
Sanchez, G. Forgotten People
Steinbeck, J. Tortilla Flats
Sze, M-M, Echo of a Cry

A TEST FOR YOU

Agree__Disagree__Uncertain__

"All available means should be used to clear away the cobwebs of prejudice and open the eyes of people to the fact that historic background is the determinant of social behavior and that behavior changes with one's social status." ...Franz Boas

INTERPRETATION OF FICTION

***

"No teacher," writes Luella Miles, "should dare to neglect the job of orienting his students to the U. S. A. as it is in FACT, not in fiction." The same, we might add, should hold for drama, poetry and the like.

For the role of reading in child acculturation, see K.N. Lind, "The Social Psychology of Children's Reading," Amer. Jour. Soc., 41, '36, 454-69.

For anlytical studies, S. Brown, "Negro Character as Seen by White Authors," Jr. Negro Ed., 2, '33, 179-203; D. L. Hobman, "The Jew in Gentile Fiction," Contemp. Rev., 157 '40, 97-103.

JEWISH AMERICAN

Literate, vocal, imaginative, Jewish writers have for centuries produced outstanding works of fiction,drama,poetry, in truth excelled in all the arts. Many volumes deal with Old World migrant adjustments--the decision to fare forth, first impressions of America, making a living, Jewish-Gentile culture clashes via children. Other themes are evident.

Antin, Mary, Promised Land
Asch, Sholom, Uncle Moses
Graham, Gwenthalyn, Earth and High Heaven
Levin, Meier, The Old Bunch
Miller, Arthur, Focus
Schulberg, Budd, What Makes Sammy Run?
Sinclair, Jo, Wasteland
Singer, I. Brothers Askenazi

CREEDAL VALUES

Brennan, F. God Got One Vote
Cronin, A. J. Keys of the Kingdom
MacLennan, Two Solitudes

RURAL-URBAN

Time was when fiction writers made much of rural and urban problems, often stereotyping character in the Mortimer Snerd and Charlie McCarthy frames.

Now, curiously, there is little of this writing, that little being dispersive, not centered as to core, poorly done. And yet, all things considered, the urbanization of our common life is among the nation's most critical intergroup problems. It is of great importance in several of our college communities.

The historic situation is well known--the pull of the city, the push out of the country, the shuttling back and forth of many young men and women with all that this implies. Of all that has been written, no book surpasses in beauty Mary Webb's Precious Bane, Dutton, 1924, $2.00.

Davis, Robert, Gid Granger
Rawlings, Margaret K., Yearling, Crosscreek
Rolvaag, Ole, Giants in the Earth
Steinbeck, John, Grapes of Wrath
Stuart, Jessie, Men of the Mountains
Sykes, Hope, Second Hoeing
Webb, Mary, Precious Bane
Wolf, Thomas, The Web and the Rock

Americans share the same grave who, in our country, could not share the same hotel.
...Walter Winchel (more or less).

V. AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND BIOGRAPHY

"In our work so far," writes one college committee member, "there has been twice as much reading of fiction and autobiography as of heavier works on intergroup relations." In this school, a library of fifty of these books will be set up, every effort made to further their reading, and evidence collected as to effects. Here are a few very readable "life experience" volumes.

Benjamin, Robert S., I Am An American
Bontemps, Arma, We Have Tomorrow
DuBois, W. E. B., Dusk of Dawn
Embree, Raymond, Thirteen Against the Odds
Hellman, Geo. S., Benjamin S. Cardozo
Holt, R., George Washington Carver
Hughes, Langston, The Big Sea
Johnson, James Weldon, Along This Way
Lewisohn, Ludwig, Up Stream, Mid Channel, Island Within, The Haven
Lin u Tang, Laughter and Tears
Miller, Margarery, Joe Lewis, American
Moton, Robert R., Finding A Way Out
Papashvily, George, Anything Can Happen
Ravage, M. E., An American in the Making
Rizk, Salom, Syrian Yankee
Wright, Richard, Black Boy
White, Walter, Rising Wind

SHE'LL NOT BE SURE AGAIN
OR WILL SHE?

Marc Reiser, a young Jewish lawyer in love with Eric Drake, of the "Montreal Drakes," is talking with her sister.

"Eric was born on top. She's been on top all her life. She's part of a complicated social system where she has a place, where she can go anywhere, do anything, on a basis of complete equality; it's simply up to her. If she marries me, she will lose that overnight.. Where there was certainty, there'll be doubt--nothing definite, just doubt. She will lose some of her friends who simply won't take to the idea of having to invite a Jew along with Eric; she'll be able to keep others. Maybe, she'll keep most of them, but SHE'LL NEVER BE SURE AGAIN."

Earth and High Heaven, p. 167

VI. DRAMA, POETRY, FOLKLORE

Benet, William R. and Norman Cousins, Poems of Freedom. Random House, New York, 1945
Poems from every land, with English speaking nations filling two-thirds of the pages with their hopes and aspirations.

Boyd, James (ed.), The Free Company Presents. Dodd, Mead, New York, 1941. $2
A series of radio plays, depicting our basic freedoms. Short, tense, pointed.

Botkin, B. A. (ed.), A Treasury of American Folklore. Crown Press, N. Y., '44, $3

Brown, Sterling (ed.), The Negro Caravan. Dryden Press, New York, 1941
A significant display of Negro contributions in every literary field.

D'usseau, A., and James Gow, Deep Are the Roots (Scribner's, 1946) and Tomorrow the World (Scribner's, 1943). Current Broadway plays.

Galsworthy, John, Strife. Found in Galsworthy's Plays, Scribner's, 1934.

Kingsley, Sidney, Dead End. In B. Cerf, et al., Sixteen American Plays, 1941.

Odets, Clifford, Awake and Sing. In H. Hatcher, Modern American Dramas, 1944.

Sklar, Geo. and Paul Peters, Stevedore. Covici, Friede, New York, 1934.

Wood, Maxine, On Whitman Avenue. Dramatic play based on housing.

VII. ETHNIC PEOPLES, A PROFILE

Once interest is aroused in ethnic peoples, what they are like, how they live and feel and think, one's desire to know more about them may lead him into current problems, either of a concrete sort such as race prejudice, or else he may feel the need for an inclusive, systematic point of view, a scheme for interpreting the daily flow of incidents and happenings.

Readings here bear on the first interest. They include several examples of concrete studies, a few standard textbooks, and a number of up-to-date bibliographies.

YOU'SE FREE, SON, FREE AS A BIRD

So this was Washington... the place where you boarded a bus for New York City, where Uncle Jake lived and everything was wonderful. Benny moved, as usual, toward the last row of seats in the bus when his mother caught him by the arm. "Son, we don' do dat, heah, not heah or anywhurs, no mor'. Ain't no No'th, ain't no Sou'h. We's free, son, free as a bird!"

...Bucklin Moon in Darker Brother.

Adamic, Louis, From Many Lands. Harper & Bros., New York, 1940. $3.50
Alpenfels, Ethel J., Sense and Nonsense about Race. Friendship Press, New York, 1946. Pamphlet, 25¢
Benedict, Ruth and Gene Weltfish, Races of Mankind. Public Affairs, 30 Rockefeller Center, New York, 1943. Pamphlet, 10¢
Brown, Frances and Joseph Roucek, One America. Prentice-Hall, New York, 1945
Caliver, Amrbose, Sources of Instructional Materials on Negroes. U. S. Office of Education, Washington, 1944. 19 pp.
For all instructional levels. 159 books, pamphlets, periodicals, films, slides, scripts, plays and exhibits. Excellent.
Cayton, H. R. and St. Claire Drake, Black Metropolis. Harcourt, Brace, 1945, $5.00
Cohen, A. E., All God's Children. Macmillan, New York, 1945. Jewish viewpoints
Davis, Allison, B. B. and M.R. Gardner, Deep South. Univ. Chic. Press, New Haven, '41 $4.50
Dollard, John, Caste and Class In A Southern Town. Yale Univ. Press, New Haven, '37
------- Education and Intergroup Relations. U. S. Office of Education, Wash., 1945
Embree, John F., The Japanese. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, 1943.
Finkelstein, Louis, et al., Religions of Democracy. Devin Adair, New York, 1941
Protestantism, Catholicism, Judaism. Common elements, respect and good will.
Graebner, I. and S. H. Britt, Jews in A Gentile World. Macmillan, New York, 1942
Jewish life, culture and personality. Factual, theoretical, unsurpassed.
Heimers, Lili and Margaret Cook, Peoples of America. New Jersey State Teachers College, Montclair, 1945. Ten page bibliography. 25¢
Intergroup Education Workshop, Guidance, Community, Intergroup Life, Social Studies, Evaluation. Short bibliographies by staff members. 437 W. 59th St., N.Y.
Johnson, Charles S., To Stem This Tide. Pilgrim Press, New York, 1943. $1. Survey.
Koeninger, Rupert, A Bibliography on Minority Groups. Central Michigan College of Education, Mt. Pleasant, 1946. 36 pp., books and articles.
Lee, Alfred M. Lee and Norman D. Humphrey, Race Riot, Dryden Press, New York, $1.50
MacGregory, G., Warriors Without Weapons. Univ. Chic. Press, 1945, $3.50.
Second of five projected volumes, each a study of an Indian tribe. Excellent.
McWilliams, Cary, Prejudice. Little, New York, 1944, $4.00 West Coast Japanese.
------- Mexicans in the U. S., Division of Labor and Social Information, Pan American Union, Washington, 1942. 10¢
Michigan Secondary Curriculum Study, Literature of Democracy. Michigan State Library, Lansing, 1944. A bibliography. Free.
Powdermaker, Hortense, After Freedom, A Cultural Study in the Deep South. Viking Press, New York, 1939
Sanchez, George I., A Forgotten People. Univ. New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1940
The Spanish speaking people of Taos, New Mexico.
Steinberg, Milton, The Making of the Modern Jew, Behrman, New York, 1943; A Partisan Guide to the Jewish Problem, Bobbs-Merrill, New York, 1944.
Trager, Helen G., A Bibliography for Teachers. Bureau for Intercultural Education, 1697 Broadway, New York, 1945. 5¢
Waxman, Julia, Race Relations. Julius Rosenwald Fund, 4901 Ellis Ave., Chicago, 1945. A bibliography.

WE'S TWO PEOPLE!

Mary was an aged and respected colored servant in a white southern home. One day, a washtub disappeared and she was accused of stealing it. On that evening, she quit her job, never to return. Finding the tub some weeks later and meeting Mary uptown, Mrs. S was most apologetic, inviting Mary to come back. "Well, now, Miz Smith, you is white and ah is black, but we is boff people. But frum now on, Miz Smith, we is two people!"

...Contri. by Dr. Margaret Hayes

VIII. SOME BASIC POINTS OF VIEW

A scientist is, by nature, an interpreter, a synthesizer. He wants to generalize as broadly, as accurately, as he can, to figure out how a great many things fit together into a repetitive pattern. It takes creative imagination to do this, as well as intimate knowledge of facts. It takes sharp, careful reading to understand scientific "thought patterns," once they have been written down. Here are the best, the most discussed, systematic interpretations of intergroup relations in this country.

Child, Irvin L., Italian or American, Yale Univ. Press, New Haven, 1943, $2.75
A revealing study of second generation culture conflict. General theory is not intended to cover nonwhite native-born ethnics.

Dollard, John, Caste and Class in A Southern Town. Yale Un. Press, New Haven, '37
A theory of gains and losses, frustration and aggression. See also Neal Miller and Dollard, Social Learning and Imitation, for a process viewpoint.

Kardiner, Abram, The Psychological Frontiers of Society. Columbia Univ. Press, '43
A psychiatric theory of personality development in relation to culture. Applicable to all kinds of intergroup relations but does not deal directly with them.

ABOUT US AMERICANS
"They know, and are content that all the world should know, the worst about them as well as the best. THEY HAVE A BOUNDLESS FAITH IN FREE INQUIRY AND FULL DISCUSSION. They admit the possibility of any number of temporary errors and delusions."
...Bryce, American Commonwealth, II, 1893, p.371

Klineberg, Otto, Characteristics of the American Negro. Harper, New York, 1944, $4.00
A psychological viewpoint. Should be read in connection with Hadley Cantril The Psychology of Social Movements.

Lasker, Bruno, Race Attitudes in Children. Henry Holt, New York, 1929
Older, looser ancedotal reasoning as to how children got that way and what to do about it. Incidents, cases, teacher opinions.

Linton, Ralph, Science of Man in the World Crisis. Columbia Univ. Press, 1945.
Anthropology applied to race relations and world problems. See also his Cultural Backgrounds of Personality for a theory of child development.

Myrdal, Gunnar, An American Dilemma. 2 vols. Harper, New York, 1944. $7.50 the set.
An interpretation in terms of democratic rights and privileges. The most popular of all viewpoints with educators, i.e. most in line with their thinking.

Thompson, Edgar (ed.), Race Relations and the Race Problem. Univ. North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1942. Duke Univ Press!
Best in print, perhaps, of an older "social process" viewpoint, especially the chapter by Robt. E. Park. See also Park and Burgess, Intro. to Sci. of Sociol.

Warner, W. Lloyd, et al., Social Life of A Modern Community (1941, $4), Status Systems of A Modern Community (1942, $4), and Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups (1945, $4). Yankee City Series. Yale Univ. Press, New Haven.
The most complete "system" in print, a caste-class interpretation with every individual put into his status position in the social structure of community life and his behaviors so interpreted. The first volume above, and the third, are of most value, most informative. One might, as a starter, read Yankee City "family profiles," Social Life, pp. 127-201, and then turn back to the first part of the book for theory and method. Tough going but worth it.

AND SO, WHAT DO YOU THINK?
"For ten years, in bars and offices and wherever sociologists have gathered, discussion of "Warner's Newburyport study" has gone on. It has built high hopes and and reinforced gloomy ones until the published account, no matter how brilliant or how bad, could not possibly fulfil the supercharged expectations. The second volume, original and thorough as a masterpiece, yet more defective than some lesser works, will long puzzle the wise prognosticators... It has an awkward originality and driving concentration that more than counterbalances its faults."
...Kingsley Davis

IX. CHILD ACCULTURATION

Of particular concern to educators is the upbringing of children, the way a social order gets woven into the fabric of habitual, personal living. We know that young people are not born human; they must, somehow, internalize culture, the concrete culture to which they fall heir. The exact nature of the acculturation process, in contrast to formal schooling, is still a puzzle to researchers in the field. Here are a variety of viewpoints, each well worth study.

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Barker, Roger G., et al., Child Behavior and Development. McGraw-Hill, New York, '43
The story of child growth and development from reflexive action through learning to group behavior in adolescence. Chapters by distinguished authorities.

Child, Irvin L., Italian or American: Second Generation in Conflict. Yale Univ. Press, New Haven, 1943. $2.75
Social situation facing the 2nd generation; rebel, in-group, apathetic reactions.
Cook, Lloyd Allen, Community Backgrounds of Education. McGraw-Hill, New York, 1939.
Community life and personality development. Social influences shaping children.
---- "How Society Processes Children," in H. H. Remmers (ed.), Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Guidance Conference, Purdue University, November 1943, 46-54.
Davis, Allison, "Status Systems and Child Socialization," Amer. Soc. Rev., 8, 1941, 345-55. See also Children of Bondage.
Davis, Allison and John Dollard, Children of Bondage. American Council on Education, Washington, 1940. $2.25
A series of class-typed life histories. Most basic work in print.
Davis, Kingsley, "The Child and the Social Structure," Jour. Educ. Soc., 14, 1940, 217-29.
A theoretical analysis of child socialization. Very instructive.
Frazier, E. F., Negro Youth at the Crossroads. American Council on Education, Washington, 1940. $2.25
Johnson, Charles S., Growing Up in the Black Belt. American Council on Education, Washington, 1941. $2.25 A study of Negro youth in the rural South.

DAN PRESCOTT SAYS--

"Normal, wholesome personality development demands that the child expand the scope of his activities into wider social groupings.. His functioning must be of the affective sort which will give him the feeling of 'belonging' to these groups. He must feel that he is important in these groups, that he is valued and well thought of.... Without this sense of belonging, the 'security' of the individual is greatly menanced and his valuation of himself suffers to the point of involving him in very serious and continuing unpleasant emotions."
Emotions and the Educative Process, 114

Koshuk, Ruth P., Social Influences Affecting the Behavior of Young Children, Monograph Vol. VI, No. 2. Society for Research in Child Development, National Research Council, Washington, 1942. Critical examination of the literature. Bibliography.
Landis, Paul H., Adolescence and Youth: The Process of Maturing. McGraw-Hill, New York, 1945. Largely factual, within a broad sociological frame.
Linton, Ralph, Cultural Backgrounds of Personality. Appleton-Century, New York, '45
Mathews, M. T., Experience Worlds of Mountain Children. Teachers College Contri. to Educ., No. 700, 1937. A study of isolated mountain children.
Miller, Neal and John Dollard, Social Learning and Imitation. Yale Univ. Press, '41
A theory of learning--want something, see something, do something, get something.
Prescott, Daniel A., Emotion and the Educative Process. Amer. Council on Ed., 1939
Sherif, Muzafer, The Psychology of Social Norms. Harper, 1936. Norms, needs, values.
Stonequist, Everett, The Marginal Man. Scribner's, New York, 1937.
Racial and cultural "hybrids." Types, life histories, personality characteristics.
Warner, W. Lloyd, et al., Color and Human Nature. Amer. Council on Educ., 1941.
Negro personality types in the city. Color as a factor in status ratings.
Warner, W. Lloyd, R. J. Havighurst and M. B. Loeb, Who Shall Be Educated? Harper, '44
Application of caste-class hypothesis to personality development. Cases, theory, meanings for education. Best single reading with which we are acquainted.
Young, Pauline, Pilgrims of Russian Town. University of Chicago Press, 1932.
Russian Molokan community in Los Angeles. Excellent life history materials.

X. SCHOOL PROBLEMS AND PROGRAMS

With the decline of the family, the school has become the community's chief agency of acculturation. What are schools doing in intergroup relations, talking about doing, urged to do? Writings bulk large in number, thin in content; they are increasing rapidly and, withal, improving in descriptive worth and value. We have grouped our selection of titles under four familiar headings, each heading an area of prime concern to all institutions in the College Study.

GROWING UP!

"Is yo' foh or is yo' five," asked a little Negro boy of his companion. "Ah don' kno', came the puzzled reply. "Yo don' kno' is yo' foh or is yo' five... Wal, now, is yo hankerin' 'bout gals, is yo'? "Naw," with indignation. "Yo is foh! Just foh!"

X-1. A PHILOSOPHY OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS

Adamic, Louis, A Nation of Many Nations. Harper, 1945. Cultural pluralism, unity.
Agar, Herbert, Time for Greatness. Little, Boston, '42. Aggressive citizenship.
Alinsky, Saul, Revielle for Radicals. University of Chicago Press, 1945
A political action theory of community organization. Most provocative book to read.
Bates, Ernest S., American Faith. Norton, 1940. Nation's mind and background.
Boas, Franz, Race and Democratic Society. J. J. Augustin, New York, 1945
Commission on Teacher Education, Teachers for Our Times. American Council on Education, Washington, 1944. Especially Chapter II Our Country, Our People.
Conant, James Bryant, Public Education and the Structure of American Society. Bureau of Publ., Teachers College, Columbia Univ., 1946. A basic appraisal.
Dewey, John, The Public and Its Problems. Little read, provocative examination of our loss of national unity, where we seem to be headed.
DuBois, W.E.B., Color and Democratic Society. Harcourt, Brace, New York, 1945. An old master of sharp logic at his aggressive best.
Educational Policies Commission, Education of Free Men in American Democracy (1941). For the "essentials" of this volume and others, see Policies for Education in American Democracy (1946). National Education Association, Washington, D. C.
-------Essential Human Rights. The Annals, Amer. Acad. Pol. and Soc. Sci., Vol. 243, January 1946, entire issue. $2.00 Human rights at the international level.
Fineberg, Solomon A., Overcoming Anti-Semitism. Harper, '43. Viewpoints and tactics.
Herrick, Arnold and Herbert Askwith, This Way to Unity. Oxford Book Co., New York, 1945, 462p. Excellent collection of writings bearing on intergroup relations--fiction, news, essays, studies. Published for the National Conference of Christians and Jews, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York.
Johnson, James Weldon, Negro Americans, What Now? Viking Press, New York, 1934.
Kilpatrick, William H., Group Education for Democracy. Harper, New York, 1945. Applications of a well known philosophy to intergroup relations and schooling.
Locke, Alain, George B. Ford, et al., Diversity Within Unity. National Council for the Social Studies, Nat. Educ. Assoc., Washington, 1945. 32 pp. 10¢
Logan, Rayford (ed.), What the Negro Wants. Univ. N. Car. Press, Chapel Hill, 1944. What a number of distinguished Negro intellectuals feel, want and think. Ideas differ widely. Exciting to read.
Lynd, Robert S., Knowledge for What?, Princeton Univ. Press, 1940. Lynd argues for a functional, adaptive science, focused on problems of the age. Much the same viewpoint is held by Myrdal, An American Dilemma. Vol. II, Appendix 2, 1035-65.
MacIver, Robert M., et al., Group Relations and Group Antagonisms (1944) and Civilization and Group Relations (1945). Harper, New York.
Odum, Howard, Race and Rumors of Race. Univ. North Car. Press, Chapel Hill, 1943. Wartime crises in the south; an appeal to leadership regardless of color.
Powdermaker, Hortense, Probing Our Prejudices. Harper, New York, 1944. 73p. $1.00 Best of the pamphlets. Short enough to be read, long enough to be effective.
-------The Public School and Spiritual Values. Harper, New York, 1944. Critical examination of a much debated question.
Warner, W. Lloyd, et al., Who Shall Be Educated? Harper, New York, 1944. Rejection of caste-class system as against democracy.

ASKED TO DEFINE PHILOSOPHY

"It is strange that it is hard for me to give a definition of a subject which I have been teaching for fifty years... Philosophy is a criticism of our cultural heritage.. a love of wisdom. It is concerned with questions of what men should do, how they should act."

....John Dewey

CAN A SCIENTIST HAVE A PHILOSOPHY?

Why do we work so hard? What is our science for? By what criteria do we select problems for study? On what basis, or for what uses, do we expect our society to tolerate us, to pay us board and keep?

STRESS FACTORS THAT UNITE

"I have noticed in dealing with college students that, while their differences in political, social and economic matters are presupposed, these are not so divisive as those found in religion... A high wall of separation divides us.. yet there are many factors common to all religions.. a Supreme Being, faith in prayer, public worship, the ten commandments... Oneness on essentials must be our supreme concern."

...Father George B. Ford

X-2. SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

Brameld, Theodore, Minority Problems in Public Schools. Harper, 1946. 264 Pp. $1.50
A study of school systems in seven American cities with emphasis on administrative policies and practices. Visits and survey. Factual, comparative, good.

Chatto, C. I. and Alice Hallegan, Story of the Springfield Plan. Barnes and Noble, New York, 1945. $2.75
Much discussed "Springfield Plan." Effectiveness would seem to lie more in school "atmosphere," a tradition of equal rights and fair play, plus supporting institutions such as parks and playgrounds, rather than in classroom teaching.

Counts, George S., Education and the Promise of America. Macmillan, 1945. 157 Pp.
Most outstanding spokesman for liberal, functional, socialized education, without regard to color, creed or class.

--------- Education for All American Youth. Educational Policies Commission. National Education Association, Washington, 1944. 400 Pp.

Mayor's Committee on Unity, Report on Inequalities of Opportunities in Higher Education. Dan W. Dodson, Exec Dir., New York Univ., Washington Square, New York, 1946. Enough evidence to lead the committee to request a statewide investigation of the alleged "quota system" in higher education. In so far as such a system exists in New York, or in any state, it must be charged very largely to administrative policy.

HOW RIGHT IS HE?
"...the fact is that an educational offensive against racial intolerance going deeper than 'glittering generalities' in the nation's creed, has never been seriously attemped in America."
...Gunnar Myrdal

X-3. COURSE OF STUDY, THE CLASSROOM

------- Americans All. Dept. Superv. and Curr. Dev., Nat. Educ. Assoc., 1942, $2.00

------- We're All Americans. Teachers Manual No. 2, 1941. Council Against Intolerance in America, 60 E. 42nd St., New York.

------- Reading Ladders. Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools, 437 W. 59th St., N.Y. Seven page biblio., graded, free.

Cook, Lloyd Allen, "An Experimental Study of A Stratified Tenth Grade Class," Amer. Soc. Rev., 10, 1945, 250-61. A few reprints, free. Sociographic charting of a 10th grade class over a two year period. Introduction of an experimental program of individual guidance and group management, noting results.

Duncan, Ethel M., Democracy's Children. Hinds Hayden and Eldridge, Phila., '45. One teacher's program in intergroup relations.

Educational Policies Commission, Learning the Ways of Democracy. Nat. Ed. Assoc., 1940. A case book in civic action.

Edwards, Newton (ed.), Education in A Democracy. Univ. Chic. Press, 1941. 160 Pp. $1.25

Jacobson, Paul (ed.), General Education in the American High School. Scott, Foresman, Chicago, 1942.

Mahoney, John J., For Us the Living, An Approach to Civic Education. Harpers, 1945. Excellent.

Prescott, Dan, et al., Helping Teachers Understand Children. Amer. Council on Educ., 1945.

Taba, Hilda and William Van Til (eds.), Democratic Human Relations. 1946 Yrbk., Nat. Coun. for Social Studies. Nat. Educ. Assoc., 1946.

Traeger, Helen, "Intercultural Books for Children," Child. Educ., November 1945. Reprint from Nat. Conf. Chr. and Jews, New York.

Vickery, William and Stewart Cole, Intercultural Education in American Schools. Harper, New York, 1942. Paper, $1.00

Warner, W. Lloyd, et al., Who Shall Be Educated?, Harper, New York, 1944.

PUBLICATIONS
OF THE COLLEGE STUDY IN
INTERGROUP RELATIONS

"Getting the Study Started," 24th Yrbk., Amer. Assoc. Teach. Colleges, Chas. Hunt, Secy, State Teachers College, Oneonta, N. Y.

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"Current Approaches to Intergroup Education in Public Schools," New York State Educ., 33, 1945, 207-9.

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"A Project Director's Role," Ohio Valley Sociol., 12, 1946, 1-4.

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"Teaching Teachers Cooperative Action," 25th Yrbk., Amer. Assoc. Teach Coll., Oneonta, New York.

***

"(With Elaine Forsyth), "Working with Groups in Classrooms," Jour. Educ. Soc., September issue.

***

"(With Paul Harnley, et al.), Improving Intergroup Relations in School and Community Life. North Central Assoc. Sec. Schools and Colleges. 50 Pp., 25¢

***

"The College Study in Intergroup Relations: Progress Report 1945-1946," Educational Record, forthcoming.

***

The College Study Bulletin. Monthly, free on request. Supplementary Sheets on special topics.

X-4. SCHOOL ACTIVITIES, GROUPINGS

Baxter B. and R. Cassidy, Group Experience. Harper, New York, 1943. $2.50

Brown, Spencer, They See for Themselves. Harper, New York, 1945. $2.00
A community study made by students of eleven New York City highschools, with findings presented in the form of short, documentary plays. Well done.

DuBois, Rachael Davis, Get Together Americans. Harper, 1943, $1.75. Assembly programs, clubs.

Eakin, Mildred, Getting Acquainted with Jewish Neighbors. Macmillan, 1945. $1.00. Jewish symbols, festivals, and sacred days. Excellent.

Duncan, Ethel M., Democracy's Children. Hinds, Hayden and Eldredge, New York, 1945. $2.00. Group work with small children--songs, games, holidays, stories and customs.

QUESTIONS CHILDREN ASK

1. Why are there so many religions?
2. Why can't kids from our part of town get elected to class office?
3. Why don't we invite Negro classmates to our school parties?
4. How can I get along better with children I don't really like?

...From W. W. D. Sones

Fitch, Florence M., One God. Lothrop, Lee and Shepard, New York, 1944. 143 pages. For upper grades and high school. Well written, profusely illustrated. Good.

Sickels, Alice L., Around the World in St. Paul. Univ. Minn. Press, 1945. The famous St. Paul festival of all nations. Folk arts, pageantry, backgrounds.

Waller, Willard, The Sociology of Teaching. Wiley, New York, 1932. A pioneering effort to visualize the school as a pattern of interacting groups.

X-5. COMMUNITY STUDY, RELATIONS, SERVICES

Barzun, Jacques, The Teacher in America. Little, Brown, New York, 1946. 321 Pp.

Brown, Spencer, They See For Themselves. Harper, New York, 1945. $2.00
Students of eleven New York City high schools study their respective areas.

------- A Guide to Community Coordination. Coordinating Councils, 145 W. 12th St., Los Angeles, Cal. 1941. 28 Pp., 25¢. For communities under 25,000 population.

Brunner, Edmund deS., Community Organization and Adult Education. Univ. North Car. Press, Chapel Hill, 1942. 121 Pp. $2.00. Five year experiment at Greenville County, South Carolina, in helping people help themselves via community action.

Cook, Lloyd Allen, Community Backgrounds of Education. McGraw-Hill, 1938.
Community Action and the School. Ohio State Univ. Press, 1941
"Methods of Community Study," in W. C. Reavis (ed.), The School and the Urban Community, 201-15. Univ. Chic. Press, 1942. $2.00
(Editor), The War, Education and Society, Rev. Educ. Res., 13, February 1943. Chapters by Hoffer, Carr, Remmers, Havighurst, Everett and Cook.

Greenhoe, Florence, The Community Contact and Participation of Teachers. American Council on Public Affairs, Washington, 1941.

SPEAK UP, ACT UP, THINK
For good will in intergroup relations. A 61-page pamphlet just publisted by the National Conference of Christians and Jews, 381 4th Av., New York. Edited by Ellis Jensen.

Leonard O. and C. P. Loomis, Culture of A Contemporary Rural Community: El Cerrito, New Mexico. Rural Life Studies:1, November 1941. U. S. Dept. Agri., Wash. Also in same series, Earl H. Bell, Sublette, Kansas. Excellent examples of objective community study.

Loomis, Clarence B., An Experience in Community Development. Rabun Press, Clayton Ga., 1944. An account of the Greenville (S.C) project by its director. Critical.

Lynd, Robt. S. and Helen M., Middletown in Transition. Harcourt, Brace, 1937.

McMillen, Wayne, Community Organization for Social Welfare. Univ. Chic. Press, 1945. Written for social workers but invaluable for teachers. Exhaustive, informative.

Olsen, Edw. G., School and Community. Prentice-Hall, 1945. Up to date, practical.

-------- The Story of Holtville. Holtville High School Faculty, Holtville, Ala., 1944. A Southern Association Study. Meeting human needs in a rural area.

Terry, Paul W. and Verner M. Sims, They Live on the Land. Bureau of Educational Research, University of Alabama, University, Ala. 1940.

Smith, Lillian, These Are Things to Do. Bureau for Intercultural Education, 1697 Broadway, New York. Importance of "little things" in intergroup relations. 5¢

Thorndike, E. L., Your City. Harcourt, Brace, 1939. $2.00. Comparative study of cities

MAY WE SUGGEST A BULLETIN FILE

It is with deep regret that we must decline requests for additional copies of the College Study Bulletin, nor can we as a rule supply copies for committee study or for class use. There is no charge for the Bulletin; simply ask that your name be put on our mailing list. The Bulletin is issued monthly at the office of the College Study in Intergroup Relations, 5272 Second Ave., Detroit 1.

XI. INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP STUDY TECHNICS

Allport, Gordon W., Use of Personal Documents in Psychological Science. Bull. No. 49, 1942. Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Ave., New York. Critical examination of life histories, diaries, projective "tests" and other forms of uncontrolled reaction patterns. Directly applicable to intergroup studies.

-------- Adolescence. 43rd Yrbk., National Society for the Study of Education. Univ. Chic. Press, 1944. 357 Pp. A psychological orientation, little about groups.

Angell, Robt. C., The Integration of American Society.

Bassett, R. E., "Cliques in A Student Body of Stable Membership," Sociometry, 3, 1944, 290-302.

Boney, M. E., "A Study of Social Status at the Second Grade Level," Jour. Genetic Psych., 60, 1942, 271-05.

Blos, Peter, The Adolescent Personality. Published by Appleton-Century, 1941. 517 Pp.

Cook, Lloyd Allen, "An Experimental Study of A Stratified Tenth Grade Class," Amer. Soc. Rev., 10, 1945, 250-61.

---- ----- ----- and Rupert C. Koeninger, "Measuring Learning Outcomes in Introductory Sociology Classes," Jour. Educ. Soc., 13, 1939, 233-47.

Dollard, John, "The Life History in Community Study," Amer. Soc. Rev., 3, '38, 724-37.

Driscoll, Gertrude, How to Study the Behavior of Children. Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1941. Study of individuals; good bibliography.

Frank, Lawrence K., "Projective Methods for A Study of Personality," Jour. Psych., 8, 1939, 389-413. Some technic but mostly theory. Very good.

Jennings, Helen Hall, Leadership and Isolation. Longmans, Green, 1943. Most recent, and most thorough, application of Moreno sociographic technic.

Lippitt, Ronald and Ralph K. White, "The Social Climate of Children's Groups," in R. G. Barker, et al., Child Behavior and Development, 485-508. McGraw-Hill, 1943.

Loomis, Charles P., "Informal Groupings in A Spanish-American Village, Sociometry, 4, 1941, 36-51.

Lundberg, George, Social Research. Longmans, Green, 1942. Still the basic work in sociological research methods.

Prescott, Daniel, et al., Helping Teachers Understand Children. Amer. Council on Ed., Wash., 1945. Chief reliance on anecodtal and observational data. Case studies.

Sanderson, D., "Group Description," Social Forces, 16, 1938, 309-19. A study outline.

Raths, Louis, Culture Conflict Index, Social Acceptance Scale, Social Sensitivity Index, Social Problems Analysis. Bureau of Educational Research, Ohio State University, Columbus, 1945-46. Paper-and-pencil tests; at present, elementary level.

Redl, Fritz, "Diagnostic Group Work," Amer. Jour. Orthopsych., 14, 1944, 53-67.

Roethlisberger, F. J., Management and Morale. Harvard Univ. Press, 1941. Especially Chap. VI Of Words and Men. Interviewing as a research technic.

Warner, W. Lloyd, et al., Color and Human Nature. Amer. Council on Educ., Wash. '41

Troyer, Maurice E. and C. Robert Pace, Evaluation in Teacher Education. Commission on Teacher Education, American Council on Education, Washington, 1944.

Whyte, William F., Street Corner Society. Univ. Chic. Press, 1943. Study of "street corner" groupings in an urban (Italian) area. Observation, positional mapping, talk.

Zeleny, Leslie Day, "Status: Its Measurement and Control in Education," Sociometry, 4, May 1941, 193-204.

E PLURIBUS UNUM

"In general, the picture is one of a differentiated society whose parts have become so disconnected that few groups speak in terms of the whole."
...Robert C. Angell

ANXIETY AND INSECURITY

Asked to make a choice between having a quarter now, 50¢ in a week, $1 in a month, most Negro children wanted the 25¢ now. Whites, on the contrary, ask for the greater sum, a response viewed as showing a greater trust in the future.
...Commission on Community Interrelations, Amer. Jew. Con.

XII. GROUP MANAGEMENT TACTICS

Alinsky, Saul, Revielle for Radicals. Univ. Chic. Press, 1945. Back-of-the-yards movement to organize a community council. Pressure-group tactics, radical philosophy.

Bogardus, Emory S., Democracy by Discussion. Amer. Council on Public Affairs, Wash., 1942. 59 Pp. Various types of discussion technics

Cantril, Hadley, The Psychology of Social Movements. Wiley, 1941; also Invasion from Mars. Princeton Univ. Press, 1940. A theory of group action.

Carr, Lowell J., Delinquency Control. Harper, 1941. Organizing community action for delinquency control. Good analysis of leadership roles.

Chase, Stuart, Democracy Under Pressure. 20th Century Fund, New York, 1945.

SMALL, VITAL AUTONOMOUS GROUPINGS are the "grassroot seedbeds" of democracy. Central thesis of the Journal of Educational Sociology, May 1946. 35¢ the copy. New York Univ., N. Y.

Cartwright, M. A. and Glen Burch, Adult Adjustment. Institute for Adult Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1945. 84 Pp.

Cook, Lloyd Allen, "Educating for Community Unity and Action," Rev. Educ. Res., 13, February 1943, 48-59; also School and Community in Greater Chicago Heights Area. A "Community Action" Field Course and Survey. Board of Educ., Chicago Heights, Ill., 1942. $1.00 46 Pp.

YOU AND YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD
A booklet of pictures and text designed to orient a citizen or school study of urban areas, plus community action for their improvement. Revere Copper and Brass Co., 230 Park Av., N. Y.

DuBois, Davis Rachel, Get Together Americans, Harper, 1943; Build Together Americans, Hinds, Hayden and Eldredge, New York, 1945. School group programs.

Gosnell, H. F., Negro Politicians. Univ. Chic. Press, 1935. Negro politics in Chicago. Leader types.

Heiden, Konrad, Der Fueher. Houghten Mifflin, 1944. Hitler's rise and tactics. Anti-Semitism.

Gaer, Joseph, The First Round. Duel, Sloan and Pierce, New York, 1944. $2.50 The C.I.O Political Action Committee. Issues, tactics; gains, losses, plans.

Huszar, George B. de, Practical Applications of Democracy. Harper, 1945, 140 Pp., $2 A philosophy and psychology of group action. Well illustrated. Bibliography.

Kilpatrick, William H., Group Education for Democracy. Association Press, 347 Madison Ave., New York, 1940. Mostly a conception of the nature of democracy.

Langley, Adria Locke, A Lion in the Street. Sun Dial Press, Garden City, New York, 1940. $1.49. Rise of a dictator. Compare John Dos Passos, Number One.

Leighton, Alexander H., The Government of Men. Intergroup tensions in Japanese relocation center. A psychiatric point of view. Principles of group management.

MacIver, Robt. M., Group Relations and Group Antagonisms. Harper, New York, 1944, $2 A collection of papers of quite unequal value. Mostly a philosophical viewpoint.

Merriam, Chas. E., The Role of Politics in Social Change. New York Univ. Press, 1936.

Miller, Clyde, The Process of Persuasion. Crowell, New York, 1946.

Murphy, Albert J., "A Study of the Leadership Process," Amer. Soc. Rev., 6, 1941, 674-87.

Northup, Herbert, Organized Labor and the Negro. Harper, New York, 1944.

TEACHERS INITIATE ACTION
"Superior Michigan teachers have initiated many activities in their communities.. 31% have started at least one activity, 54% of the highschool teachers two activities... including religious, political, professional, welfare, and youth activities..."
...David M. Trout, The Education of Teachers, p. 82. 1943.

Perry, Jennings, Democracy Begins at Home. Lippincott, New York, 1944. Seven year fight by a courageous newpaper to remove the poll tax. Concrete, descriptive, exciting.

Pigors, P., Leadership or Domination. Houghton Mifflin, 1935. An old classic.

Roethlisberger, F. J., Management and Morale. Harvard Univ. Press, Cambridge, 1941. A very valuable book for insights and technics. Principles of group managemnet.

Slavson, S. R., An Introduction to Group Therapy. Commonwealth Fund, New York, 1943. Consider, too, the approaches of Allen, Redl, and Rogers. Nondirective, more or less.

Steinbeck, John, In Dubious Battle. Fictionized account of I.W.W. organizer. Unexcelled for tactics and strategy in group management.

Schell, Erwin H., The Technique of Executive Control. McGraw-Hill, 1946. Sixth edition of a "success story" for business executives. Analyse for role, slogans, etc.

Walser, Frank, The Art of Conference. Harper, 1933. A topic much in need of study.

Weinreich, Max, Hitler's Professors. Yiddish Scientific Institute, 535 W. 123rd St., New York. 291 Pp. $3.50. A sorry lesson for us all.

XIII. AUDIO-VISUAL AIDS

Alland, Alexander, American Counterpoint. John Day, New York, 1943. A book of well conceived photos showing the nation's diverse ethnic origins. As exciting as news.

ONE SEEING IS WORTH?

Boyd, James (ed.), The Free Company Presents. Dodd, Mead, 1941. A series of short, dramatic radio plays.

-------- The Races of Mankind. Race Relations Division, American Missionary Society, 287 4th Ave., New York. $5 the set.

-------- The Negro in American Life. A Photographic Exhibit. Council Against Intolerance in America, 17 E. 42nd St., New York. 24 large cards, with 8x10 photos.

-------- Directory of U. S. Government Films. U.S. Office of Educ., Wash. Free.

-------- Educational Film Catalogue. H. W. Wilson Co., New York. $4.00 per year.

-------- Educational Screen. 64 E. Lake St., Chicago. Educational films.

-------- Free and Inexpensive Learning Materials. Field Study No. 9, 1944. Division of Surveys and Field Study, George Peabody College, Nashville, Tenn. 25¢

Fowlkes, John G. and Donald Morgan, Elementary Teachers Guide to Free Current Material. Educators' Progress League, Randolph, Wisc., 1945. $3.50

--------- Races of Mankind. Wall chart, 4 ft. by six ft. C. S. Hammond Co., New York.

Horkheimer, Mary F. and John Differ, Educators' Guide to Free Films. Educators' Progress League, Randolph, Wisc., 1945.

Levenson, William R., Teaching Through Radio. Farrar and Rinehart, New York, 1945.

Modley, Rudolph, How to Use Pictorial Statistics. Harper, 1937. 170 Pp. $3.00

P. E. A. Human Relations Films, Teaching Films Custodians, 25 w. 43rd St., New York.

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Films dealing with intergroup relations are notably few in number and of little worth for any kind (high school, college) of critical audience. Outstanding exceptions, and well worth recommending for use, are as follows:

The House I Live In, Warner Brothers
The World We Want to Live In, National Conf. Chr. and Jews, 381 4th Av., NY
It Happened in Springfield, Warner Bros.
The Negro Soldier, War Dept., Wash.
Henry Brown Farmer, U.S. Dept. Agri.
Negro Colleges in War, Office War Information, Washington

THE HOUSE I LIVE IN
The Highland Folk School, Monteagle, Tenn., has just received $6,000 from the proceeds of the Frank Sinatra film, one of the two best shorts now current. The movie is well showing, especially if followed by discussion.

XIV. NATIONAL RESOURCE AGENCIES

At best estimate, there are 150 some agencies, committees, etc., at work in the field of intergroup relations, and of these, the top 15 are said to spend a budget of 7.5 million dollars per year. Some of these agencies are old, well known and highly respected the nation over. Others, perhaps the majority, are of very recent origin. All are of potential aid to classroom teachers, although their contributions will differ in kind and in quality. Here is a careful, up-to-date listing. Write to them for information, asking if you wish to be put on their mailing list.

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1. American Association for Adult Education, 60 E. 42nd St., New York
2. American Association on Indian Affairs, 381 4th Av., New York 16
3. American Missionary Association, Race Relations Division, 287 4th Av., New York 10
4. American Civil Liberties Union, 170 5th Ave., New York
5. American Council on Race Relations, 32 W. Randolph St., Chicago
6. American Jewish Committee, 386 4th Ave., New York 16
7. Anti-Defamation League, B'nai Brith, 212 5th Ave., New York; Chicago office, 100 N. LaSalle St., Chicago 2
8. Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1538 9th St., N.W., Wash.D.C.
9. Civic Education Service, 1733 K. St., Washington, D. C.
10. College Study in Intergroup Relations, Lloyd Allen Cook, Director, Wayne University, 5272 2nd Ave., Detroit 1, Michigan
11. Commission on Community Interrelations, American Jewish Congress, 212 w. 50th St., New York 19
12. Commission on Interracial Cooperation, 710 Standard Building, Atlanta, Ga.
13. Common Council for American Unity, 222 4th Ave., New York 3
14. Council Against Intolerance in America, 17 E. 42nd St., New York 17
15. Council for Democracy, 11 W. 42nd St., New York
16. East and West Association, 40 E. 49th St., New York 17
17. Department of Race Relations, Federal Council of Churches of Christ, 297 4th Ave., New York
18. Foreign Policy Association, 22 E. 38th St., New York
19. Institute of Ethnic Affairs, 1719 K. St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C.
20. Intercultural Education Workshop, 204 E. 18th St., New York
21. Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools, Hilda Taba, Director, 437 W. 59th St., New York
22. International Film Bureau, 34 Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.
23. Japanese American Committee, 72 W. 52nd St., New York 19
24. National Association for Advancement of Colored People, 69 5th Ave., New York 11
25. National Catholic Welfare Conference, Social Action Dept., Washington, D. C.
26. National Conference of Christians and Jews, 381 4th Ave., New York 16
27. National Institute of Immigrant Welfare, 2 W. 45th St., New York
28. National Urban League, 1133 Broadway, New York
29. Office of Inter-American Affairs, 444 Madison Ave., New York
30. Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta, Ga.
31. U. S. Office of Education, Washington, D. C.

17-Intercultural Educ.

Bulletin No. 4, July 1945
To Colleges, Schools, Agencies

Lloyd Allen Cook, Director
Ohio State Univ., Columbus

Council on Cooperation in Teacher Education
American Council on Education
COLLEGE STUDY IN INTERGROUP RELATIONS

See p. 8

IV. A WORKING BIBLIOGRAPHY

There is a story about an aged illiterate in a WPA adult education class. Asked how he was getting along, the man replied: "fine, suh, almighty fine. Does I cum now to a road sign, ah can tell how fur 'tis but not rightly where at de road goes."

In previous bulletins (a few can still be had), we have marked out "de road" our nine colleges are traveling, their objectives and progress to date. The last thing we did at the Pitt U workshop was to study these programs for their common denominators, smoking out ways of furthering our work and, by implication, the efforts of others engaged in intergroup education. Number One need was for a bibliography, brief, selective, and adaptive to our purposes.

In this bulletin, we have tried to select the best readings available, the best audiovisual aids, the best agencies at work in intercultural education. Like a much advertised bookcase, a bibliography should be "always complete but never finished," hence we expect to supplement our listings. Please write us the titles of books, films, scripts, etc., that have meant most to you, made a difference in your thinking. Until Aug. 10, our address is Teachers College, Box 134, Columbia University, after which it is Ohio State, Columbus 10, Ohio.

We have starred the minimal titles that a college library might well contain.

A. Current General Bibliographies

1. *Caliver, Ambrose, Sources of Instructional Material on Negroes. U. S. Office of Education, Washington, 1944. 19 pp.
   For all school levels. 159 annotated books, pamphlets, periodicals, films, slides, scripts, plays and exhibits. Well done; informative.
2. ----------, Let Them Face It-The World in Books. Rev. ed. 1945. Child Study Association of America, 221 W. 57th St., New York. 20 p. 20¢
   Fact and fiction for all youth age-levels. Not too discriminating.
3. ----------, Jews in America. American Jewish Committee, 1943. Can be ordered from Bureau for Intercultural Education, 1697 Broadway, New York, 11 pp. Single copy free; 10 or more, 10¢ each.
4. *Heimers, Lili and Cook, Margaret G., The Peoples of America. New Jersey State Teachers College, Montclair, 1945. 10 pp. 25¢
   Charts, maps, exhibits, films, slides, scripts, publications, recordings, and intergroup agencies. Up-to-date, broad coverage.
5. *Trager, Helen G., A Bibliography for Teachers. Bureau for Intercultural Education, 1697 Broadway, New York, 1945. 5¢

B. Basic Frames of Reference

A frame of reference is, in part, a point of view, an orientation, from which to study intergroup relations. It is found in some form or other, explicit or assumed, in all books, and its function is to give character to a work, give it point and pattern. Here is a sampling of prevailing points of view.

6. *Brown, Francis J. and Roucek, J. S., One America. Rev. ed. 1945. Prentice-Hall, New York. $3.75
   All ethnic peoples. Chapters by various authors. Stress on national unity and cultural pluralism. Up-to-date, readable, informative.

7. *Graebner, I. and Britt, S. H., Jews in A Gentile World. Rev. 1942. Macmillan, New York.
   Jewish life and culture, present and past. Chapters by different authors. Anti-semitism, biculturality, a concrete community study. Both factual and theoretical, and unsurpassed.
8. Finkelstein, Louis, W. A. Brown and J. E. Ross, Religions of Democracy. Devin Adair, New York, 1941.
   Protestantism, Catholicism and Judaism. Common elements, good will.
9. *Linton, Ralph (ed.), Science of Man in the World Crisis. Columbia University Press, 1945.
   Anthropology applied to race and world problems. Basic conceptions of races, race differences, culture, change, personality, acculturation and control. Tough reading but worth it.
10. *Logan, Rayford (ed.), What the Negro Wants. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1944.
   What America's most eminent Negro intellectuals feel and want and think. Range is from conservatism to radicalism. Exciting to read.
11. *Myrdal, Gunnar, An American Dilemma. 2 vols. Harper and Bros., New York, 1944.
   Invaluable as synthesis of what is known about the American Negro, a basic application of democratic philosophy, and reliance on education and mass action for ameloriation. A telling criticism of the do-nothing, "scientific" approach to race relations.
12. Thompson, Edgar, et al., Race Relations and the Race Problem. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1942.
   Broad "social process" approach. Chapters by different authors, including Robt. E. Park. Speculative and theoretical.
13. *Warner, W. Lloyd, et al., Social Life of A Modern Community (1941), Status System of A Modern Community (1942), and Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups (1945). Yankee City Series. Yale University Press, New Haven.
   The much debated caste-class point of view based on a study of Newburyport, Mass. Volumes I and III especially valuable.
14. Wittke, Carl, We Who Built America. Prentice-Hall, New York, 1939.
   History of immigration by nationality groupings. Adjustment problems.

C. Fiction and Autobiography

One's great teachers, really great, are few. From Robert E. Park, I learned the value of fiction in the study of social problems, much as he learned it from another. He writes: "I recall that, in concluding his lectures, Knapp (Strassburg) referred us, not to a treatise, but to a novel, which I bought and read. It suggested an idea from which I have greatly profited, the value of fiction in giving the student a more realistic view of life." Fiction does not solve problems; it makes them real and exciting. Its characters jump in and out of discussion like Disney animations. So with "real life," i.e. autobiography and biography. Here are 32 tested titles.

Anglo-American

*Bellaman, Henry, Kings Row
Davenport, Marcia, Valley of Decision
*Flavin, Martin, Journey in the Dark
Lewis, Sinclair, Main Street
*MacLennan, Two Solitudes
*Marquand, J. P., H. M. Pulham, Esq.

Foreign born, 2nd Generation

Cather, Willa, My Antonio
de Jong, David C., With A Dutch Accent
*Farrell, John, A World I Never Made
Freeman J., Never Call Retreat
Lin u Tang, Laughter and Tears

Jewish-Americans

Antin, Mary, The Promised Land
Asch, Sholom, Uncle Moses
*Graham, G., Earth and High Heaven
Halsey, M., Some of My Best Friends Are Soldiers
Lewisohn, L., Up Stream, Mid Channel

Negro Americans

Carter, H., Winds of Fear
*DuBois, W.E.B., Dusk of Dawn
Handy, W. C., Father of the Blues
*Holt, R., George Washington Carver
Hughes, L., Not Without Laughter
*Johnson, James W., Along This Way

*Malz, Albert, Cross and the Arrow
Morley, Christopher, Kitty Foyle
Papashively, G., Anything Can Happen
*Ravage, M., An American in the Making
*Smith, Betty, Tree Grows in Brooklyn
*Moon, Bucklin, Darker Brother
Smith, Lillian, Strange Fruit
Tunis, John R., All-American
Wright, R., Native Son, Black Boy

47. *Benet, William Rose and Norman Cousins, The Poetry of Freedom. Random House, New York, 1945
A most interesting collection of poems from every country, with English speaking nations filling over two-thirds of the space with their hopes, aspirations and struggles for freedom.

48. Brown, Sterling (ed.), The Negro Caravan. Dryden Press, New York, 1941
Significant collection and judicious appraisal of Negro contributions in every artistic field, especially fiction, drama and poetry.

D. Acculturation of Young People

Young people are not born human; they must, somehow, internalize the culture to which they fall heir. While novelists seem to know how this takes place, the acculturation process, in contrast to schooling, is still a great puzzle to social scientists at work in this field. One must, however, hold some theory as to the relation of personality to culture, the only question being how good it is. Our interest is, as usual, in race, class, creed, etc., with viewpoints ranging from the commonsense to the highly abstract.

49. *Child, Irwin S., Italian or American: Second Generation Culture Conflict. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1943.
A provocative study via concrete cases of the acculturation of 2nd generation Italian youth. Concepts and viewpoints broadly applicable to all immigrant groups.

50. *Davis, Allison and John Dollard, Children of Bondage. American Council on Education, Washington, 1940.
Application of the caste-class point of view to Negro personality development through a series of low class, middle and upper class cases. Only book of its kind and invaluable.

51. *Kardiner, Abram, The Psychological Frontiers of Society. Columbia University Press, 1945.
Written in collaboration with Ralph Linton, Cora Du Bois and James West. Elaborates a psychiatric theory of personality development in relation to culture. Parts of the "Plainville, U.S.A." community study particularly revealing.

52. Lasker, Bruno, Race Attitudes in Children. Henry Holt, New York, 1929
Older loose and easy reasoning about how children got that way. Cases, anecdotes, teacher opinions. Readable and, withall, informative.

53. Linton, Ralph, Cultural Backgrounds of Personality. Appleton-Century, New York, 1945.
A social theory of child growth and development as an athropologist sees the total process. Applicable to intergroup relations.

54. Miller, Neal and Dollard, John, Social Learning and Imitation. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1941.
A social psychological approach to learning based on comparative cultures. Want something, see something, do something, get something.

55. *Prescott, Daniel, et al., Helping Teachers Understand Children. American Council on Education, Washington, 1945. 540 pp. $3.50
Work of the Child Growth and Development Center, University of Chicago, of the Commission on Teacher Education. Announced for publication in 1945. A systematic theory of personality development.

56. Stonequist, Everett, The Marginal Man. Scribner's Sons, New York, 1937.
An earlier effort to understand acculturation. Includes both biological and cultural deviants, reaction types and adjustive processes.

57. Sutherland, Robert L., Color, Class and Personality. American Council on Education, Washington, 1942.
Findings and recommendations by the chairman of the American Youth Commission. More stress on ameliorative measures than on causation.

58. *Warner, W. Lloyd, Robert J. Havighurst and Martin B. Loeb, Who Shall Be Educated. Harper and Bros., New York, 1944.
Interpretation and application of caste-class orientation to child growth and development. Written especially for educators.

59. *Young, Pauline, Pilgrims of Russian Town. University of Chicago Press, 1932.
Older-type study of second generation assimilation but a very good one. Cases are illuminating of culture conflict, school and social agency pressures. Reintegration of old and new heritages.

E. The Public School: Viewpoints and Programs

Schools are one, and only one, of society's agencies of acculturation. What are they doing in intergroup education, talking of doing, urged to do? One thinks of four large possible areas of activity: in class, extracurricular, in the community, and in staff attitudes. Readings by no means cover these areas with equal insight but they are, fortunately, improving, a mark of increasing school concern.

60. *----------, The Study of Intergroup Relations. 24th Yearbook, 1945, American Association of Teachers Colleges. Charles W. Hunt, Secretary, State Teachers College, Oneonta, New York. First 51 pages. $1
Papers by Bigelow, Alpenfels, Davis, Havighurst, Baker, Warren, Cook.

61. ----------, The Public School and Spiritual Values. 7th Yearbook, John Dewey Society. Harper and Bros., New York, 1944.

62. ----------, Understanding Our Neighbors. Rev. 1945. Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga. 32 pp. 10¢

63. ----------, We're All Americans. Teachers' Manual No. 2., 1941. Council Against Intolerance in America, 60 East 42nd Street, New York.

64. Benedict, Ruth and Gene Weltfish, The Races of Mankind. Public Affairs Committee, New York, 1943. 31 pp.

65. *Brameld, Theodore, Study of School Administrative Practices and Policies Affecting Intercultural Relations. Bureau for Intercultural Education, 1697 Broadway, New York, 1945.
Scheduled for publication in late fall. Survey of seven school systems. Stresses basic role of school management in democratizing all manner of in-school and school-community relations. A much needed emphasis.

66. *Chatto, C. I. and Alice L. Hallegan, Story of the Springfield Plan. Barnes and Noble, New York, 1945. $2.75
Much discussed Springfield (Mass.) "plan" of intergroup education. Effectiveness lies more in the atmosphere of the school, the tradition of fair play and equal rights, than in anything else, hence depends in lastanalysis on school management. Authors not too clear on this point.

67. *Cole, Stewart and W. E. Vickery, Intercultural Education in American Schools. Harper and Bros., 1943. 215 pp. Paper $1; Cloth $2.

68. *Davis, Rachel Du Bois, Build Together Americans. Hinds, Hayden and Eldredge, New York, 1945. $2
Description of school programs. Emphasis on festivals, dramatics, etc.
69. *Duncan, Ethel M., Democracy's Children. Hinds, Hayden and Eldredge, New York, 1945. $2
Work with small children. Songs, games, holidays, stories, customs.
70. Fitch, Florence Mary, One God. Lothrop, Lee and Shepard, New York 1944. 143 p.
Upper grades and high school. Profusely illustrated, well written.
71. Heizer, George, Practical Applications of Democracy. Harper and Bros., 1945.
Democratic processes in many aspects of social life and group action. Practical implications for school programs.
72. Kilpatrick, Wm. H., Group Education for Democracy. Association Press, 347 Madison Avenue, New York, 1940.
Expansions of a well known philosophy. A trifle fuzzy and sentimental.
73. *Powdermaker, Hortense, Probing Our Prejudices. Harper and Bros., New York, 1944. 73 pp. Paper. 65¢, Cloth $1.
The best known of current pamphlets. Short enough to be read, long enough to be effective. Liked by high school and college students.
74. *Smith, Lillian, These Are Things to Do. Bureau for Intercultural Education, 1697 Broadway, New York, 1943. 16 pp. 5¢
A careful listing of traffic rules in white-Negro relations by an extremely sensitive person. Suggests the importance of the "little things," the common decencies, in race relations.

F. Newer Research Technics

In simple definition, a "scientist" is anyone who makes a guess about the nature of things, behaviors and operations, then seeks to collect evidence. He is scientific, mainly, to the extent that he leaves a trail which others can follow. Obviously, to move ahead in intergroup education, we must first ask ourselves new and different questions, the right kind of questions, and then devise the best ways we can to get answers. Here are adventures that seem very promising.

75. Baruch, Dorothy, "Doll Play in Preschool Children," Mental Hygiene, 24, 1940, 566-77.
76. *Brown, Spencer, They See For Themselves. Harper and Bros., New York, 1944. $2.
Exploring community and dramatizing findings. Three original plays.
77. Baxter, B. and Cassidy, R., Group Experience. Harper, New York, 1943. $2.50
78. *Briggs, Thomas H., et al., The Emotionalized Attitudes. Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1940. 107 pp. 70¢
Critical study of attitudes, nature, changes, reconditioning. A carefully selected bibliography of 224 titles.
79. Cook, Lloyd Allen and R. C. Koeninger, "Measuring Learning Outcomes in Introductory Sociology," Jour. Educ., Soc., 13, 1939, 233-47.
80. Cook, Lloyd Allen, "Field Experience in Teacher Education," in John D. Russell (ed), New Frontiers in Collegiate Instruction, 147-60. Univ. Chic. Press, '41.
81. ----------, "Methods of Community Study," in W. C. Reavis (ed), The School and the Urban Community, 201-14. Univ. Chic. Press, 1943.
82. *----------, "An Experimental Sociographic Study of A Stratified 10th Grade Class," American Sociological Review, 10, 1945, 250-61.
Effort to stratify a high school group and then determine friendship patterns, with emphasis on isolates, pairs, cliques, and all-group leaders. Experimental work over one year to democratize interpersonal relations via, first, individual guidance, then group management.
83. Davis, Allison, "Status Systems and Child Socialization," American Sociological Review, 8, 1941, 345-55.
84. Davis, Kingsley, "The Child and the Social Structure," Journal of Educational Sociology, 14, 1940, 217-29.

85. Davis, Rachel DuBois, Get Together Americans, Harper and Bros., 1943; Build Together Americans, Hinds, Hayden and Eldrege, New York, 1945.
Practical group-action programs, especially at the high school level, by one of the nation's most able and best known workers in the field.

86. Dix, Lester, The Montclair Conference on Workshop Planning. Bureau for Intercultural Education, 1697 Broadway, New York, 1945. 55 pp.
A penetrating study of the workshop as a method of furthering intergroup understandings and suggestions for conducting an intercultural workshop. Ideas applicable to much of our classroom and agency work.

87. Dollard, John, "The Life History in Community Study," American Sociological Review, 3, 1938, 724-37.

88. Havighurst, Robt. J. and Allison Davis, "Child Socialization," Review of Educational Research, 13, 1943, 29-37

89. *Hendry, Charles E., "Role Practice Brings the Community into the Classroom," Sociometry, 7, 1944, 196-204.
A most useful technic for releasing the real gripes, concerns, tensions and aspirations of young people. Readily learned, easily done.

90. Jennings, Helen Hall, Leadership and Isolation. Longmans, Green, 1943.
Most comprehensive work to date using the J. L. Moreno (Who Shall Survive) sociographic technic. Particularly informative in respect to personality patterns such as isolates and leaders.

91. Kluckholn, Florence, "Participant Observer Technic in Community Study," American Journal of Sociology, 46, 1940, 331-43

92. *Slavson, S. R., An Introduction to Group Therapy. Commonwealth Fund, New York, 1943.
Differs somewhat from approach of Allen, Rogers and Redl; highly suggestive and applicable in part to school classroom and guidance problems.

93. *Lundberg, George, Social Research. Rev. ed. 1942. Longmans, Green, 1942.
Best in the field from a sociological standpoint. Highly relevant are Chap. 7 The Questionnaire and 8 Sociometric Methods.

94. Lundberg, George and Lawsing, M., "Sociography of Some Community Relations," American Sociological Review, 2, 1937, 318-25.

95. Mooney, Ross, "Community Differences in Problems of High School Students," Educational and Psychological Measurement, 3, 1943, 127-42.

96. *Prescott, Daniel, et al., Helping Teachers Understand Children. American Council on Education, Washington, 1945. 540 pp $3.50
Announced for publication in 1945. Use of various new type methods in child study. A work of major importance.

97. *Raths, Louis, The Wishing Well, The Culture Conflict Index, The Social Sensitivity Index, Social Problems Analysis, Ohio Social Acceptance Scale. Bureau of Educational Research, Ohio State University, Columbus 10, Ohio.
New type paper-and-pencil tests designed as indicators of intergroup attitudes and relations. Easily given, quickly scored. Can be had at cost by addressing Dr. Raths. At present, elementary level only.

98. Redl, Fritz, "Diagnostic Group Work," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 14, 1944, 53-67.

99. Roethlisberger, F. J., Management and Morale. Harvard University Press, 1941.
Especially Chap. VI Of Words and Men. Our oldest, all but discarded, research technic, "talking it over," revived, expertly analysed, and recommended. The basis of the present "informant technic."

100. Sanderson, Dwight, "Group Description," Social Forces, 16, 1938, 309-19.
A simple commonsense plan for the study of any group, youth or adult.

101. *Troyer, Maurice E. and C. Robert Pace, Evaluation in Teacher Education. Commission on Teacher Education, American Council on Education, Wash., 1944.
No one can teach unless someone learns, hence evaluation technics are still basic. Here is the latest book in this field, one of the two or three best.

102. Whyte, William Foote, "Corner Boys: Clique Behavior," American Journal of Sociology, 46, 1941, 647-64.
Positional mapping, role analysis and clique behaviors. For further study, see author's book Street Corner Society, Univ. Chic. Press, 1944.

103. Zander, Alvin and Ronald Lippitt, "Reality Practice as Educational Method," Sociometry, 7, 1944, 129-51.
Technics come and technics go but good discussion remains forever the basic educational method. Here is a novel plan of "role taking," a projective technic with the teacher as the group manager.

G. Audiovisual Aids

"Phew, that was an experience!" No scientist today, believe it or not, is in a position to say exactly what the learner means by this common expression. To set the conditions for such reactions, to involve the student in the learning process, we have come to depend to an extent on audiovisual aids. In intergroup relations, materials worth recommending are few, although the number is increasing.

The best poster sets we have found are The Races of Mankind, published by the Race Relations Division, American Missionary Society, 287 4th Avenue, New York 10, at $5.00 per set. C. S. Hammond Co., New York, publish a wall chart (4x6) on same title.

Lists of transcriptions made from taking radio programs off the air can be had by writing to the Transcription Exchange, U. S. Office of Education, Washington, or to the Recordings Division, New York University Film Library, New York City. A useful catalogue of recordings, plus a discussion of their nature, values and uses, is J. Robert Miles, Recordings for School 1942, World Book Co., Yonkers, N. Y. The Teaching Aids Laboratory, Ohio State University, Columbus, has published a pamphlet (free) School Recording Techniques.

The following films have been studied by the OSU Teaching Aids Laboratory and are recommended for school use. For further information, address Dr. Edgar Dale.

109. *The World We Want to Live In. National Conference of Christians and Jews, 381 4th Avenue, New York.
Dramatic plea for intergroup tolerance. Brief speeches by such men as Thomas E. Dewey, Charles E. Hughes, Eddie Cantor, Wendell Wilkie. High school and college.

110. *It Happened in Springfield. Warner Brothers.
Cigar store owner, a foreign-born citizen, bolts party machine and youngsters, urged on by hate mongers, break up his store. Owner's soldier son finds father in hospital. Despairing that anything can be done, he is taken to Springfield schools where a plan has been worked out to teach democracy. Shots in school do not give anything like an adequate picture of what is actually going on.

111. The Negro Soldier. War Department, Washington, D. C.
Negro soldiers from the Revolution to present war. Very well done.

112. Let My People Live. National Tuberculosis Association, New York City.
Family tubercular, mother dies, daughter diseased, treatment.

113. *Henry Browne, Farmer. U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.
Farm family's daily routines: Fine narration. H.S. or college level.

114. Negro Colleges in War. Office of War Information, Washington, D. C.
Tuskeegee, Prairie View, Howard and Hampton. College level.

Most of the P.E.A. "human relations" films, developed by the Commission under Dr. Alice V. Keliher, can still be obtained. Address Teaching Films Custodians, 25 W. 43rd Street, New York City. List supplied on request. Inter-American films can be obtained from Office of Inter-American Affairs, 444 Madison Ave. New York City.

H. Agencies at Work in Intergroup Relations

A most hopeful sign of the nation's growing concern for its minority peoples, their life, contributions and integration, is the rather sudden rise of a score or more of voluntary civic organizations devoted to these matters. Some few are old and well known, most of them, however, are very recent. While their interests differ, all circulate literature. Write them for information, asking if you wish to be put on their mailing list.

115. American Association for Adult Education, 60 East 42nd St., New York
116. American Civil Liberties Union, 31 Union Square, New York
117. American Council on Race Relations, % Rosenwald Fund, 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago
118. American Jewish Committee, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York
119. Bureau for Intercultural Education, 1697 Broadway, New York
120. College Project in Intergroup Relations, Lloyd Allen Cook, Director, Ohio State University, Columbus 10, Ohio
121. Commission on Interracial Cooperation, 710 Standard Bldg., Atlanta, Georgia
122. Common Council for American Unity, 222 Fourth Avenue, New York
123. Council Against Intolerance in America, 60 East 42nd Street, New York
124. Council for Democracy, 11 West 42nd Street, New York
125. East and West Association, 40 East 49th Street, New York
126. Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, Department of Race Relations, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York
127. Foreign Policy Association, 22 East 38th Street, New York
128. Intercultural Education Workshop, 204 East 18th Street, New York
129. Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools, Hilda Taba, Director, 381 4th Ave., New York 16, N. Y.
130. National Association for Advancement of Colored People, 69 5th Ave., New York
131. National Catholic Welfare Conference, Social Action Dept., Washington, D. C.
132. National Conference of Christians and Jews, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York
133. National Urban League, 1133 Broadway, New York
134. Office of Inter-American Affairs, 444 Madison Avenue, New York.
135. Southern Regional Council, Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, NE., Atlanta 3, Georgia
136. U. S. Office of Education, Washington, D. C.

The Public School —

LABORATORY for DEMOCRACY

H. H. Giles

Some school systems practice segregation. Some do not. Some do and do not! In which category does your school system belong?

Reprinted from

The Woman's Press

THE NATIONAL MAGAZINE FOR YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS

October 1945

17 - Intercultural Educ.

The Public School —

LABORATORY for DEMOCRACY

H. H. Giles

A CHILD came running to his teacher. He was dirty and bleeding, racked with sobs. He panted out a story of how he had been set upon by three other boys, beaten and cut.

The child's companions heard the story. His parents heard the story. Soon it was all over town.

The child was white. He named his assailants as Negroes.

Unbelievable as it may seem, investigation several days later brought out the truth—that the child had made his story up out of whole cloth. He had even cut himself.

All this happened not many weeks ago in a city which has been fearing that white and Negro groups might attack each other with violence. It is a perfect example of the way in which a social group can build up fear, until, in the individual person, the tension becomes too great to bear. Then—an hysterical act. The rumors which build upon themselves. Worse to come.

But perhaps not worse to come.

It happened that the city in which the child was living had just begun to organize its schools to work on the American Dilemma of democratic ideals not realized in practice. Since the child had made his first report at the school, the news had spread like wildfire, and white teachers and children were refusing to go to a meeting in a Negro school district. Administrative officers not only investigated the facts of the case, but they reached every person in the school system who had heard the story, both teachers and children. They cleared up the rumors with the real facts. Best of all, they were able to get quiet, thoughtful discussion of the incident and its causes. Thus, both staff members and pupils saw with understanding rather than with partisan eyes. They saw, also, how necessary it is to guard against rumors and the human tendency to accelerate tension by bearing startling news.

WHAT THE SCHOOLS ARE DOING

If the maltreatment had actually occurred it would have required the same prompt action; the clearing up of facts, the understanding of why it had occurred, the realization that violence need not be met with more violence, but can be dealt with by methods which will cure rather than spread the social sickness which leads to violence.

Because they are supported by all the people and are in the service of the people, the schools occupy a particularly central position in our nation's current struggle to make democracy work better in more places. With our armies, we have fought against hate-mongering fascism. But we find the same hate-mongering in our own country. One poll has shown that about 13 per cent of us believe that differences of race, religion and national origin mark off superior from inferior people; that a slightly smaller per cent do not so believe, and that the majority are indifferent or undecided. Which way will they turn?

The schools now have an opportunity to play a great role in that decision. And the evidence is that the schools are ready to undertake their role to just the extent that their communities support, or even demand, their doing so.

Schools are operated by human beings. There are all kinds and degrees of enlightenment among teachers and administrators. There are wide variations in practice. For example, a survey made by Dr. Theodore Brameld, in seven school systems from coast to coast last fall, shows that systems practice the segregation of Negroes, some do not, and some do and do not! In some schools, Catholics, Jews and Protestants are accepted for responsible positions without discrimination of any kind. In others there is something like a quota system. In still others, there is traditional and very effective discrimination of an extreme kind. In some places, it is regarded as a punishment for older teachers or an initiation for younger teachers to be assigned to schools where minority groups, usually of the

lower economic classes, send or are forced to send their children. In others, the ablest teachers and administrators choose or are assigned to such schools. In some schools, members of minority groups are not to be found in political offices, clubs, dramatics, musical organizations. In others there is no thought of such shutting off of opportunities.

The conclusion can be drawn that there is confusion and wide variation in school practice. It is not too much to say that the schools mirror the confusion and variation in attitude of the citizens of their communities. It is also worth repeating that, if the communities will trust the schools to exercise the vast potential of intelligent leadership which they possess, much can be done through them.

THE COMMUNITY'S RESPONSIBILITY

This will require that communities, through Mayor's Committees or other representative councils, give a mandate to the schools to bend their best efforts to solve the community problems in prejudice, race hate, scapegoating and discrimination. It will require that the community make the long step of recognizing that education is more than a matter of reading and reciting from a text. There are at least three broad fields in which the school will be able to work at this problem with the community.

First, is the field of fact. Here the job is two-fold: to locate and define the places where the shoe pinches, locally. Then, to bring to bear all the information from the fields of history, biology, anthropology and psychology which is pertinent to these examples.

Second, is the field of practice. The school can itself become a working model of democratic practice. It is a community of children and adults, living in a highly controlled association, working, playing, eating together for a few hours a day. Most of the problems of any close-knit community occur in the school. What a laboratory for working out good human relations and the techniques for achieving them!

Finally, since the school is only one social institution, it must needs plan and work in cooperation, not only with the parents of its children, but with other community organizations which are equally concerned with the job. The relationship of class study to Boy Scout, YWCA and other serious social enterprises is obvious. There is also possible a relation of school study and activity to the basic attack, by community, government and social organization, for adults, on the problems of employment, housing, health, recreation, delinquency and police matters. In so far as the school, the city government, the social work organizations and the home combine their brains and their activities to deal with human living, there will be a twenty-four-hour-a-day, intelligent, growing success in making that living rich and good.

In South Bend, Cleveland, Pittsburgh and Milwaukee, the school systems have, this year, entered into a two-year program of study and work along these lines. They have called upon the technical help which can be supplied to them by the American Council on Education through Dr. Hilda Taba. In scores of other cities there is a demand for such technical help to achieve well-knit programs. In Springfield, Massachusetts, the famous "Plan" is still developing, after five or six years of careful nurturing.

In Detroit and Gary, long-time programs of experimentation and study have been set up. In Philadelphia, an intensive experimentation in five primary schools has been organized. In Buffalo, the Mayor's Committee is seeking ways to help the schools organize a program. In Trenton, a powerful group of citizens counsels with the Board of Education and superintendent. In Westchester County, over a period of several years, teachers with their children have analyzed community needs and accomplished amazing results. A report of eleven of these projects is to be found in the recently published *They See For Themselves*,* by Spencer Brown. The Adult Education Department of New York State has assigned LeRoy Bowman to the task of developing pilot plant demonstrations of community effort to bring understanding and education to bear on the problems of group hostilities. His work has resulted in three different community-council operations in Albany, Gloversville and East Harlem. Commissioner Warren of Massachusetts has been indefatigable in stimulating school and community.

HOW ONE SCHOOL SYSTEM DOES IT

From one of the largest and most difficult problem areas of all those named, it is possible to list twelve steps taken by the school system in tackling this huge job. Such a list will illustrate the means which are employed and the scope of the work.

1. An enabling resolution by the Board of Education instructing the schools to undertake large efforts in intercultural education.

* Harper Brothers, New York.

2. The creation of one or more advisory committees to the superintendent to give administrative counsel. The first such committee is made up of administrators and teachers. The second, of representatives of powerful community groups.

3. The creation of regional and local school committees, elected by teachers.

4. The creation of a central steering committee which is the over-all planning and executive body.

5. The survey of present practices—good and bad—in classrooms and playgrounds.

6. A similar survey of administrative practices.

7. The securing of technical assistance from an agency like the Bureau for Intercultural Education—specialists in administrative problems, classroom teaching, counseling, group projects, materials of learning, evaluation.

8. Conferences, institutes and individual study for administrators and teachers. Key personnel trained in summer workshops.

9. Organizing material and projects.

10. Formation of pupil and parent committees.

11. Integration of university research and that conducted by such organizations as the Urban League and the Council on Community Interrelationships.

12. Records and analysis of every significant step in the process; of the social and education situation before and during the study. The continual refinement of methods and focussing of direction to fruitful results.

These steps are illustrative. They do not tell the story of endless hours of effort invested by selfless teachers and citizens, but they indicate it. They also point in the direction of common council to meet common problems—something which one, then a handful of persons can bring about. It is the way of democracy to do this, a way which city political machines and factory-method school systems have neglected, but which every human being feels in his heart is good.

These steps indicate that there is no pancea, no cure-all, no blueprint which will solve our problems in living together. They point to the need for common purpose—to make democracy work better in more places. They point to the need for a flexible, growing plan to meet local needs through local resources of brain and skill.

These steps indicate a development of school curriculum and methods, through their relevance to the problems of today—the problems which pupils face now.

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17 - Intercultural Education

By HELEN TRAGER

Intercultural Books for Children

Mrs. Trager, director of special services, Bureau for Intercultural Education, New York City, evaluates some well-known children's books that have implications for intercultural relations and presents a recommended list for children from preschool through junior high school ages. This article developed as a result of Mrs. Trager's recent survey of twenty-two lists of books for children published by some of the most responsible agencies in the field, and of the need for more critical evaluation of books that develop children's intercultural understandings[1].

IN THE PAST FEW YEARS several educational agencies have published children's book lists devoted to the democratic ideal. Casual examination of these lists reveals the fact that many of the same titles appear on a majority of the lists. Variations in bibliography occur chiefly through rearrangement based on themes such as "intercultural," "interracial," "immigrant groups," addressed to particular audiences. The question which stimulated this study is: What kind of books are we recommending to children to further better, wiser, more understanding, more democratic human relations?

Twenty-two lists have been examined from an intercultural point of view. The lists had been compiled by some of the most responsible agencies in the field: American Library Association, Bureau for Intercultural Education, Child Study Association, Common Ground, Council on Books in Wartime.[2] It seemed wise to limit the scope of the survey to books written for children, from picture books for the preschool child to stories, biographies, and titles devoted to comparative culture and religion for the junior high school group. Text and reference books, as well as those about people of countries other than the United States, have been excluded.

According to the annotations of these twenty-two lists, two hundred fifty-three titles fitted the categories just described. However, reading these books soon proved that the annotations were inadequate or inaccurate. Seventy-one books had to be excluded for the following reasons: Twenty-nine were listed for children but were not suitable for them; thirty-one were text or reference books yet were not listed as such; and eleven were written from so parochial a point of view as to warrant exclusion. In addition, fifty-seven books were not available at any public or other library source in New York City. Forty-five of these titles were not in either the Children's or Standard Catalog, listings that are based on nationally gathered opinions of children, librarians, and specialists.

The casualties, thus, ran high. Of the original two hundred fifty-three, there remained but one hundred twenty-five. Each of these one hundred twenty-five books was then re-examined in order to determine whether the reader would come away with a favorable attitude toward or at least a better understanding of persons of other culture groups; or, whether the reader's presumed prejudices would be deepened or perpetuated in spite of the author's good intentions.

Only sixty-one of the hundred twenty-five withstood this test. Sixty-four were

[1] Mrs. Trager was assisted by Roberta Everitt in research for background material. Miss Everitt is a teacher-librarian in Gloversville, N. Y.

[2] For a full list see the appendix on page 145.

rejected when the following specific criteria were applied:

Is the literary quality good?
Is the material dated?
Is the material suitable for the age level?
Are the people real or are they types?
Are all groups treated fairly?
If dialect is used, is it excessive, unfair, stereotype?
Are differences overemphasized?
Are unscientific ideas and misconceptions perpetuated?
Is a particular way of life, a custom or tradition explained, or is it described with bias?
Can the reader like, understand or identify with the person or group in the story?
Do the illustrations help one to like the people in the story, or are they stereotype, queer, or ugly?
Is the book significant from an intercultural point of view?

Space does not permit a discussion of the above criteria nor more than a few brief comments and illustrations from titles frequently recommended but here rejected. Rejected, not as poor books necessarily, although some are, but because they are inadequate as bridges to greater understanding of the many American culture groups. Let us begin with a book written by a man who has several outstanding intercultural juveniles to his credit. In this one, however, although he tells of an Italo-American boy vividly and with real sympathy, other minor characters are stereotypes and merely perpetuate prejudices (e. g., the Indian, the German, the Chinese). For instance, the Chinese is described thus:

Ha Young looked sleepy and tired. In his hand he held a long pipe from which a strong strange pungent odor came.

and is made to say:

"Me no catchee muchee fishee. Me no makee muchee money. Me sickee man. By'n'by me kickee bucket. Go back China way to die."

The German sounds like a comic strip Katzenjammer. He speaks:

"Vell, vell. You like this country vunce you get used mitt de people."

Other examples of pat stereotypes can be found in a story about a southern Negro boy. Here we see the all too familiar characterization of the Negro—gaudy taste; the devoted domestic with kerchiefed head, crude manners, startled-fear reaction patterns a la Hollywood.

Aunt Cindy wore a black silk skirt, a red shirt with short sleeves, short white gloves, and a hat with orange and blue and purple flowers and feathers.
She looked very much like the big black woman whose picture you sometimes see on a package of pancake flour.
Shine Boy turned his big white plate up in front of his face and licked it clean that way.
They rolled their big white eyes.

Until we get rid of our prejudices and to help us get rid of our prejudices surely we need stories about the Negro that give us a more representative picture.

A recent Junior Literary Award book tells about a migratory Mexican family in the American Southwest. In Mexico, we read, the family "lived like rabbits." The children ask for work at the house of Anglo-Americans.

"She could water the grass," said the man.
"She might get a little water on herself by accident," said his wife.
"That would do her good."

In this story the author over and over again has the Mexican children behave as if Anglo standards were native to them. In few instances does she help the Anglo child to understand Mexican cultural patterns. The effect is unreal and very unconvincing.

Some dialogue from a juvenile which is on three recommended lists is a fairly typical illustration of inconsistent and

"phony" dialect. This is a story of an Italo-American family.

The mother speaks: "Thatsa way I dance when I was a leetle beeta girl in Sunny Italy."

The same mother: "Good morning, that must be Cinders, and won't Tony and Carlotta be glad to see them."

Papa: "Thatsa da way to dance! Watcha your step. It must maka the good time."

The same Papa: "Theresa is with them. They are at the tracks now. I'm a telling you how it looka lika biga faira."

Implications that are unscientific can be illustrated by the following quotes from a book about Hawaii:

Hawaiian blood mixtures made able teachers.
As firm as a Portuguese.
As generous as a Hawaiian.
She was Portuguese and easily excited.

This author presents Hawaiian school children sympathetically but unfortunately expresses prejudice against Europeans. Among the culture groups of the story, only the Europeans speak with accents.

Perhaps more extended comment is in order on a juvenile that has been popular for over thirty-five years, *Little Black Sambo.* It is often the only story with a Negro character used in our public schools, yet it is excluded on the list that follows. Although a story that white children want to hear over and over again, it is in our opinion an undesirable book. In this case it is not the story that errs but the illustrations—they are pure caricature. These drawings create a distorted and ugly picture that becomes fixed in the white child's imagination. They have probably contributed to the sting and smirk that go with mention of the name "Sambo." At the present time to dismiss these stories as harmless because they are liked by white children is to ignore the requirements for better group relations.

Other recommended titles were omitted from the list below in the light of one or more of the twelve criteria or because they were inconsequential from an intercultural point of view. A surprisingly large number were of such poor literary quality as to rule them out. Often the poorly written book was also confused as to age level interests or was too young in format for the intended reader.

Until now we have put our endorsement on all these books—good, bad and indifferent. We have often ignored the need to apply artistry and skill in the process of affecting attitudes and values. Doctrines of hate can be put forward crudely or with sledge hammer blows, but understanding, respect, and love take root less easily and require gentle cultivation and our best talents.

Intercultural Books for Children
A Revised List [3]

Titles on this list are arranged approximately according to the age level interests of the reader, rather than the vocabulary and reading skill. The age designation will not be helpful if interpreted too literally. Titles with asterisks (*) appear here for the first time.

For Preschool and Primary Children

ABEITA, LOUISE. *I Am A Pueblo Indian Girl.* Morrow, 1939. $1.50. Brief, descriptive text about the food, home, clothes, and customs of the Indian; told by an Indian. Simple, eloquent language with full-page colored illustrations painted by Indian artists. 8-12.

*ADAMS, VEOTTA McKINLEY. *Captain Joe and the Eskimo.* William R. Scott, 1943. $1.25. A picture book that presents an Eskimo in delightfully humorous situations. 4-8.

*BEIM, LORRAINE AND JERROLD, and CRICHLOW, ERNEST. *Two Is A Team.* Harcourt, Brace, Sept., 1945. $1.75. Two boys learn that cooperation works more

[3] Edited from twenty-two bibliographies with new annotations.

satisfactorily than rugged individualism. Splendid colored illustrations show that one boy is Negro and the other white. 4-7.

BERRY, ERICK. *Penny-Whistle.* Macmillan, 1930. $1. A fanciful and humorous tale about a little Negro boy who whistles a tune that the reader can whistle too. Bright colored illustrations. 4-6.

CLARK, A. N. *In My Mother's House.* Viking, 1941. $2. Indian children helped to write this story of the Indian child of the Southwest. Originally intended for use in Indian schools but meaningful to other children as well. Beautifully illustrated. 8-12.

CLARK, A. N. *Little Navajo Bluebird.* Viking, 1943. $2. Present-day Navajo Indians seen through the eyes of a six-year-old. Fine illustrations. 8-11.

CREDLE, ELLIS. *The Flop-Eared Hound.* Oxford, 1938. $2. The adventures of Boot-Jack and his dog. The dialogue is rhythmic and rich in local color without resorting to dialect. Fine photographs of this Negro family and their life in the country. 5-8.

DE ANGELI, MARGUERITE. *Up the Hill.* Doubleday, 1942. $2. Daily life of two Polish children in a mining town in Pennsylvania. Beautifully illustrated. 8-12.

DE ANGELI, MARGUERITE. *Yonie Wondernose.* Doubleday, 1944. $2. Jonathan is curious about everything so they call him Yonie Wondernose. The everyday life in an Amish household told with humor. Beautiful colored illustrations. 7-9.

DUBOIS, WILLIAM PENE. *The Three Policemen.* Viking, 1938. $2. A humorous and ingenious fantasy about a young Negro boy on an imaginary island inhabited by Frenchmen. Illustrated with humor, in color and black and white. 5-9.

DUPLAIX, LILY. *Pedro, Nina, and Perrito.* Harper, 1939. $1.50. The story of Nina and Pedro in a New Mexican village. 6-8.

ESTES, ELEANOR. *The Hundred Dresses.* Harcourt, 1944. $2.50. Wanda has no friends in school. After too many unkind slights she and her brother move away. They happen to be Polish-American children—they might be any "minority." The element of "pity" is unfortunate, but the story is good in spite of that. Illustrated. 8-10.

EVANS, EVA KNOX. *Araminta.* Minton Balch, 1935. $2. Amusing adventures of a city child on a farm. Araminta might be any child—she happens to be Negro. Charming illustrations. 6-8.

EVANS, E. K. *Araminta's Goat.* Putnam, 1938. $2. Araminta visits her grandmother in the country again. Illustrated. 6-8.

EVANS, E. K. *Jerome Anthony.* Putnam, 1936. $2. Amusing adventures of a country boy visiting his city aunt. He might be any boy—he happens to be Negro. Araminta is in this story, too. Illustrations in black and white. 6-8.

*FAULKNER, GEORGENE, and BECKER, JOHN. *Melindy's Medal.* Messner, 1945. $2. Melindy's family moves to a big new city housing project. A story full of humor, honesty, and imagination. This is a Negro family. 8-10.

*JOHNSON, SIDDIE JOE. *Debby.* Longmans Green, 1940. $2.25. Debby, a city child, spends the summer in a trailer on the Gulf coast of Texas. She makes friends with a Mexican-American family and a German-American family. 8-10.

JONES, E. O. *Maminka's Children.* Macmillan, 1940. $2. Three children live happily together in a setting warmly colored by Bohemian folkways. Lovely colored illustrations. 6-8.

JORDAN, MILDRED. *The Shoo-Fly Pie.* Knopf, 1944. $2. The story tells about present-day farm life of this Pennsylvania Dutch family. Fine colored illustrations. 8-10.

LATTIMORE, E. F. *Junior.* Harcourt, 1938. $2. How a little Negro boy of Charleston, South Carolina, earns money for his family by learning the shrimp man's song. Illustrated. 6-8.

LEDERER, CHARLOTTE. *Yanko in America.* Crowell, 1943. $2. The story of a Slovene family who comes to America in the late 1930's—told through the eyes of a ten-year-old boy. 8-11.

LOCKWOOD, MYNA. *Macaroni: An American Tune.* Oxford, 1939. $1. A little boy of seven is ridiculed and rejected by the neighborhood boys because he is Italian. A delightful story of how he won acceptance. Illustrated. 7-10.

*REY, MARGARET. *Spotty.* Harper and Brothers, Sept., 1945. $1.75. The story of a spotted rabbit who was made to feel unhappy because he was "different," until one day—. Amusing illustrations by H. A. Rey. 5-7.

SHACKELFORD, JANE DABNEY. *My Happy Days.* Association Publishers, 1944. $2.15. The everyday life of an attractive boy in a middle-class Negro family. The text here and there is a little Pollyanna-ish. Excellent photographs. 6-9.

SHARPE, STELLA GENTRY. *Tobe.* University of North Carolina Press, 1939. $2. The story of the everyday life of a Negro family in the South who lives and works on the farm, told with photographs and simple text. 6-10.

TARRY, ELLEN. *Hezekiah Horton.* Viking, 1942. $1. A real life story about a little boy in Harlem who loved automobiles. Illustrated. 5-8.

For Upper Elementary School Children

ANGELO, VALENTI. *Paradise Valley.* Viking, 1940. $2. An attractive story of boys of Mexican descent living in the southwestern part of the United States. Good illustrations. 10-12.

ARMER, L. A. *Waterless Mountain.* Longmans Green, 1931. $2.50. A beautiful story of the life of the Navajo Indian as seen through the eyes of an eight-year-old. Illustrations not particularly suited to children. 11-14.

*ASSOCIATION FOR CHILDHOOD EDUCATION. *Told Under the Stars and Stripes.* Macmillan, Nov., 1945. $2. Twenty-six stories (some old, some new) about American children of different culture groups. Illustrated. For younger and older children.

BONTEMPS, ARNA. *Sad-Faced Boy.* Houghton, 1937. $2. Three brothers ride the freight trains to New York City from Alabama. Harlem is their destination. The book describes their experiences. Realistic, humorous, colorful. Illustrated. 10-12.

*BROOMELL, A. P. *Children's Story Caravan.* Lippincott, 1935. $2. Excellent collection of stories of real people and places, allegories, folklore, fairy tales, everyday people. Human values are important in all of the stories. Introduction by Dorothy Canfield Fisher. For younger and older children.

BUFF, CONRAD AND MARY. *Dancing Cloud; The Navajo Boy.* Viking, 1937. $2. A story about the everyday life of the Navajo Indians told with dignity and beauty. The reader can find experiences on his level, yet will learn many things that are new to him. Fine colored full-page illustrations. 9-11.

DE ANGELI, MARGUERITE. *Thee, Hannah.* Doubleday, 1940. $2. This is the tale of Hannah and her Quaker family in Philadelphia just before the Civil War and how she finally accepted the Quaker bonnet. Beautiful illustrations. 9-11.

DE ANGELI, MARGUERITE. *Henner's Lydia.* Doubleday, 1936. $2. A picture story book of Pennsylvania Dutch setting about Lydia whose people are Amish. Told with the usual skill of the author and her lovely illustrations. 9-11.

DE ANGELI, MARGUERITE. *Skippack School.* Doubleday, 1939. $2. Although a story of long ago (1750) it tells of events interesting to children of today. Eli is a Mennonite boy. His first meeting with an Indian is told with great skill. Colored illustrations of great beauty and charm. 9-12.

DEUTSCH, BABETTE. *The Welcome.* Harper, 1942. $2. One of the new boys at school finds it tough sledding. He is a refugee from Nazi Germany. 11-12.

EVANS, E. K. *Key Corner.* Putnam, 1938. $2. A good story of Negro children in the rural South. Told with humor and charm. A realistic story rarely told to white children in the North. 9-12.

FAHS, S. L. and SPOERL, DOROTHY. *Beginnings of Life and Death.* Beacon Press, 1937. $1.50. The myths and folk tales of African Bushmen, Ancient Egyptians, Aztecs, California Indians, Ancient Greeks, Ancient Hebrews, and Early Christians. A simple presentation of comparative religion and culture. 9-14.

FITCH, F. M. *One God: The Ways We Worship Him.* Lothrop, 1944. $2. An informational approach to better religious understanding. Attractive format. Excellent photographs. 10-14.

GATES, DORIS. *Blue Willow.* Viking, 1940. $2. The story of a migratory family, originally from northern Texas, forced to go anywhere it can find work. Deep insights gained of different regions and people of the United States through the eyes of a ten-year-old who dreams of a real and permanent home. 9-13.

HAYES, FLORENCE. *Hosh-ki the Navajo.* Random, 1943. $2. The story of a modern Navajo boy's adjustment at school where new traditions challenge tribal customs. 10-14.

*JACKSON, JESSE. *Call Me Charley.* Harper and Brothers, 1945. $2. The story of Charley, the only Negro boy in a white neighborhood and in the local school. His friendships and problems. Illustrations are not so good as the text. 10-13.

LANG, DON. *On the Dark of the Moon.* Oxford, 1943. $2. A story of a young Negro boy and his adventures hunting raccoons. 9-12.

MARSHALL, HELEN. *A New Mexican Boy.* Holiday, 1940. $2. Festivals, holidays, and everyday life in a Spanish village of New Mexico told with charm and simplicity. Extraordinary colored illustrations. 10-12.

MEANS, F. C. *Rainbow Bridge.* Friendship Press, 1934. $1.50. The Miyato family of Japan decides to come to America. Their problems and adjustment to life in Colorado are well told. (The author unfortunately implies here and there that the Christian religion is superior). 10-12.

NEWELL, HOPE. *Steppin and Family.* Oxford, 1942. $2. A boy in Harlem who wanted to become a professional dancer. Handled well. A story that is within reason. A good picture of happy home life. Illustrated. 10-12.

SAWYER, RUTH. *Roller Skates.* Viking, 1936. $2. Charming story set in 1890-1905 in New York City. The friendships cross all group cleavages—social, economic, ethnic. The true life experiences of the author as a ten-year-old. 11-14.

SHAPIRO, IRWIN. *John Henry and the Double-Jointed Steam Drill.* Messner, 1945. $1.50. A good collection of stories about this Negro folk hero. Vigor and humor are expressed in the illustrations, too. 10-13.

SPERRY, ARMSTRONG. *Little Eagle—A Navajo Boy.* Winston, 1938. $2. A dramatic modern adventure story of a fourteen-year-old Navajo boy in the setting of the Arizona canyons. The story interprets the conflict of cultures that the Indian faces. Brilliantly colored illustrations. 9-11.

STERNE, EMMA GELDERS. *Incident in Yorkville.* Farrar, 1943. $1.75. A story of an American boy educated in Nazi Germany who had to learn the American way of life and American values. A good picture of life on a city street (New York City) where many backgrounds mingle. 11-14.

STONE, C. R. *Inga of Porcupine Mine.* Holiday, 1942. $2. This story, set in northern Michigan, tells of Inga whose father is Cornish and whose mother is Finnish. The first and second generation adjustment is presented. 10-12.

SWIFT, H. H. *Railroad to Freedom: A Story of the Civil War.* Harcourt, 1932. $2.50. Historical fiction presenting a vital characterization of Harriet Tubman. The use of dialect seems unfortunate and unnecessary. 11-14.

For Junior High School

ALLEN, ADAM. *New Broome Experiment.* Lippincott, 1944. $2. Two city boys come to a modern dairy farm to help out in the labor shortage. They become involved in an important scientific experiment. Religious and cultural conflicts are woven into the main theme. 12-14.

ANGELO, VALENTI. *Hill of Little Miracles.* Viking, 1942. $2. A story of Italian and Irish families who live on Telegraph Hill in San Francisco. Normal, wholesome family atmosphere. 12-13.

ANTIN, MARY. *The Promised Land.* Houghton, 1912. $3. Although of a period fifty years ago, this book is still valid because it is warmly human and analyzes emotions and reactions which are not dated. It is the author's account of her own childhood and girlhood, first in Russia and then in the United States. 13-15.

DALGLIESH, ALICE. *Silver Pencil.* Scribner, 1944. $2.50. The making of an American. A real life story that begins in early childhood in Trinidad. People of many culture groups are presented. 12-13.

FAST, HOWARD. *Haym Salomon, Son of Liberty.* Messner, 1941. $2.50. An excellent biography of one of the supporters of the American Revolution. 12-15.

GRAHAM, SHIRLEY, and LIPSCOMB, GEORGE D. *Dr. George Washington Carver, Scientist.* Messner, 1944. $2.50. A very human biography. 12-15.

MACGREGOR, F. C. *Twentieth Century Indians.* Putnam, 1941. $3. Through photographs and text the author attempts to clarify and correct some erroneous concepts about the American Indian. A true picture of Indian life as it exists today. The first picture is a poor intercultural choice. 12 and up.

MEANS, F. C. *Shuttered Windows.* Houghton, 1938. $2. A realistic story of a Negro girl who has been brought up in the North and then moves to the South, encountering southern restrictions for the first time.

MEANS, F. C. *Teresita of the Valley.* Houghton, 1943. $2. A story that faces squarely problems of Spanish-Americans in an Anglo culture. Broken English is used but explained in the text by the author. 12 and up.

MEANS, F. C. *The Moved-Outers.* Houghton, 1945. $2. The Ohara family in their friendly home town community before Pearl Harbor and then their life in the Japanese Relocation Camp. A documentary story. 12 and up.

MOON, GRACE P. *Singing Sands.* Doubleday, 1936. $2. A Pueblo Indian girl returns to her home on the mesa after five years at a government school. The story is perhaps a little glorified but should help readers to understand Indian culture better and to see why the "progress" of the white man must not be forced upon the Indian. 13-15.

OVINGTON, M. W. *Zeke.* Harcourt, 1931. $2. Zeke Lee, from a small rural community in the South, attends Tolliver Institute, a Negro school in Alabama. 12-13.

PESSIN, DEBORAH. *Giants on the Earth.* Behrman, 1940. $2. Biographical sketches of interesting Jewish personalities of various centuries and countries. An attractive, well-written book addressed obviously to Jewish young people, but useful for all groups. 12-15.

SCACHERI, M. AND M. *Indians Today.* Harcourt, 1936. $2. A book of photographs with text that tells about the life of the southwest Indians today. Unfortunately the photographs of Indian men in the first half of the book are stereotypes.

*SMITH, RUTH (editor). *The Tree Of Life.* Viking, 1942. $3.50. A comprehensive yet simple book on comparative religion—American-Indian, Norse, Hindu, Buddhist, Confucian, Taoist, Egyptian, Babylonian, Greek, Zoroastrian, Hebrew and Christian, Mohammedan. 13 and up.

TAYLOR, EVA. *Men Are Brothers.* Viking, 1937. $1. Simple presentation of ideas and scientific information with emphasis on those things all people share in common in every age, everywhere. 12 and up.

TUNIS, JOHN R. *All-American.* Harcourt, 1942. $2. A high school sports story in which discrimination issues are faced in a realistic manner and brought to a democratic solution. 12-15.

TUNIS, JOHN R. *Yea! Wildcats!* Harcourt, 1944. $2. A coach fights for decency in school sports and against unethical community pressures. An exciting sports story. 12-15.

WILSON, WILLIAM E. *Shooting Star, the Story of Tecumseh.* Farrar, 1942. $2. A

well-written biography of Tecumseh, famous American Indian chief. Attractive style and format. Notable because it presents an Indian leader as an understandable human being striving for human rights. 12-14.

Appendix

AMERICAN EDUCATION FELLOWSHIP, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y. *People of the U. S. A., The.* By Lucy Sprague Mitchell and others. (Booklet) Pp. 136. $1.

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y. *Jews in America, The.* Prepared by the Library of Jewish Information. (Pamphlet) 1943. Pp. 11. Free.

AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION, 520 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, 11, Ill. *Ours to Keep.* (Pamphlet) 1943. Single copy, twenty-five cents.

BAPTIST BOOK STORE, Nashville 3, Tennessee. *World in Books, The.* (Pamphlet) 1944-45. Pp. 60. Free.

BUREAU FOR INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION, 1697 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y. *American Slavs.* Prepared by Joseph S. Roucek. (Pamphlet) 1944. Pp. 49. Thirty-five cents. *Immigrant in Fiction and Biography, The.* By Joseph S. Roucek and others. (Pamphlet) 1945. Pp. 32. Twenty cents. *Spanish-Speaking Americans and Mexican-Americans in the United States.* Compiled by Lyle Saunders. (Pamphlet) 1945. Pp. 12. Twenty cents.

CHILD STUDY ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, 221 West Fifty-seventh Street, New York, N. Y. *American Scene—Past and Present.* (Pamphlet) (Out of print). *Books of the Year for Children.* (Pamphlet) 1944. Pp. 22. Twenty cents. *Let Them Face It.* (Mimeographed release) Pp. 6. Twenty cents. Two editions: 1944-1945.

COMMON GROUND, 222 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y. *Recommended Reading—List III.* (Leaflet) 1942. Pp. 4. Three cents.

COUNCIL ON BOOKS IN WARTIME, INC., 400 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y. *Americans All: Children's Books,* List 5. (Leaflet) 1945. Pp. 7. Free.

EVANSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY, Evanston, Illinois. *With Liberty and Justice for All.* (Pamphlet) 1944. No price given.

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND, 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago 15, Ill. *Race Relations.* By Julia Waxman. (Pamphlet) 1945. Pp. 44, Single copy, free.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS, 203 North Wabash Avenue, Chicago 1, Ill. *Reading for Democracy.* (Pamphlet) 1945. Pp. 6. Free. *Reading for Democracy: Books for Young Americans.* (Leaflet) 1945. Free. *Religious Book Week.* (Pamphlet) 1944. Pp. 27. Single copy, free.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF TEACHERS OF ENGLISH, 211 West Sixty-eighth Street, Chicago, Ill. *Children's Books on the Negro.* By Charlemae Rollins. (Pamphlet) 1943. Pp. 46. (Out of print).

NEW YORK STATE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT, Albany, N. Y. *Books on American Minorities.* (Pamphlet) 1943. Pp. 4. Free.

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street, New York, N. Y. *Books About the Negro for Children.* The James Weldon Johnson Collection. (Pamphlet) 1944. Pp. 7. Ten cents.

TENNESSEE STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, Nashville, Tennessee. *Negro, The.* Compiled by the Division of School Libraries. (Pamphlet) 1941. Pp. 48. Single copy, free.

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4-46

Intercultural Understanding For The Democratic Life

by RAYNELL GOODMAN
Robert Fulton School, Richmond

BECAUSE in our classroom we all have a share in thinking, planning, judging, carrying on the affairs in which we are involved, it was only natural at the beginning of the school year to discuss the possible approaches to the sixth grade social studies course. Were we to follow the development of cultures chronologically (our course of study called for a study of ancient history) or were we to start *here* and trace causes? This was a critical question: it would influence the procedure of our social studies program throughout the year. Discussions extended through several days. Then, finally, we selected the latter alternative, because we felt it to be more exciting, more fun.

It was necessary next to establish criteria for selecting and guiding activities. We decided that, in order to understand each other, we must first understand ourselves. This, then, became our primary objective: What kinds of people make up our classroom, our school, our community, our nation, our world?

In answering this question we discovered a fundamental: Our ideas must be honest and convincing to our associates. This is, opinions must be based on reliable data. Therefore, developing a habit of open-mindedness and learning to listen critically became a second classroom objective, important as spelling and writing clearly and correctly.

Furthermore, the content of history, geography, science, English, music and art was found to be a rich source of raw material for ideas. And so it followed that our third objective pointed to the value of a broad and deep accumulation of information.

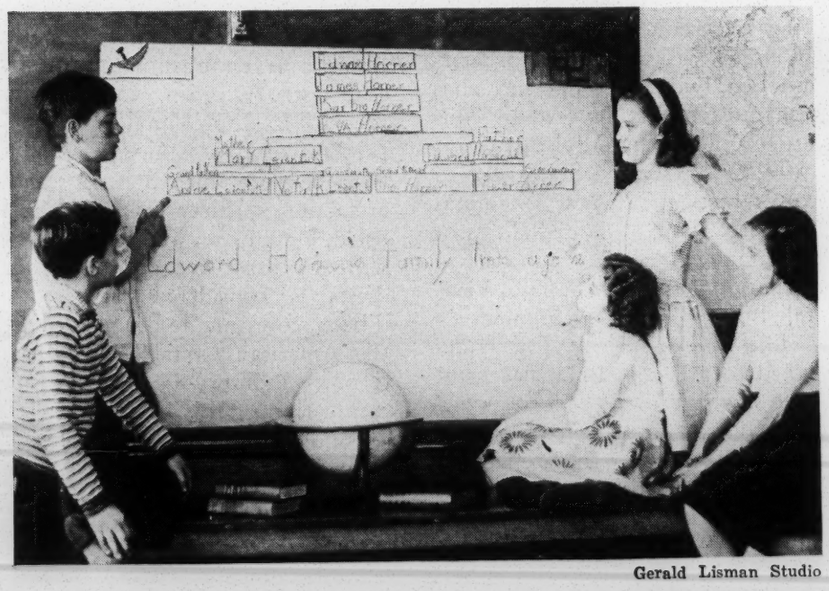
Activities

With the problem clearly in mind and goals set up, we began pertinent activities. Personal family trees were started in diagram form: Who am I? What is my past? What do I owe the past? We asked our parents. We traced our ancestry. A lively question attracted each student's attention: What nationality group shall I study? In which group do I belong?

Naturally, we attacked the big job of maps. We studied them and we made them. Studying maps in groups helped us to develop an understanding of man's many migrations. It also helped us to develop an historical as well as a geographical perspective. Our most delightful map experiences were with Malvina Hoffman's *Races of the World and Where They Live; America, A Nation of One People From Many Countries,* and *World Around the United States* (Air Map).

But we did not stop at reading published maps. We made personal maps and on them pasted or drew appropriate pictures. Research was hotly pursued and the mathematics of map measurement was assiduously practiced in order to draw the maps to scale. Printed outline maps, as well as charts, were discovered; they were filled in or completed as our needs required. Mountcastle Map Company's plastic map of the world lent itself easily to the filling in process. Locating places on an outline map stimulated heated discussions, and, as these geographical places appeared, "man's home on earth" grew into a warm idea out of happy experiences.

Other jobs included music. We listened to records of music by composers of many different nationalities. We also listened to music characteristic of some particular country or race. Singing songs of many lands brought to us a keener feeling of kinship to all people. On one occasion we were inspired by de Falla's *Ritual Fire Dance* to write individual interpretive poems! We became so fascinated with our own poetry that we illustrated the poems with original crayon pictures and, finally, bound the whole thing into a book, en-



Gerald Lisman Studio

Edward explains his national and racial background.

Gerald Lisman Studio

ONE AMERICA FROM MANY NATIONALITIES AND RACES. Racial backgrounds represented in this group are: Austrian, Chinese, Dutch, English, French, German, Greek, Irish, Italian, Negro, Portuguese, Russian and Scotch.

titled, "Ritual Fire Dance, Original Poems," to be bequeathed to the school library.

Dozens of letters were written and mailed. Some, seeking information, went to the various culture group organizations; some invited friends to our classroom to participate in our activities; and "thank you" notes went to people who assisted us with our program. Answers to our letters frequently contained interesting and valuable material. We were enthusiastic about the letters and eager for this more or less personal data, so that letter writing became a vital matter.

We came to know about bibliographies, because we needed to find out "What books can help me?" and then to do research work and record our findings. We took notes and kept book lists of the sources of all information.

Planning individual programs under careful teacher-guidance gave a continuity to our study. We listed questions to follow. This teacher help was informal and friendly, operating within a flexible schedule.

Social travel about Richmond included visits to churches of three major religious beliefs: Catholic, Jewish and Protestant. Personal contact with the ministers, we discovered, colored our attitudes desirably and enriched our understanding of the several racial and religious groups. Besides, such social experiences as using public transportation and eating out, when we were away from school all day, were valuable in helping us to acquire good social manners: poise, self-control and politeness.

We visited the museum in order to see an exhibit of Afro-American culture and contributions. The visit aroused in us a respect for personalities. Thus, by tying correct attitudes to pleasant emotions, we strengthened these activities and directed them easily toward desirable channels of behavior.

Panel Discussions

The idea of a panel had been suggested in our early discussions. At the beginning of the second semester we felt ready to attempt the project. Students from John Marshall High School, whose parents were foreign born, and a negro student from Virginia Union University, were invited to participate, and they accepted. Each guest member on the panel was "sponsored" and introduced by one of us. The topic, "What the country of my ancestral background has contributed to American life," was ably presented. Friends had been invited: the sixth grade of a neighboring school, citizens of our community, and local school officials.

One of the guests insisted that we present our panel discussion on the radio as a "Brotherhood Week" feature. This we did, experiencing the trials and tribulations of script writing and other educational activities involved in broadcasting.

(*Continued on page* 336)

Intercultural Understanding For The Democratic Life

(*Continued from page* 327)

Technique and behavior within the broadcasting studio was vividly imprinted upon our minds by this experience so highly charged with color and action.

Finally, some excellent motion pictures were secured, dealing with other countries, their customs and their culture. These movies were carefully selected and only those shown which accented the likenesses among nations and human beings, rather than those which emphasized quaint or outmoded dress and customs. One picture, *The World We Want to Live In,* supplemented nicely our study of religions. In brief, the democratic ideal, developing through the school year, was stimulated effectively by these audio-visual aids.

And, having been bitten deeply by the democratic "bug", we were impelled to preach our gospel. Therefore, we maintained a bulletin board in the school hall, where maps, posters and pictures were displayed. We incorporated the story of our visits to the three churches in a school chapel program. And, of course, other special programs, such as the panel and the radio broadcast were instrumental in propagandizing others both within and outside our school.

Evaluation

The accomplishments of our group may best be evaluated, I think, by being broken into three phases.

Social Understandings. We learned to organize ourselves into small groups for study. Attitudes toward members of different races were improved. We began to appreciate our neighbors, to view our environment critically, and to recognize the efforts of our forebears. The understanding of democracy was knitting itself into our characters.

Thinking and communication skills. We learned to speak through conferences and oral reports; to write and spell through reports, letters and outlines; to create art through drawing pictures, painting posters and making maps. And so our practical skills were perfected in the warm atmosphere of friendship and understanding toward all ethnic groups.

Information acquisitions. We accumulated a wealth of information: In history, the development and contributions of the countries of our world stood strongly beneath our present-day living. In geography, reading maps and locating places fixed in our minds the relation of the several peoples and nations to each other. And not neglected were the commercial, cultural and natural characteristics of nations as members of the "one world" family. In science we learned map measurements. In English we learned how to speak and express our thoughts before a group, to write clearly and correctly by basing our opinions on fact. In music we discovered a universal expression of peoples' thoughts and feelings. And through the medium of art we were able to communicate our growing feelings and ideas to others.

"Intercultural understandings" is merely a new way of saying "democratic understanding." And the practice of democracy in our classrooms is the finest way to approach its practice in our nation. Thus, intercultural understanding, earnestly and democratically studied, promises a richer, freer American life for tomorrow's citizens.

Correlated Classes Can Be Interesting

(*Continued from page* 331)

Turning to ways to make their play entertaining as well as informative, the students developed a keener perception in their thinking and more originality. They became aware of customs and mind sets, change and progress and the relative value of the old and new, for a group of girls who wrote the script had studied Puritan modes in a thorough fashion. In addition to the trial of a New England witch, there were court scenes in which a Puritan spinster is accused of "painting her cheeks in order that she might snare one of the noblemen of the community as a husband." In the same act a widow is tried for "crimping her hair" which is deemed a "very sinful and frivolous pastime." Also a gossiping wife is sentenced for berating her husband.

Each Plays His Part

To learn and realize that there is an interdependence of individuals and of groups in making a project successful, each student had been selected to participate, before the casting was over, in the various roles of the Puritan judge, the witch, the runaway servants, the gossiping mistress and austere members of the jury. The next problem was that of costuming and it was necessary for the class to study colonial dress. The enjoyment they found in dressing up in black stockings, wigs and buckled shoes did not outweigh the facts learned about religion and how its rigid discipline can be reflected in the costumes of a people. The stage properties, including the judge's bench, the rough hewn gavel and stall for the jury also presented a more vivid reminder to them of an earlier mode of living in which justice had been sterner and more prejudiced.

This correlation could be developed to a greater extent, not only in these two subjects but in others such as mathematics and science, Spanish and Latin American history, geometry and mechanical drawing and in a host of other cases. When a student leaves school, he is not judged on his ability to handle each little problem separately, but he must be able to integrate them all together into a bigger subject—Life! By having the subjects of our curriculum merge into one big whole, perhaps we can better prepare him for his future!

17- Intercultural Educ.

Vol. II, No. 2, April 1946
Colleges, Schools, Agencies

Lloyd Allen Cook, Director
Wayne University, Detroit 1

THE COLLEGE STUDY BULLETIN

RECEIVED
APR 15 1946
Southern Regional Council

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The College Study in Intergroup Relations
Council on Cooperation in Teacher Education
American Council on Education

WHAT THIS ISSUE IS ABOUT

1. Kind Words, and Our Thanks
2. Deadline, College Application
3. Summer Workshop--Register Now
4. Marshall College Program
5. Work at Milwaukee State
6. New Jersey's Four Projects
7. New York's Committees
8. Ohio State's Contributions
9. Pitt U Plans A Course
10. Studies at Wayne University
11. West Virginia's Researches
12. We Invite Your Reaction

I. KIND WORDS, AND THANKS A MILLION

Writing a bulletin is not unlike broadcasting a course from one's classroom. You step to the "mike," or take pen in hand as the case may be, and fire away, not knowing if anyone sees or hears or cares.

FROM THE MAIL BAG

It is, therefore, with genuine pleasure that we acknowledge reactions to our March bulletin. From the comments at hand, and mail is still coming in, we pick at random a few of the cards and letters.

"I read it with great interest.. It is encouraging to note that our problems do not seem as futile as on occasion one feels."
...Nathaniel Cantor, University of Buffalo

"I note, page 3, that (the colleges) 'have learned not to make a direct attack.' May I say 'we told you so' a year ago... It is splendid that the program is going so well and especially that we have increased funds to do an even better job this year."
...Walter E. Hager, President
Wilson Teachers College, Washington, D. C.

"I enjoyed reading your report.. In response to your request, if I can fill a spot in your summer workshop, I shall try to do so."
...David D. Henry, President
Wayne University, Detroit

"Thanks ever so much for the March 1 issue.. It reveals the same old realistic and patient approach.. an approach that will insure progress toward the unification of our people."
...Grant Rahn, Superintendent
Shorewood (Wisc.) Public Schools

"Thanks for including me on your mailing list.. The March issue is a splendid report.. If you come this way, stop over for a visit."
...Maurice F. Seay, Director School Service
University of Kentucky, Lexington

"It seems to me that you have the right slant.. It is intergroup attitudes that will determine future social relations.. But we must hurry.. One world or none!

...Leslie Zeleny, Professor
St. Cloud (Minn.) Teachers College

FROM OUR COLLEGES
6 RE-APPLICATIONS

Our program is a work program, a sensible but persistent effort to get something started, something done. On invitation to re-apply for the 1946 project, six of our 1945 colleges have requested full- or limited services, with action pending in the other two. And one, New Jersey State at Trenton, has already enrolled a representative in our summer workshop on intergroup relations. That kind of "participation" is surely, we believe, something to write about!

"I think our institution has profited a great deal by this study. It has been a good thing for the staff professionally.... The methods used were very valuable in developing an approach to social problems.. At our regular meeting on Tuesday, the faculty voted unanimously to authorize me to make application.. either individually.. or as part of the Wisconsin Unit..

...Frank E. Baker, President
Milwaukee State Teachers College

"We have a faculty meeting on April 11, our first opportunity to bring the full-scale program before the staff.. My guess is that we will not beat the deadline of April 15 by very many hours."

...Ross Mooney, Acting Dean, Education
Ohio State University

"I have recommended a sort of alumni membership for next year, a somewhat limited participation, because we are very likely to be considerably understaffed."

...W. W. D. Sones, Committee Chairman
University of Pittsburg.

"Our committee has been reorganized.. with Louis Jones and I off for sabbaticals. Margaret Hayes is the new chairman. New members, elected by the faculty, are Harvey Rice, Esther Stallman and William Hardy, all good people. When will you be able to come this way? Margaret thinks, and I concur, that a rather definite plan should be worked out before the end of this semester..

...Watt Stewart, Committee Chairman
Albany State College for Teachers

"I have been authorized by the faculty, the president and the executive council to submit our re-application for the College Study for 1946.. Our participation last year represented the sharpening of an interest already dominant in the College. The projects involved in working committees more than a third of the faculty, plus large number of students, public school people and lay citizens.. The Study itself has not only enriched our college program; it has served as a major integrating force on the campus.. I am sure we are better able to share in ameliorating group tensions in American life..

...Grace Woodson, Committee Chairman
West Virginia State College

"We definitely wish to continue our work in the Intergroup Project.. We feel that it would be very valuable to continue the study of student cooperation with Trenton social agencies. We should also like to do much more work in our demonstration school. Much more is to be done, too, in connection with student teacher experiences in the field.. We hope that this tentative list of projects will be sufficient until you meet with us to talk it over.

...Roscoe L. West, President
State Teachers College, Trenton, N. J.

II. DEADLINE, WORK SCHEDULE, AN APPLICATION

Due to the late issue of the March Bulletin setting a deadline of April 15 for applications from colleges interested in our 1946 project, we are now changing the deadline to May 15. Large universities must necessarily operate slowly; smaller colleges, if unfamiliar with our program, need time to turn over the idea of participating in a national study, to reach a decision and write a letter of application. Four weeks extension of time, while it will delay somewhat the work we had contemplated, will give more colleges an opportunity to apply, thus extend our services and increase the worth of our sample.

NEW DEADLINE FOR APPLICANT COLLEGES--MAY 1ST

Our thinking now is about like this. From now until May 15, we shall work on applications--answering letters of inquiry, contacting new colleges, visiting such colleges as we can, and assisting, where possible, in the continuing projects underway in 1945 Colleges. To these duties, we shall add as time permits oral reports to conferences and meetings, especially to our sponsoring bodies, and such writing as can be undertaken.

OUR WORK SCHEDULE

From May 15 until middle June, we shall visit colleges, offering for use whatever we have learned about organizing a general committee, the worth of project proposals, the setup of individual project studies, activities, experiences, etc. In line with our work last Spring, stress will again be placed on "things to do," rather than "ways of talking," for it is in the doing that we seem to get our best results. The idea is to get things ship-shape for the Autumn semester--plans well made, tests if used all ready to go, so that we can go into action during the first week of college. The better the college planning, the better the final end-results, a bit of truth we have learned the hard way.

Though summer is a rush time in teacher education, it may be that some colleges will want to run off, or experiment with, some of their intergroup projects, for example the evaluation of a workshop on intercultural education. We are prepared to help with this and to continue planning for the Autumn. In the main, however, we shall focus on the six weeks summer workshop at Wayne. It has been instituted, and it will be designed, to implement college programs.

To Editor G. H. Reavis
And the Cincinnati Public Schools, we bow three times for his BETTER TEACHING, the best edited school magazine on intergroup relations that has come our way.

Most letters of inquiry now coming in ask for specific directions in making application. There is, to repeat, no official form. After

determining if the faculty as a whole sees values in college participation, write a letter to us telling something of college interest and work in intergroup relations and what now, with our assistance, staff members would like to do. By this we mean what projects, activities, studies and experiences they would care to plan and conduct for the improvement of teacher education.

THE FORM THE APPLICATION SHOULD TAKE

At the start of this process, a COMMITTEE ON APPLICATION may be needed. Its function would be to formulate the application, after which this group would dissolve. Thus its major tasks would be three; to stimulate college interest, to assist staff members, students, etc., in banding together about a common concern, for example a community survey, and to write up such concrete proposals for inclusion in the college application.

Assuming the application is accepted, the college will then want to organize a permanent COMMITTEE ON INTERGROUP RELATIONS. By this time, more thought will have been given to all of these matters. College needs will be more clearly defined, letters exchanged with our office, the campus visited, and a general representative committee set up. This group will function throughout the year, chiefly to coordinate the several separate project-group studies, activities, etc. On its chairman will fall major responsibilities for the college program and all our contacts will be channel via him. It is imperative that this person not be a dean or president, as might happen in smaller colleges, for either has too many administrative duties. The chairman must have time for intergroup work.

GENERAL COORDINATING INTERGROUP COMMITTEE

To Dr. Margaret Hayes
Of Albany State College, our first elected College Chairman for 1946.

III. SUMMER WORKSHOP--REGISTER NOW

With this issue of the Bulletin, we are mailing a booklet on the workshop in intergroup relations, June 24-August 2, at Detroit. In response to an announcement in the March bulletin, we have had seven inquiries--two from college teachers, three from high schools, one from a state department of education, and one from an intercultural agency.

The workshop booklet, available on request, asks that registration be completed by May 15. A limited number of $50 scholarships will be awarded, with priority going to the colleges in the 1946 project. The workshop will be devoted to current problems in intergroup relations, the kinds we have found and those brought in by participants, and it will carry graduate credit if this is wanted. Enrollment will be limited to 40, so that the group will be intimate and mobile, making trips in and about Detroit.

IV. MARSHALL COLLEGE PROGRAM

"But what did the colleges do, what did they find out?" Such questions are natural, and withal, encouraging. While we can tell some bits of the story, we must refer again to a book in preparation.

Marshall College is a liberal arts college, with a department of education. Located at Huntington, W. Va., old and respected, new and

changing, Marshall is near the center of the industrial Kanawha River valley. It serves a border state where North and South meet and mingle, where race relations tend to show southern values.

After discussion, four major projects were developed. One was a faculty reading, group discussion and forum program, the chief purpose of which was interchange of ideas on Negro and white relations, anti-Semitism, religious unity, and labor-management problems. While attendance was voluntary, it reached at times half the faculty, and the books read ranged fro 1 to 6 volumes per staff member on each of the four problems. Discussion, "stimulating, vigorous," was not evaluated; faculty comments sho it to be of much value.

A FACULTY FORUM

Project No. 2 arose in a sociology course, the central aim being course reorientation about local community problems linked with "race, religion and labor." Stress was placed on small group meetings, committee work, community study, social agency and church visits, etc. Students kept weekly logs which, on analysis, "proved revealing of significant experiences." Factual learnings were increased. Attitude changes were both pro and con, from a liberal standpoint, with "self discovery" and insight into others basic outcomes. "Impact of personalities," one on the other, vs. the lecture method, was thought to be by far the more effective educational technic.

For A Sharp Discussion of Ethnic Conflict, Simon Marcson, Social Forces, 24, Dec. '45, 161-5

Number 3, an experimental laboratory-school study, involved twenty-two 12th graders in a modern drama course. With only four plays required, these students read 148, for example Green Pastures, Strife, Melting Pot, Winterset. They reported on them as they chose, for instance a panel. Pre- and end-tests, paper and pencil "what would you do" type (Ex: one's choice of seat on bus), showed no clear changes in behavioral tendencies. "It is doubtful if such vicarious experience guides action." There was no doubt as to its role "in stimulating interest in human problems." Pages of verbatim pupil discussion were given, much of which reflects value clashes.

DRAMA INCREASES INTEREST BUT DOES NOT GUIDE ACTION

Project 4, an overall curriculum survey, was by general consent Marshall's most ambitious undertaking. With no thought of appraising the total college contribution to intergroup relations, staff members were asked by letter to report what they did in course work, giving examples, cases, references, etc. In these pages of concrete reactions, over half the staff showed "a genuine concern" for human values of a democratic sort. Of these 67 college instructors, 30 claimed direct contributions to the solution of intergroup tensions, with the social science staff being most active. Somewhat less than half the staff did not reply after five letters, a reaction not subject to any one interpretation. Survey findings have been put before the faculty for its thought and action.

STAFF MEMBER CONTRIBUTION

V. AT MILWAUKEE STATE

Milwaukee, city of size and increasing ethnic diversity, is proud and rightly so, of its teachers college. What "goes on" there makes

news headlines, a truth evidenced by continued, plentiful, favorable publicity on the intergroup program. Staff members are outspoken, though of course not irresponsible, thus creating a "high ceiling" for studies of human relational problems.

Milwaukee State worked on five projects. No. 1, like Marshall's No. 4, was a curriculum evaluation. Various study forms were made and tested, each prefaced by a careful delimitation of "intergroup relations" to problems of race, creed, ethnic cultures, class-level status. Pages of descriptive data are given on courses--number, aims, procedures, probable learning outcomes, with quantification not fully completed at this writing.

SOME CURRICULUM RECOMMENDATIONS

Recommendations clearly foreshadowed include a new course on intergroup education, on comparative religions, more community experiences, more student contact with eminent ethnics, and student teaching in mixed public school classes.

Study No. 2 is a continuing effort to work with former graduates who are now teaching. To date, one all-day conference has been held, preceded by responses from these teachers as to the kinds of intergroup problems revealed in their classrooms. At this meeting, cases, situations, etc., were discussed, technics of ameloriation and positive action presented, and plans worked out for further informal exchanges of experience. Data supplied by these experienced teachers are being worked into the pre-service training program.

Project 3, for majors in nursery school education, was an observational study by these college students of youngsters in a mixed Negro and white Child Care Center. Student "logs" are illuminating. For example, "I found that these children do not have race prejudice," or "these children showed no color or preference in their choice of a teacher," or "On my third visit, I found that I was losing my awareness of color, reacting simply to children," or "why can't we have this type of contact with other ethnic groups?"

LITTLE CHILDREN DO NOT HAVE PREJUDICE

Number 4 in the Milwaukee series was a sociographic analysis by 23 training school and student teachers of 200 odd children in seven school grades. Data on "best friends" were secured, group and individual sociograms were drawn, projected on a screen and analyzed for relationships. Case studies were made of a number of children, for example-- isolates, rejects, cliques, leaders. Everyone, students most of all, writes with fine praise for the sociographic approach to "participation" problems. "We shall continue its use; it is an excellent teaching device."

No. 5, the final study, was an effort to expand field work for sociology majors, to root it more in ethnic realities, to improve its learning outcomes. Eighty teachers-to-be were given experience in ten major community agencies to illustrate, Urban League, the Jewish Center, Boys' Club, et al where they told stories, organized games, taught dancing, cared for toddlers, did club work, etc. Aside from freely written student reaction papers, each analyzed by the instructor, no evaluation was made.

Jo Sinclair's WASTELAND Harper Prize Winning novel, now current, no serious student can afford to miss. A Jew who didn't want to be a Jew, a well done therapeutic cure.

Students claim many values. For instance, "you are on your own in an agency..you get to meet and know people, you must act.."

VI. NEW JERSEY'S FOUR PROJECTS

Trenton, bustling city of races and creeds, and State Teachers College, a few miles outside, share the same ethnic pulls and counterpulls, but are unlike in some ways. On the campus--deeply wooded, country-like, serene, one feels the impact of group living, group doing and learning. One feels an "atmosphere" of shared concern for people, all people, a basic interest in making people, what makes them tick, the "textbook" of the school.

Project 1, a Junior-Senior pupil case study, practice teaching and community survey program, defies brief description. It ranges over two semesters, includes the laboratory school, a number of cooperating public schools, various New Jersey communities in which student-teachers live and teach, after having had a campus course on community study. It is a basic ongoing aspect of the college program, pointed for the year more sharply toward intergroup relations. The committee, and rightly, stressed in its progress report "the planning process," involving as it has at some time almost all the faculty. Learning outcomes have been assessed, limitations considered, further changes gotten under way.

PROVIDING STUDENTS WITH IN-COMMUNITY EXPERIENCE

Committee 2 made a sociographic study of nine sixth grades in Trenton city schools. Groups were found to differ widely in "friendship patterns," but ethnic isolates were few in number. Sex cleavages were evident, as were cliquish groupings by race, religion, and national origins. Efforts to integrate isolates, increase social participation, etc., by use of "activities," sociodrama and the like, were of limited effectiveness. However, college students who participated in the project, showed definite changes in group attitudes and skills.

To Herbert L. Seamans Educational Record, Jan.'46, for the policy of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the association financing the College Study, and the origins of this particular study.

New Jersey's No. 3 project, dealing with group leadership training for Sophomore education majors, was an attempt to improve another basic phase of the college educational program. In a campus course, conducted in part by social agency heads, and in these same agencies, volunteer students are taught the theory and practice of group work. About 60 students participated in the experiment this year in reorganizing course content and evaluating agency learnings. Stress was put on technics for determining child needs, identification of leaders, and group management processes. To date no final appraisal has been made.

GROUP WORK EXPERIENCE

Number 4 project was a study of children's attitudes toward ethnic peoples and heritages, plus classroom efforts to liberalize these points of view. Subjects were the 330 pupils of the Lanning Demonstration School, and test results are not yet analyzed. Scores by age, grade and sex will be obtained, and it is hoped that a general pattern of change will be revealed.

VII. NEW YORK STATE COLLEGE COMMITTEES

To many persons, New York is a key state in intercultural matters, with Albany its ever volatile center. State College for Teachers engaged in five sizable intergroup activities, the first a student led social action movement. This took the form of an "intergroup council," made up of Protestants, Catholics, Jews, Negroes, and recent immigrant stocks. Among IGC committees, were active working groups on campus contacts, community relations, social service, and a speakers' panel.

STUDENT SOCIAL ACTION PROGRAM

A recent service of the Council was a two-day statewide conference on intergroup relations. Student leaders from New York's ten state teachers' colleges attended, plus state department officials. At two public addresses, audiences ran to well over 5,000. Students made plans for work on their own campuses, including organization of intergroup councils. Three new councils have so far been reported.

> THIS WAY TO UNITY
> Oxford Press, '45, is a well chosen series of human interest readings, short, warming.

Project 2, a unit on intergroup relations in a college course for teachers, sought to aid students in looking at their own attitudes toward ethnics. Most learners felt they had no prejudices, all wanted to know more about the teacher's role in this field, all but one asked that the unit be expanded.

Study No. 3, a high level graduate seminar on intergroup problems, made a field survey of Albany's reactions to the then pending Ives-Quinn Act. Students were not lectured; on the contrary, a valid test was sought on the idea that attitude changes "are incidental products of direct individual experience," an hypothesis reasonably well supported by evidenc from a "tolerance indicator" developed for the study. Changes in pre- and end-test scores ranged from -3 to plus 61, with a median of 7.

PLAN AND ANALYZE EXPERIENCES
DON'T GIVE "ANOTHER LECTURE"

Albany's fourth project, use of folklore, is a novel way to approach intercultural relations. Old and stable, or new and in-migrant New York communities are rich in folk heritages. Can high school English teachers learn to collect, archive and interpret "folk say"? Can they teach this to their own students so that the latter will value ways of living which differ from common practices? This project is still going on, with results that are increasingly good.

The final project (5) was an experimental sociographic study with 209 tenth grade pupils in four sample schools, including equated control groups in each school. Pre-tests, i.e. an Ohio State "social problems analysis" and a "social acceptance scale," were given, followed by sociographic charting of group structures and by pupil case studies. After three weeks of experimental teaching, end-tests showed changes in group attitudes ranging from 1.8 to .4, with tes probably not sensitive enough to record the learnings that did occur. Less debatable results came from the participation of college students school and college teachers, in relating group structure to classroom attitudes and behaviors.

GROUP STRUCTURE, ATTITUDES AND CHANGES

VIII. OHIO STATE'S CONTRIBUTIONS

Ohio State University, large, cosmopolitan, democratic, has long been known for its stress on "doing something about" undemocratic intergroup practices. Entering the College Study late, its catch-as-catch can research and action contributions are already being spread widely in the profession. In the main, these projects are phases of a continuous program development.

One Ohio State contribution, distributed last June to all our colleges, was a 40 page booklet on HOW TO MAKE A RESOURCE UNIT. Another bulletin, issued later, dealt with PROBLEMS IN INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION. Both represent, via graduate seminars, the application of an original theory of resource unit construction.

A RESOURCE UNIT

Project 2 was a series of studies of children's literature. An initial work unit on selection of books for children led, in turn, to the idea that realistic fiction should be "an exploration of culture," rather than a stereotyping of people. At this point, each of the 89 class members, all prospective elementary teachers, made an intensive study of five books to see how minority peoples were treated. Further work units involved the telling of stories to children, including radio story-telling, from which was developed a schedule of stories for the university's 1946-7 broadcasts. All of these activities widened student cultural horizons.

> TRENTON STUDENTS SAY
> "..if the recent intergroup tests did nothing more than to stir up a boiling surge of opinion, they were very successful."
> State College Signal, 9-1-'45

For years the Bureau of Educational Research has issued reading lists. In preparing, Project 3, a special bibliography on prejudice, "a coherent selection of highly suggestive, usable material for teachers, group workers, ministers, counselors, citizens..and the much neglected, intelligent general reader," our colleges were given a big assist. Sections on "people say--" i.e., about Negroes, Jews, etc., are chuck full of information. "What we can do--" (city, school, church, citizen) shows a dearth of practical thinking, a valid criticism of current writings.

RACE PREJUDICE: THINGS SOME PEOPLE SAY, DO, AND CAN DO!

Another bulletin, Project 4, immediately useful to our experimental colleges, was THE USE OF MOTION PICTURES AND RECORDINGS IN INTERCULTURAL E UCATION. "In general," Edgar Dale writes, "it is difficult to find excellent films. I doubt if there is any area in which more good can be done..through use of pictures and recordings." To this, we can only add our affirmation.

> WHY GROUP PREJUDICE
> What is it, how does it arise, and, for the $64 question, can it ever be controlled? ANNALS, entire issue, 245 p., March'46

What can loosely be called Project 5 consisted of the use by our college of tests constructed by Dr. Louis Raths, a highly valued consultant on several of our programs. For example, "The Wishing Well," "Culture Conflict Index," and the "Social Sensitivity Ballot." We intend no basic criticism of these new-type instruments when we say that, judging from college reports, they should be fitted, if possible, more closely to intergroup problems in school-community living.

Project 6, the University School study, will be published shortly as a jointly financed College of Education and College Study booklet.

A UNIVERSITY SCHOOL CHARTS ITS COURSE IN INTERGROUP RELATIONS

Faculty and students state a positive philosophy of action in intergroup relations, one principle being that the person showing prejudice, rather than the one acted against, must be made to feel the weight of group disapproval. The booklet is filled with anecdotal accounts of group study and action in and about the school.

IX. PITT U PLANS A GRADUATE COURSE

Neither Pittsburg, nor its University School of Education, are at all strangers to ethnic conflicts. Focus through years of high-water tides in mass immigration, group-to-group and person-to-person adjustments come natural in the teachings of university staff members, especially in the general education curriculum.

Somewhere around the board, someone should begin to experiment with a graduate course in intergroup relations that centered on the teacher's professional role. Pitt U, fortunately, elected to work on this problem, and secured, forthwith, the cooperation of the Board of Education and city schools.

An advisory committee was organized, scholarships awarded, from funds provided by the American Service Institute and the National Conference of Christians and Jews, to 28 graduate students, all teachers, counselors, or school administrators.

DEVELOPING A PROFESSIONAL COURSE OF STUDY IN TERMS OF TEACHER ROLE AND NEEDS

In the informal workshop room, atop Pitt's towering "Cathedral of Learning," the group met to plan its course. To actual "on the job" experience was brought a philosophy of what schools should be and do, in a considered effort to determine teacher needs. Large study units, an inviting bibliography, were lined up, augmented by the services during the semester of ten or more consultant-specialists.

At this writing, the course is undergoing its second "shape up" trial, with refinements many and varied. The best thing to publish just now is, we believe, the unit outline.

Study Units in Intergroup Education

I. Teacher Needs in Group Education
II. We, The People--Make Up, Origins, Heritages
III. The Basic Structure of Group Life
IV. Underlying Dynamics of Social Change
V. The Process of Child Socialization
VI. School Roles in Intergroup Education
VII. Educating Teachers for Leadership

X. MAJOR STUDIES AT WAYNE U

"Rough but generous, violent but compassionate, self seeking yet contrite and critical--that," says Wayne U's college committee chairman, "is Detroit!" Midland metropolis of 2½ millions; Detroit is well known for its creeds and colors, in-moving, out-going, restless peoples.

Open freely to all students, ever expanding its service functions, Wayne University managed only by tour de force to limit its intergroup studies to five major projects.

Project 1, a study in directed student teaching, involved in all 79 majors in elementary education. Day by day, these students in training to be teachers recorded the flow and flavor of many classrooms--incidents related to race, religion, nationality cultures, class-typed behaviors; what took place, was said and done. And then, in regular meetings with their supervisors, they tried to figure out the score--what small children in mixed groupings are really like, what action was, and should have been taken. Moreover, at times, they taught the group, managing it in the interests of all its members. Data suggest many learnings--the inevitable starts, stops, and mood-swings of beginning teachers.

LOGS TELL A DAY-BY-DAY STORY, WHAT HAPPENED, WAS SAID, DONE

COSTS OF SUBORDINATION
a searching analysis, Dean Ernest O. Melby, Intercultural Education News, February 1946.

In the 100-hour community agency program, Wayne has pioneered in providing in-group service experience for first and second year college students. Using 8 pairs of two students each, one as leader, the other recorder, a plan was made to make this work more productive of the values implicit in it. Logs were kept and a "group observation form" developed, checked by test, revised, etc. While appraisal has been difficult, the committee feels that students saw more clearly "things without faces"--group action processes, structures, leader roles, etc. The experiment is being continued.

THE TRAVELING WORKSHOP
Detroit Public Schools, in cooperation with the Bureau for Intercultural Education, have held six Saturday A.M. "workshops" in as many city schools.

Project 3, an extracurricular study, comprised work done by the student Committee on Intergroup Relations. On a campus with over 100 social groupings, a live "C.I.R." can find much to do--exhibits, films, forums, and the like. Of special interest is an old Wayne institution, the annual Winter Mart carnival, in which this year 48 groups took part, including nationality, racial and religious organizations. To have fun, to join in and mix up, is good social education.

STUDENT ACTIVITIES PLANS AND SERVICES

Study No. 4, a cooperative venture in the arts, brought together eight departments as different as Art Ed and Industiral Ed, Home Making and the Children's Museum, Speech and Health, Music and Literature, all having a common bond in expressive, creative living. What do, and can, these related areas contribute to social learning, to the reduction of tension, approved outlets for aggression? On this idea ten faculty members and an unknown number of students did a heap of thinking, the chief product of which will be a most original 50 page booklet, with perhaps a score of photos and line drawings showing intergroup events and relations.

In Project 5, five required theory courses sought to make improvements in their offerings. In part, this took the form of self appraisal, each instructor studying his work for its implications for group living; in part, it resulted in the introduction of new materials, for instance current fiction, and of new procedures. In an overall evalu-

ation, students indicated, so far as they could, the influences shaping their insights and attitudes.

XI. WEST VIRGINIA'S RESEARCHES

It is, a country-man might say, "a fur piece" between several of our eight colleges, but not so from Marshall, with which we began, to West Virginia State, with which we close. In making this trip, usually from the first named to the second, I have found just time enough to get the proper hunger-set to enjoy one (another one) of President John W. Davis' famous dinners!

State College, a leading school for Negroes, has three distinctions--the fewest number of projects, the most clean-cut and, with no exact comparison intended, among the best executed.

ATTITUDES, EXPERIENCES AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS

Project 1, a study of race awareness in children, sought to determine the meaning of "race" to Negro young people as expressed in their attitudes toward themselves and to whites, findings to be used in teacher training courses. After some review of the literature, three sample communities were selected, contacts made and anecdotal records collected from large numbers of children. On analysis, these materials gave evidence of fairly common feelings of isolation from white people, with emotional tones ranging from dislike to acute frustration. Next step was to give a projective test, an adaptation of the Ohio State "Wishing Well," to these children. In general, tabular data confirmed the findings already stated. Other tests have led the committee to study types of Negro child contacts and experiences with white persons. At present, committee findings are being inspected for curricular uses.

Project 2, the education of teachers for effective participation in community life, was in a sense a total college enterprise. Where were graduates now teaching? Of the 296 on whom data were secured, much was gleaned on their communities, their life and job. About half the number questionnaired said there had been "change toward improved relations" with whites, others saw the situation as static or worsening. Aside from teacher associations, relatively few reported membership in interracial groupings. Job needs, the struggle against segregation, better schools--were among the primary concerns, all of which, while not news to the college, carried implications for curricular change.

WE NEED YOUR HELP

W. Va. State will continue, we hope, to work with us, but we need in our sample one or more Negro schools in the deep South. Can you help us out?

STUDENT BACKGROUNDS AND LIFE EXPERIENCE

Another significant line of inquiry followed by this same committee was a questionnaire study of the backgrounds and experiences of students preparing for teaching. Home communities were strikingly different--industrial, farming, resort, mining. Hometowns were rated as "satisfactory" places to live yet choice was for a bigger city. Over half would invest $5000 a year, if they had it to spend, on a community recreational center. Only a few read the newspaper daily or listened to broadcasts. One fourth felt democracy meant complete individual freedom and two fifths, cooperative problem solving.

Of the fifty college staff members and others invited to rate a series of "competencies" that education should develop in students, 86.5 per cent gave first rank order to "respect for personality," next highest to "community mindedness." Asked to rank a series of general college aims, 82 per cent gave first position to "educating for effective community participation."

TO AN EVER YOUNG, ALWAYS BELOVED COLLEGE PROF

Our greetings. We quote: "your undertaking looks good..You'd arrived at it about the same time without me, but I can't help my feeling that I did give a push!"

...Herbert A. Miller
Black Mt. College, N. C.

AN AUDIOVISUAL AIDS PROJECT AND SERVICE

Project 3, a study in audiovisual aids of use in intergroup education, consisted first of making a list of materials available to Negro schools and colleges--films, slides exhibits, recordings, photo reproductions, etc. Next, a survey was made to determine the extent and nature of their current use. About two thirds of all secondary schools in the state returned replies, of which four fifths showed no use of audiovisual materials. At the opposite extreme, a number of schools said, in effect, that they used all such aids obtainable. A final activity was an attempt to evaluate the worth of various educational films by use of rating groups.

XII. WE INVITE YOUR REACTIONS

Hurried writing, brief pointed writing, is bound to show limitations. For any injustice done a college, for any error of fact or implication, the present writer assume full responsibility. In the many project-group reports in our files, the reporting is done with a becoming modesty for our limited data, our rough methods, our simple beginnings, our feeling of a team at work on something of importance. Yet, in spite of these shortcomings, we believe the efforts made are worth the serious thought of serious students.

NOW is the time when your suggestions can be used to shape the oncoming program. What is good about this work? What is no good, or doubtful, and why? What would you personally, like to see us try to do? We invite you to join the team, to play ball with us. What are your serious reactions?

FIRST ANNUAL WORKSHOP

on

Problems In Intergroup Relations in Teacher Education

★
★ ★
★

By Staff and Consultants
of
COLLEGE STUDY IN INTERGROUP RELATIONS

at
Wayne University, Detroit
June 24 to August 2

Co-sponsored by the Council on Cooperation of the American Council on Education and College of Education, Wayne University

THE COLLEGE STUDY IN INTERGROUP RELATIONS

WHAT WE KNOW FEEL, AND DO?

What do we know as educators about the problems of race, creed, national origins and social class, as these problems affect child growth and well-being, school and community life? What do we care? How skilled are we, as teachers of teachers, in providing our students with experiences related to these problems, with opportunities to study them and to move toward their solution?

EIGHT COLLEGES TACKLE THE JOB

Somewhere, an experiment along these lines was needed, a test run by a group of teacher educating institutions, as representative as possible of all teacher training institutions. A year ago, eight widely separated, very different, colleges and universities tackled this job, each seeking in its own way the improvement of its own educational program.

Our 1945 Colleges

Marshall College	Ohio State University
Milwaukee State	Pittsburg University
New Jersey State	Wayne University
New York State	West Virginia State

And so, for a year, we have been at work—exploring prejudices, deepening understandings, activating cooperation. We have made community surveys, charted classroom "attraction-repulsion" patterns, revised college courses, taught units on intergroup relations in public schools,

tested out films, democratized student activities, worked with social agencies, organized community action, met with church and lay groups.

FIRST ANNUAL WORKSHOP

OUR LEARNINGS

We have learned much in the College Study, much of use as we expand it for '46-'47-'48. We have learned the kinds of issues and situations schools and communities face in race relations, in creedal viewpoints, culture conflicts and class-level behaviors. We have learned, too, some things that work to reduce intergroup hostilities, that lead to good will and united action.

COLLEGE WORKSHOP JUNE 24 - AUGUST 2

It would be shortsighted not to make these learnings the basis of an informal workshop. To the above learnings, we shall, to be sure, add the problems brought in by participants, and then tackle the lot by the best methods the group can devise.

WHO CAN ATTEND COSTS, CREDITS

We will want a small workshop, a group numbering about forty, so that around-the-table thinking is really possible. Preference will be given, in order, to staff members in our 1946 group of colleges, other college staff members, state department officials, school administrators and teachers, social agency workers, and church and lay leaders.

For either one or two representatives from each college in the 1946 Study, we have $50 scholarships. These will be granted to other applicants if not used by these colleges. The workshop will carry six hours of graduate credit at a tuition cost of about $41. If no credit is wanted, one will have to figure only on living costs, in all about $150 for the six weeks.

WORKSHOP STAFF

Our staff has been selected with care, not only for its teaching skill and general knowledge, but because each member is doing practical work in the intergroup field. Fulltime staff members are **Miss Bertha Lawrence,** New Jersey State College, Trenton; **Dr. Grace Woodson,** West Virginia State College, near Charleston; and **Dr. Lloyd A. Cook,** director of the College Study. Part-time staff will include several local specialists in intergroup relations, and outside consultants will be brought in as needed.

DETROIT AS LABORATORY

Detroit can be a most exciting place in which to live and to study intergroup relations. It has, apparently, "got everything—the mostest, worstest, bestest." Public schools abound in every sort of intergroup situation, and building "unity within diversity" is of vital concern. Areas change color, or creeds, or national origins, with a speed that is at times astounding, presenting all manner of social adjustment problems. Everywhere there is an interest in equalizing educational opportunities, in harmonizing conflicting values.

REGISTER NOW

With workshop enrollment limited, we want to urge that you register now, with all details completed by May 15. Please send for a special registration blank. Address:

Lloyd A. Cook, Director
College Intergroup Workshop
Wayne University, Detroit

COUNCIL ON COOPERATION IN TEACHERS EDUCATION
COLLEGE STUDY IN INTERGROUP RELATIONS
LLOYD ALLEN COOK, DIRECTOR
WAYNE UNIVERSITY
DETROIT 1, MICHIGAN

INTERRACIAL NOTES

R. B. Eleazer May 7, 1946

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JAPANESE RELOCATION PROGRAM NEARS ITS END

Discriminatory Laws Still Await Repeal

RECEIVED
MAY 8 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dillon S. Myer, Director War Relocation Authority
in
Resettlement Bulletin

The War Relocation Authority is to be liquidated by June 30, 1946. Nine of the ten Relocation Centers were closed by November 30, 1945, and all the evacuee residents of those centers have resettled in their home states or elsewhere in the United States and Hawaii.

Only half of the evacuated people, approximately 55,000, have returned to California and to the evacuated portions of Arizona, Washington and Oregon. This means that a comparable number have explored a country new to them east of the military area from which they were excluded. All but 8,000 of these chose one of nine Rocky Mountain, Mid-west or East Coast states as their destination. These states are, in order of their popularity: Illinois, Colorado, Utah, Ohio, Idaho, Michigan, New York, New Jersey, and Minnesota. These figures do not take into account approximately 5,000 persons who, after relocating eastward, have requested assistance from War Relocation Authority for return to their home states since the lifting of the exclusion orders in January, 1945.

The vast majority of the evacuated people have adapted themselves satisfactorily to living again in normal American communities. A gratifying number have had unusually fine opportunities and experiences which might never have come their way if they had not been evacuated.

WRA, through its field offices, has been occupied with helping the resettlers solve their housing, employment, property and welfare problems. It has made an effort to prepare communities for new residents of Japanese descent. It is particularly in this phase of the relocation program that the church groups and other friendly and interested organizations have made an invaluable contribution. They have willingly helped individual evacuees and their families to feel at home in towns and cities strange to them. Church people have generally been the resettlers' first new friends, and in many ways have helped them reestablish themselves.

The Committee on Resettlement of Japanese Americans of the Home Missions Council has shown a very courageous and tireless spirit in this work. We appreciate the active, wholehearted support and practical assistance the Committee and other church and public spirited groups have given to the relocation program.

There are two important problems related to evacuation, but beyond the scope of WRA, which demand the attention of the American public. The first is the need for providing a means of compensation for real and personal property losses directly resulting from evacuation. At the present time, the only recourse an evacuee has is to persuade a Congressman to introduce into Congress a private claims bill. This is an uncertain and time-consuming procedure. If we admit-and I think all fairminded Americans will--that there is ample justification for such compensation, then a less cumbersome claims procedure should be worked out, specifically for evacuees, which will assure them prompt compensation for substantial claims.

(over)

Secondly, our naturalization laws, as they now stand, make it impossible for some aliens who are permitted to reside permanently in this country to obtain citizenship status. These special restrictions are based on racial origin and are directed against practically all Asiatics and peoples of the Pacific Islands. During the war, our naturalization laws were broadened to include Chinese under the quota system, but there are still some 185,000 persons resident in the United States and Hawaii who are not eligible to become naturalized citizens. Many of them have been in this country twenty years or more, are married to citizens and have citizen children, many of whom have fought with the United States Army during the war.

The racial discrimination in our naturalization laws is reflected in state legislation, particularly on the West Coast. Restrictions in the Alien Land Laws are aimed at "aliens ineligible for citizenship". Aliens in this status may not own land in some states, may not obtain some types of licenses or be eligible for certain welfare and social services. Yet generally speaking, these same aliens are law-abiding residents of the country and intend to reside here permanently. Our restrictive state legislation precludes the possibility of their having the equal economic opportunity which is their right as legal residents of this country. Legislation based on racial origin is inconsistent with our democratic principles as expressed in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. A further broadening of our immigration laws to include the Asiatic peoples on a quota basis, as was done in the case of the Chinese, would remove the last racial restrictions from these laws, and would contribute substantially to our avowed interest in establishing better international relations.

These two problems need the same kind of serious study and constructive effort from church groups as that given to the relocation program. During the fight to restore the civil rights of the people of Japanese descent in this country the ugly forces of racism and intolerance loudly proclaimed their undemocratic prejudices. Against relocation they fought a losing battle, but they have not been destroyed. We must continue to combat the forces of racial discrimination wherever they appear if we expect to achieve the true meaning of democracy and international harmony.

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Department of General Church School Work
810 Broadway, Nashville (2), Tenn.
Division of the Local Church
General Board of Education of the Methodist Church

Vol. II, No. 3, May 1946
Colleges, Schools, Agencies

Lloyd Allen Cook, Director
Wayne University, Detroit 1

THE COLLEGE STUDY BULLETIN

RECEIVED
JUN 3 1946
Southern Regional Council

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The College Study in Intergroup Relations
Council on Cooperation in Teacher Education
American Council on Education

WHAT THIS ISSUE IS ABOUT

1. Last Call for the Workshop
2. First Selection of 1946 Colleges
3. A Project Director's Role
4. Concrete Cases, An Analysis
5. The Viewpoint We Like Best
6. Organizing A College Program
7. Study Technics and Devices
8. Group Management Tactics
9. Recent Staff Activities

I. LAST CALL FOR THE WORKSHOP, JUNE 24-AUGUST 2

In the April Bulletin, we announced a rather special kind of workshop on intergroup relations, one dealing with the problems we have found this year in working with a number of colleges and schools. We set a top enrollment of 40 for this workshop, thus keeping it small, and had hoped to limit it pretty much to representatives of our 1945-46 Colleges, plus other college teachers.

While college teachers will still be given preference in granting our scholarships, we are now opening the workshop to school heads, high school teachers, agency officials, and others. We still want to keep the workshop small, to make it a meaningful experience, and the time to register is getting very short. If graduate credit is wanted (6 hours), tuition will cost about $41; otherwise there is no tuition charge. We are trying to get our group housed in a nearby residential hotel, at a cost of about $75. Figuring food at $2 per day, the total expense of the six weeks period would be about $191.00.

IF YOU ARE A GRADUATE STUDENT, YOU CAN ENROLL

For teacher educating institutions that want to develop work in intergroup education, we can think of no better preparation than the workshop. For a teacher who has a personal interest in these school and community problems, we have a great deal to offer. For a school head wanting to check over the total school program, or a representative of a mayor's committee or council on democracy seeking better insight on community conditions and cooperation with the schools, we will have grist for his mill.

In the above group, we would include especially officials of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the association making the financial grant to the American Council on Education by which the College Study operates. To our cooperating colleges, to those who may want to join with us another year, we particularly address this last call.

THE FIRST FORTY!

> IN TIMES LIKE THESE
>
> If democracy is to survive, it is the task of men of thought, as well as men of action, to put aside pride and prejudice; and with courage and devotion, and above all with humility, to find the truth and teach the truth that shall keep men free.
>
> ...Franklin D. Roosevelt

II. FIRST SELECTION OF 1946 COLLEGES

At an executive committee meeting of the Council on Cooperation in Teacher Education, Chicago, May 3, the first choices of colleges for 1946 were made. Our committee was deeply pleased to know that all our 1945 Colleges, the original experimental group, were applying for another year. Each of these schools, working in its own way on its own concerns, has done a notable job, as indicated in the April Bulletin. After a discussion of concrete proposals for 1946, these institutions were voted in, two to have limited service as requested, due to staff shortages and expanded enrollments. The honor roll reads as follows:

OLD COLLEGES VOTED IN --WITH A HEARTY THANKS

College or University	President or Dean	Chairman Intergroup Committee
Marshall College, Huntington, W. Va.	John D. Williams	Lyell Douthat
New Jersey State, Trenton, N. J.	Roscoe L. West	Bertha Lawrence
New York State College, Albany	John M. Sayles	Margaret Hayes
Ohio State University, Columbus	Ross Mooney	Edgar Dale
University of Pittsburg, Pittsburg	S. P. Franklin	W. W. D. Sones
State Teachers College, Milwaukee	Frank E. Baker	Herman Weil
W. Virginia State College, Institute	John W. Davis	Grace Woodson
Wayne University, Detroit	W. L. Lessenger	Harold Soderquist

At this same meeting, the executive committee went over briefly forty odd now applications, many of which were not completed in sufficient detail for board action. Four of these applications were appraised and approved, pending in one case the final formulation of the projects, activities, studies, etc., on which the college wants to work. It is a great pleasure to welcome these schools into our growing family!

FOUR NEW COLLEGES ARE ACCEPTED, MORE AT A LATER MEETING

College or University	President or Dean	Chairman Intergroup Committee
Colorado State College, Greeley	George W. Frazier	Earle U. Rugg
Springfield College, Mass.	Paul M. Limbert	Alvin Zander
State Teachers College, Eau Claire, Wisconsin	W. R. Davies	John Snyder
University of Denver, Denver	Ben Cherrington	Arthur K. Loomis

Our budget for the year, and for each year in a three year period, is about twice that of last spring, so that we can service 15 to 20 colleges. We are at work now assisting colleges in completing their application, visiting campuses, helping in whatever way we can to get ready for a big fall program.

Here a word should be said about the sample we are seeking. What we are after is a sample that will be as representative as possible of the nation at large. We must find first, obviously, institutions "in a state of readiness" for intergroup education. Next, we must have colleges in the areas of America's great racial, creedal, cultural, economic and rural-urban differences. Thirdly, would come the several types of teacher educating institutions recognized in the U. S. Office of Education Educational Directory, Part III. This would include the kind of control--private, state, muncipal, or denominational, size and makeup of student body, white or Negro. And in all of this, we must be very watchful of a fourth set of factors, as Dr. Ernest V. Hollis has so kindly pointed out. He suggests some institutions that "will show the very rudimentary steps" that must be taken in getting underway what can in truth be called a college program in intergroup relations. Put otherwise, we want colleges at different stages

1700 TEACHER EDUCATING INSTITUTIONS--CAN ANY 15-20 BE VERY TYPICAL?

THE COLLEGE STUDY BULLETIN
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of interest and resourcefulness. Some eager to go, to do; others, well, needing stimulation, but with a marked growth potential.

III. A PROJECT DIRECTOR'S ROLE

The story of the College Study is that of a modest effort growing big, a little candle blazing. While each day is a new day, a new chance to run, we have the making of something important in education. We have the best of sponsorship and executive direction. We have expanding financial resources. We have colleges with a will to do--to think, to study and to act. We have the support of the profession at large, a fact attested by our mail. Our only apparent limitations are our own shortcomings, our unwitting errors.

> COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP
> Second Annual Institute, Syracuse University, N. Y., July 10-24. A unique and exciting program. Address Mrs. Rhea M. Eckels, Secy.

All of this may make one a bit conscious of a project director's role. Scanning the literature at random, I find little writing that probes at all deep. The Commission on Teacher Education (Prall, Cushman) has said some things well worth saying, so have a few others. But on the whole, no one has really taken a project director apart to see what makes him tick. Maybe he is not worth such an analysis.

WHAT MAKES THIS GUY REALLY TICK

In traveling from Fargo to Austin, Trenton to Denver and San Diego, one falls heir to many situations, is viewed in many guises, is called many names. He is a "racialist," a "radical," a "communist." He is a "reformer," a "missionary." He is an academician on a binge, a junket or crusade. He is, somehow, a suspicious character, a man to be watched. Viewed with such mixed feelings, one must time and again define his role, the things he seeks to do, what he is. Unless he can win respect on this basis, he has no reason for being, no use, no function.

Offhand reflection suggests that a project director has four major roles, four basic parts to play in activating intergroup education. He is first of all, a peddler of information, a trafficer in fact and theory, strange partners who, on union, are supposed to give birth to truth. He is, next, a student, one who studies things, how they work. He is a "technic man," who is presumed to have the "know how" of study making, high level and low. And then, lest I be flayed before admitting to the classic crime, a project director must be something of a philosopher. Deep down in his tool kit, he must have a point of view, a set of values, a conviction on which he will stand. If this is not so, if he has no care for people, all people, then he is indeed a dangerous man. For in his final role, the most significant of all, he is a manager of the group process. Unless this process is managed in the interest of ALL its members then we have the devil to pay, a Machiavelli on the make!

FOUR ROLES MAYBE MORE

> SOCIAL FOUNDATIONS OF EDUCATION, the current February issue of the Review of Educational Research, NEA, Wash., $1. Notable is the chapter on the community and the school, less so the writeup on intercultural education. Good buy.

Years at this game have convinced me that these four roles, while always present in project work, are never the same. Their content varies with time and place. Moreover, one's success or failure does not depend on how well he knows each part he is to play, a simple truth I have been overly long in learning. It depends on how well he can put them all together in a single, decisive action. Put otherwise, it is only for analysis that these roles are separated. In minerun life situations, they meet and mingle beyond ready identification. Thus one's success depends on some factor outside of role content. It depends on <u>insight</u>, <u>imagination</u>, <u>judgment</u>.

FOR INSIGHT, I KNOW NO READY SUBSTITUTE

I am inclined to think that this tale has several morals. For example, can anyone ever be found who, as project director, college committee chairman or the like, can play all four roles equally well? Or put more sharply, are not these roles per so in conflict? To illustrate, as a student one is taught NOT to identify with people, not to become a part of the process under study. Truth to tell, science is largely just that--a way of separating one's self from the data, a ritual for "objectifying" observation, leaving a trail that others can follow. In group management, by contrast, one must entered into the process. One must project himself into the roles of others, sweat through their worries and concerns, their insecuries, mood swings, status struggles. He must, somehow, absorb these manifold behaviors, absorb and retain them. He must release tensions and unite people.

> RELIGION AND EDUCATION
> An old, old issue restudied. Cf. N.E.A.'s current research Bulletin, Feb. '46, Wash., 25¢. Church and state relations--history, federal aid, current school practice state law and control.

Or again to take another angle, one can as a group leader, be mighty smart yet mighty dumb. He may know theory, know technic, know values, know strategy, each separately, a thing apart. But what he doesn't know is how, at some critical moment, to put them all together into a single successful operation. The right gesture, the right word, the right timing, the right chance to take, all of this is an art not taught in books. Maybe that is why one fails so often, the inescapable necessity of meshing his several roles.

ONE CAN KNOW ALL THE STROKES BUT NOT SWIM

IV. CONCRETE CASES, AN ANALYSIS

We did not write about the project director simply to suggest him as a fitting M.A. or Ph.D. thesis, though this is feasible. If he is, as we suspect, nursemaid to a complex process, a sharp "fix" on his roles should split this process open for further study. Before pursuing these four big leads, let us explore the habitat of the worker in intergroup education, the terrain where he is to be found.

> WELCOME TO FRANCIS BROWN
> Newly appointed American Council representative to our College Study, succeeding Howard Wilson.

What are the nation's schools really like from a group relations standpoint? What goes there, what makes? For a year, such data have been gathered by our schools and colleges. In their fullness, these cases are illuminating. To reduce them to a few lines, does damage to their meaning and reality, yet this is the best we can do. The sample we use is not selected as "good" or "bad", but simply as minerun. These things happened, and the like is repeated every day.

FROM 1000 CASES TAKE ANY TWENTY

Case 1. Substitute teacher, nursery school, mixed urban area.

> Mary Lou, white, hurried over to two little colored newcomers. She took off their hats, took them by the hand and led them to the sandbin. Other children paid no attention. They went on with whatever they were doing... Little children have no prejudices.

Case 2. Student teacher, kindergarten, middle class white area.

> Asked to select a poem from some book at home, or a poem "like mother tells you," one little girl recited Stevenson's famous lines:
>
> Little Indian, Sioux or Crow
> Little frosty Esquimo
> Little Turk or Japanee
> Oh, don't you wish that you were me!

Case 3. Playground supervisor, Grade 2A, mixed low-class urban area.

> Asked to choose sides, I have noticed that Polish and Italian children are last chosen. To change this, I asked leader from these

groups to do the choosing. I found that they did not select their own kind until all native stock children were chosen. Why is this?

Case 4. Teacher, 3A, factory town, average residential area.

Our grade decorated the room for Christmas. A Jewish boy painted God, Virgin Mary and the Christ Child. Two Gentile girls, looking at the painting, ask Sammy if the Jews really did kill Christ. I took the period to explain this bit of history.

Case 5. Teacher, 3B, small midwestern town, native-white Protestant.

Leaving class for a moment, I found on returning that our preparation for an Easter party had stopped. Someone had said that Catholics do not celebrate Easter, or Christmas, or "any holiday, except Pope's Day." I told the children the truth of the matter.

Case 6. Principal, grade school, small eastern industrial city.

A nine year old Serbian girl told me, in tears, that she lay awake at night and cried because her playmates called her a "hunky." I feel ever so sorry for these children but we cannot encourage their participation in school activities as we would like to do. Our best parents simply wouldn't stand for it.

Case 7. Negro teacher, mixed school, white principal, large city.

On the way out, I came upon a scene that made me boil. Two little colored boys were jitterbugging in the hall, while the principal clapped his hands, with a tight little spectator group gathered about. I told the boys to stop and then told the principal just what I thought about this cheap show. His only reply was that he "liked jitterbugging," that "Negroes were so talented."

Case 8. Teacher, 4A, small farming center, native-born whites.

A child whose parents belonged to the Jehovah Witnesses, would stand and place his right hand over his heart but would not say the pledge to the flag. As sentiment against these people grew in the town, he was given the "silent cure" at school, then beaten up on the way home. While it was unfair, I wouldn't say that we did much to handle it.

Case 9. Visiting teacher, 6th grade, urban industrial area.

Several Greek-American boys formed outside of class a little club of their own. They not only kept non-Greeks from joining but acted superior at school. They won the hearty dislike of other children but this only seemed to throw them closer together.

Case 10. Homeroom teacher, 6B, mixed Jewish-Gentile urban area.

In discussing superstitions, the Number 13 came up. A Jewish boy said that was not bad luck but good luck for him. Non-Jewish classmates were surprised and asked why. I explained that, at age 13, a Jewish boy receives his Bar Mitzvak, or confirmation, passing into adulthood.

Case 11. Coach, physical education, Pacific mountain-states area.

A relocated Japanese-American boy showed up for basketball practice. The kids were all set to give him the brush off but I showed them pretty quick where I stood on that kind of stuff. We have had no trouble since, and the kids know better than to start anything.

Case 12. President. P-T A, small city, former teacher in the school.

What I am writing you about is the way these children from the West side are treated.. Have you ever been in their homes--mean, little dingy places. But that is no excuse for discriminating against them. These children have more character than many of the pampered brats who thumb their nose at them.

Case 13. Principal, high school, northern grain-growing area.

We have no serious problems here. There are no Negroes. Same for foreigners, except Swedes. A few Jews are coming in, but not many. We do have the rurals, the children brought in by bus. They cause us a little trouble since they do not mix very well with the town kids.

Case 14. Music teacher, small town, cattle grazing area.

Most of our children live here in town but many come from the cattle ranches and farms. These children are not accepted by the town pupils, though some come from well off homes. I set to work on this by organizing a "Hillbilly Band," where anyone could play, and we had members from both groups. We went on to other things--horseback rides, chuck wagon dinners, etc. What else should we try to do?

Case 15. Social studies teacher, high school, residential suburb.

Our worst intergroup problem are the fraternities and sororities, as snobbish as can be. While they are against the law, they flourish here like the green bay tree. They throw parties in a la grand college manner, exclude our most worthy students, disrupt the whole social life of the school. We do not know how to break them up; nothing seems to work. Can you help us out?

Case 16. Teacher, industrial education, small midwestern city.

When we checked up on the matter, we found that it was the Negro graduate who could not get the kind of job for which he had been trained. It was not a question of grades, or character, or recommendations. It is, we believe, a definite color bar to their employment, though employers do not admit this.

Case 17. Auditorium teacher, metropolitan city.

We cannot get our second generation children to take part in any kind of Old World folk fair or festival.. We have an even tougher problem in several mixed schools. In casting plays, white children will not take parts they feel should go to Negroes--butlers, maids, etc., but neither will Negroes. If we cast the latter in lead roles, the whites refuse to participate. What makes it still worse, is that parents on both sides have taken it up.

Case 18. Coach, language arts, small town.

Our most outstanding Senior is a Jewish boy. He has won everything there is to win in public speaking, debate, and original oration. In oration, he won the state contest, the inter-state, and will go on to the national. In all of this, he has been backed by the town. Luncheon clubs raised his expense money. He has spoken in all our churches, at P T A's and elsewhere. The school is extremely proud of him."

Case 19. Guidance worker, large urban high school.

> A gang of our boys came down the street, passing the B-- Synagogue, where a service was going on. They began to chant, in imitation of the cantor, then to toss pebbles at windows. Someone came out and asked them to leave. They might have gone on had not some Jewish boys came along. One word led to another and, pretty soon, a fight started. In an instance, the two groups were battling away, and bit by bit, the street joined in. Somebody broke it up by calling the cops.

Case 20. Principal, average size high school, heterogeneous urban area.

> We have all sorts of minority groups.. A month or so ago, with tension high and incidents happening, we brought our students together and, in this assembly, then in homerooms, we talked it over. A committee of students and faculty was appointed. They recommended a Fair Play Council. During the past month, the FPC has heard five cases, and its decisions have been accepted by all. It is, increasingly, doing preventive work, for example assembly programs.

Here, then, is the picture. We neither view with alarm nor point with pride. These little slides in a lengthy series are food for thought. What do they prove?

DIG DEEPER, THINK WELL
LEARN TO SEE MUCH MORE

Nothing, we would say, for one does not rest proof on such fragmentary data. But the cases do suggest a great deal. They suggest something like a state of chronic tension in the nation's schools, at times of overt conflict, mild as a rule, but pervasive, unhealthy and we think increasing. Some conflict is, of course, normal, much of it desirable, but the load many children carry is too great for our own peace of mind. We state this viewpoint with caution and admit of exceptions. But by and large, from the evidence at hand, the situation does not look good.

> WHO FITS THIS SHOE
>
> It is time that we awaken to our biggest danger. In practicising racism on our youngsters, we are poisoning the American future at its grass roots.
>
> ...Max Lerner

Most school heads, most teachers, most teachers of teachers, will deny the above impression. They will speak from a vantage point, their own schools, where every kid has a fair chance, where democracy works. Or else these critics, nowing much about many schools, will react to surface phenomena, not fully sensing the psychological hurts that flow along racial, creedal, socioeconomic and other "attraction-repulsion" lines. They do not know, perhaps, how easily souls are mangled, how aspirations pent up, starved out or pushed aside, cease at last to exist at all. These are forgotten, sure, but they do not disappear. They drop into a nether land where they drive behavior along strange pathways. They become the stuff of the subconscious.

From this "recco" survey, the chief conclusion we want to draw is this: the need for each of us, each worker with young people, to study his own situation.

THE NEED TO FOCUS
ON GROUP DYNAMICS

While much good has come from recent analyses of group structure, an even more fruitful approach would be to focus squarely on group dynamics. Focus on the kid gangs in and about the school, street corner crowds, any less formal grouping within reach. Focus on faculty cliques, factional scraps, the gossipy chatter of the rest room. What holds these groups together? What, why and how? And in it all, what part, if any, is played by race, by creed, by socioeconomic status? Get a firm grip on your scapel and dig down!

> WORKSHOP PROBLEMS
>
> These are the kinds of situations and issues we want to deal with in our workshop, Wayne U, June 24 to August 2. Can you make it?

V. THE VIEWPOINTS WE LIKE BEST

Were the mind set sharply on the cases just cited, it would be seen that incidents are confusing, often contradictory. Life is like that. To understand the flow of events, one needs to lift his sights, to take stock of himself, to say by golly what he believes and will do. To pass a basic point of view from one mind to another is not like heaving a pigskin. If it is possible, it is very questionable, for the recipient may lack a life experience that makes the viewpoint meaningful. But it is wholly desirable, it is imperative, that anyone in intergroup work discover what he is like on the inside, what he will stand for with the blue chips down.

> ON WHITMAN AVENUE
> For an evening at the teater, if, as and when, this new play. Better than Strange Fruit or Deep Are The Roots. On housing, of all things, and its moral, Negroes are people.

Among current sociological theories of group hostility, and I have at times tried to present them all, teachers, and prospective teachers, like best of all the ideas of Myrdal and Warner. Myrdal's[1] appeal is instantaneous and very strong. What this scholarly Swedish economist seems to say about America is like this: We are a democracy but we do not, especially in racio-creedal matters, practice anything like as much as we preach, so that en masse we have a bad conscience. Now a bad conscience is an uneasy bedmate, so that one seeks to put it out of mind, in a literal sense to cleanse the soul. We throw a defense around set habit patterns (rationalize) by saying, first of all, that there is "no race problem," thus covering up the belittling behaviors, the frustrating mistreatments, that go on. The obvious need is to re-align mass practices with good-will values which, for Myrdal, means grassroot democratic action. It may mean, too, a realistic education that will prepare for that action.

MYRDAL, WARNER

Warner[2] cuts deeper and will, no doubt, as his theory unfolds, correct what may look to be some limitations. In general, he presents a "caste-class" point of view, analyzing behaviors in those terms. What the caste-class system is, or how Warner determines its nature, are still matters of conjecture. In some ways, it is like any barnyard peck order. People rate people and then look up, or look down, at them, and so the whole community becomes organized, with the non-white always in our culture the man lowest down, the man toward whom the upper caste group feels the greatest "distance." Social classes, for example upper, middle and lower, exist on either side of the casteline, though cross-line statuses, and whatever they imply for participation in a common community life, are not equal.

> DEMOCRATIC
> HUMAN RELATIONS
> 16th Yrbk, Nat. Council for the Social Studies, NEA, Wash., '46, $2.30. Sprawls and spills and is not so good in the clinches, yet gives the best account we know on intergroup education. Lively, readable, practical.

One is born into his caste and, for that matter, into his class position, but the latter can be changed a little. Individual mobility, up or down, is discussed by Warner but never with the thoroughness that its importance would seem to merit. That is because, perhaps, his focus so far has been on structure, not on dynamics. Likewise, educators would profit by a more penetrating analysis of values--what motivates peoples, what sets them in motion.

What is good about these viewpoints is that each, in its own way, shifts attention from any easy thinking about prejudice. Whatever prejudice is, it is a very inclusive concept. It is, most simply, a synonym for prejudgment, usually hostile,

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[1] Gunnar Myrdal, The American Dilemma. 2 vol. Harper, New York, 1944. $7.50

[2] W. Lloyd Warner and Paul Lunt, Social Life Of A Modern Community. Yale Univ. Press, New Haven, 1941. $4.00. For an application to education, Who Shall Be Educated? Harper, New York, 1944. $2.50

against a whole universe of objects--ALL Mexicans, ALL Catholics, ALL college professors, etc. Prejudices of immediate concern center on a few great symbols as we have indicated--race, creed, and the like. Unlike food allergies, a groupwise prejudice is not physiological (or chemical) and inborn. It is acquired, emotional and social. It is picked up on the run, usually from people. It should be studied with a map in hand, a map and a fever chart, for it varies in intensity as well as in place.

Prejudice may be dynamic or it may lie dormant, awaiting its proper stimulus to jump out. It is, in final analysis, a response to crisis, for example a grade level "birthday party," a school election, the Junior Prom. Or, in adult life, the struggle for jobs, for houses to live in, for equal access to public services. Prejudice is a defense mechanism, a group wide effort to hold "the line" against some change, real or imagined. From topside, it is an aggressive action; likewise, from below, spears point upward, ever searching for some Achilles heel in upper-group armour. The struggle is for immediate gains, the improvement of "conditions," and for long-range objectives, the acceptance of out-group members as equals.

FOR BUSY STATEWIDE INTERCULTURAL COMMITTEES
Michigan, Leon S. Waskin, Secy, Dept. Pub. Instru., Lansing; Wisconsin, Volmer Sorenson, Secy, University of Wisconsin, Madison.

In our talks with college people, we have tried to advance a rather commonsense point of view. People are, obviously, different, incurably different, and nowhere more than in our land. Our people, whatever their creed or color, are wanting people, due chiefly to the thing-richness of our culture. No matter what one wants, the supply is, or can readily become, limited, so that life itself is struggle. While this struggle principle needs qualification, it is broadly true. To struggle, to achieve, to make something of one's self, is the heart of the American creedo. It is central in our manysided, all-pervasive "success system."

WE, THE PEOPLE

So far we have talked about no particular people, just people. Here thinking can be angled toward race, class, cultures, etc. We stereotype whole masses of people, treat them as a group apart or lower down, and then organize society, by custom and law, to keep them in their "place." Whatever this place may be, it is not beside us at a dinner table, never at our front door! What is involved here is not, in essence, sheer physical contact, or even intimacy. It is the presumption of an equality status. Such relationships, if unchecked, would cause (and indicate) the disintegration of the caste-class system.

One advantage of this point of view is its simplicity. It can be readily understood and, secondly, it will support a tremendous amount of data, from both experience and science. For instance, college students, regardless of their backgrounds, can fill in this framework to perfection from either their life or their experience, and they like to do it! Thirdly, the viewpoint will carry a sizable moral charge. For example, what do people want? Are you "people"? What do you want in life--health, wealth, sunshine, knowledge, status, success, power? Are Negroes people? Jew, Czecks, Chinese? What do they want? Are they like us, seeking similiar goals? Do they have equal chances? Why should their "ceilings" be kept so low, the normal ladder up so hard to climb? If these people ARE people, should they be treated as such?

REVIELLE FOR RADICALS
By Saul Alinsky, University Chicago Press, '46 $2.50. Don't miss it!

VI. ORGANIZING A COLLEGE PROGRAM

Here we want to veer again from the task we have set, an effort to dissect the role of any kind of director, or teacher, in the intergroup field. Colleges continue to make inquiry as to what to do, how to "get something started" in intercultural education. We do not, to be sure, know the answer, if there is any one "best way," for that is what we also are asking.

While preference will differ, it would seem to us that Step 1 might be an inquiry into school and college practices. What are the feelings, tensions, behaviors, centering about race, creed, and the like? What is happening in and about the school? This is the kind of beginning any social scientist would make in studying any sort of social problem. All that it assumes is that the behaviors in question, or enough of these behaviors, can be identified so that one can form an impression of what the situation is like. Even this assumption can be safeguarded in various ways. For instance, one can ask teachers, school heads and others, to describe behaviors centering about race, etc. Our case materials show that they know enough, and are concerned enough, to do this rather well. Other data bear out this point of view.

PLANNING COLLEGE WORK IN INTERGR. EDUCATION

DEFENSES OF PEACE
A 31-p pamphlet by the State Dept., Wash., '46, on UNESCO
U.S. Printing Office, free.

Step 2 might well involve another inquiry, a study of what is being taught in the college curriculum to prepare teachers to deal with these problems. This study should not be limited to course offerings; it should include extracurricular activities and other nonclass experiences. It could also deal at length with student backgrounds, sensitivities, and group relations skills.

Step 3 would be to ask a college faculty, after reflecting on the above data, to project a philosophy of intergroup relations. How should children treat children? What is good for kids, harmful to them, in their social relations? What, therefore, should they be taught? What kinds of training, or types of experiences, not now provided in the college program, should be given the prospective teachers of these children?

Step 4 would implement the above proposals. It might take the form of a new course on intergroup relations. Better still, from our standpoint, it would result in changes in existing courses--new emphases, new materials, new experiences, etc. Community use and extracurricular programs could be planned. Practice teaching offers an especially valuable channel for educating in intergroup relations. And so on, around the board, wherever opportunity can be found.

FOR A WIDE RANGE OF COLLEGE PROJECTS SEE OUR APRIL COLLEGE STUDY BULLETIN

Most teacher educating institutions must move on a much smaller scale than this, a situation that is understandable in view of mounting enrollments. If one staff member is interested enough to try out any hunch he may have, that is a gain. If a committee can be appointed, some studies can be made, some program changes gotten under way. Assemblies can be devoted to intergroup problems. Perhaps a summer workshop, or a section of a workshop, can be planned. Students are interested, the times are critical, and some kind of start should perhaps be made.

VII. STUDY TECHNICS AND DEVICES

An important phase of a project director's work has to do with the making of field studies. Nowhere, perhaps, have we felt a greater limitation than in this phase of the job. Colleges want help, more help and better help than we have been able to provide them. Staff members are, many of them, study-minded. They will give time and thought and energy, in unbelievable large amounts, if they are convinced that a given study is worthwhile, that it will pay off in a practical way. The rub comes in making, or in finding, study forms that are at all adequate, that penetrate to realities.

SOME METHODS OF USE IN INTERGROUP EDUCATION

Likewise, how to frame a problem is a great puzzler. For example, when one makes a "community" survey, what does he survey? Judging from a collection of these studies over the years, students are poles apart on what to study, and worse still, without rhyme or reason. Surveys, purporting to deal with the same thing, are unalike in every other way. There

SOCIAL RESEARCH
By Lundberg, Longman Green & Co., New York '42, $3.50, is still an outstanding volume

is no standard practice, no semi-standard practice, no semi-semi... There is not, as in comparable interest areas, well defined type forms from which to select and adapt. Community study is either completely chaotic, or else so sentimental, so ill-conceived, that its only obvious value is to get students out into the air!

WHY FOOL WITH FIELD STUDIES

There is, so far as I know, nothing strange about method, nothing to make one throw up his hands in horror or stand agast in awe. In common usage, method is simply a way of doing things, a scheme for relating means to ends. Scientific field study method refers to procedures by which data are obtained and conclusions draw. Its basic worth is that it tends to make our inferences more exact. It is work; at times, hard sweat labor. No intergroup program need be built on field data. It can, as usually true, be based on talk, on hunches, good intent, or administrative fiat.

SCIENTIFIC SOCIAL Surveys and Research. Pauline Young, Prentice-Hall, '39, 619 Pp. Not new but good.

Where program planners feel a need to know, the study process shows, in some form or other, at least eight steps.

THE STUDY-ACTION PROCESS

1. Defining the problem for study, including the kinds and amounts of data to be collected, time and place.
2. Making study forms, for example questionnaire, needs inventory, etc., pretesting and revising if necessary.
3. Working out a scoring plan, involving tally sheets, table forms, definitions, classifications, etc.
4. Selecting a sample, administering tests, making interviews, and the like, culling for defective cases.
5. Tabulating data, or analyzing student experiences, by significant variables such as ethnic grouping and sex.
6. Making final tables, drawing graphs and charts, slides, other visual aids that reveal meaningful relations.
7. Writing and publishing one or more final reports for the kinds of readers for whom the study was intended.
8. Securing a hearing for, and taking action on, the findings and recommendations for school changes.

STUDY THE GROUP, THE COMMUNITY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

Among the eight colleges at work last year, we talked at times about the kinds of field study methods for which they felt a need. In general, their interests centered around childhood groupings, the community as young people experience it, and the various kinds of ways individuals are related to groups. Each of these headings breaks up into various parts, so that all in all, as reported in previous Bulletins, thirty-seven separate study projects were undertaken. Some, it is true, did not involve much study, but mostly action in the sense of program changes; others, unfortunately perhaps, were limited to study. What we want, in general, is the type of study that leads to action, for our research is a use research, not a "pure" contribution to knowledge.

In group study, many school and college classrooms were subjected to analysis. College students, at times in their practice teaching, made two kinds of studies. Classrooms were treated, most often, as learning groups. This is an old, old educational interest and all we did was to adapt it to intergroup purposes. For example, films on race or creed or socioeconomic problems were used, or a class read fiction or drama, or heard lectures on anthropological facts. Pre- and end tests were given, or student reaction papers analyzed, or behaviors in and about the school were noted. All of this, as in our other studies, was to determine chiefly if evidence could be found to show changes in pupils, and in the college students themselves, as to their feelings and behaviors toward minority-group members, or the latter toward them. We felt, as college professors, some changes going on within ourselves.

THE TEACHING OF INTERNATIONAL AND INTERCULTURAL UNDERSTANDING IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF CALIFORNIA
An 82 page pamphlet, International Center, 68 Post St., San Francisco, Fine ethnic Biblio.

Classrooms were also treated as living groups. Here prospective teachers were given experience in observing group processes, for example the development of cooperation, mounting conflict and unrest. Some rudiments of group interviewing were taught, some roughly made group observation forms were tried out, some schemes for studying group tensions and group types (leader, isolate, clique, etc.) were started. We do not, at this writing, count any of these forms as in shape for general use. We did the best we could and hope this year to do better.

REQUESTS FOR BULLETIN II
We regret to say that our supply of this bulletin, 800 copies, has been exhausted.

In respect to the community, much of our effort was to provide a kind of participant observer experience for our students. Trips were made to ethnic areas, agencies dealing with intergroup problems took students as part-time workers, and different kinds of interviewing, for example the "informant technic," were tried out. In addition, some cholleges made surveys, all having value but none value enough to be viewed as a contribution to study methods. Fortunately, students learn, or seem to learn, no matter how they are projected into "life." We need to know, however, what they learn and the best ways of learning.

Due to education's great concern for the individual, a good "readiness" exists for any sort of psychological study. Among our colleges, individuals were studied most often as collective aggregates, that is as statistical units. This is the usual type of social survey or school survey, a head count, with averages, ranges, etc. Such studies have uses in intergroup education, for example if we want to know in a diet survey how many children choose how many foods in given combinations. What we must not neglect, however, is the type of study that treats children as persons, that is with group sensitivities, roles and statuses. The first type study would count the number of running noses, unwashed hands, etc., the second type the rating these things draw within age-level groupings. Importance of the latter kind of inquiry has been well attested by recent sociological research, chiefly on factory workers. Change the group and you change individual behaviors; ignore the group, you may find that your best efforts come to little!

INDIVIDUALS AS AGGREGATES AND AS SOCIAL PERSONS HAVING GROUP ROLES, STATUSES

The above idea implies a conception of the school around which a number of studies might be planted. From this standpoint, the school is a pattern of interacting groups, each structured along some dominant axis (age, sex, race, interest, power, etc.). Some groups are formal, some informal, and some--the most basic of all--are small sub-rosa gossipy cliques. The school in action is the action of its interlocking groups. Or put otherwise, set this social structure in motion and one has a social process, or innumerable processes, of group action--a classroom activity, an athletic contest, a faculty vote, a P-T A assembly, a factional fight. It is through these group behaviors, the struggle of unlike interests, that the school gets its basic unity. Group norms alone make the big events of the day intelligible. These norms get built into stick and stone, (hence into habit patterns), so that the very walls of some schools seem to shout to youngsters "be fair and square," or conversely, "steal, steal, steal." Given time, norms harden into traditions which come, at last, to comprise the control that rules the school.

THE GROUP APPROACH TO EDUCATION

TO COUNTS AND WALLER
We return for the best conceptions of the school as a group world, a power struggle, George Counts, School and Society in Chicago, and Willard Waller, Sociology of Teaching.

If, now, this sketch will do, how does one go about changing the school? How can one create an atmosophere of good will, a moral tradition that will, in turn, capture incoming individuals and educate them? Since groups are the prime ports of entry for new ideas, it seems obvious that we should work through these channels. Find the real leaders, the natural leaders of staff and student body, and help them to lead in democratic ways.

FIND GROUP LEADERS LEAD THROUGH THEM

Could problems be solved by formula, we would not need to make studies. The school, like any other structure, resists change. Thus a study of leadership may well have two foci: who are the leaders and how do they lead, and what restraints are imposed on them, what are the barriers to communication?

One study technic that we can highly recommend is sociographic charting. As the work implies, this is a way of locating the kinds of group members and subgroups found in every school. It centers on the "attractions-repulsions" that divide or unite people, and our favorite approach is via a short questionnaire. This is presented as an inquiry into extracurricular activities, but in it are the two standard sociographic questions. "Who are your best friends here in our group? Name one, two or more, or none, as you like." And conversely, the pupil is asked to list persons he does not like, would not want to run around with, "one, two or more, or none, as you like." It is important that these be open-end questions, not forcing any set answer, and that no attention be centered on them. Names are tallied on a data sheet, individual and group sociograms made, as illustrated in a recent study.[1]

SOCIOGRAPHIC CHARTING

READY AND ARARIN'
Prexy sent your letter on.
When can you come to help
us plan this?
..Earle Rugg, Chairman
Colorado State at Greeley

What makes sociographic charting of special value is that it can be used in tensional situations where entre might be denied to one, or if sanctioned, be unwise. No questions are asked about any minority-group member. Children do not know the uses to which their responses are put, nor are sociograms talked over with them. The technic is for the purpose of determining group relations, group roles, subgroupings, etc., and the extent to which these matters run along racial, creedal or other lines. Once these facts are known, further studies can be made, or corrective action started.

VIII. GROUP MANAGEMENT TACTICS

One may elect in intergroup education to waive any study and proceed at once with action. Here the project director, the committee chairman, the classroom or other experimenter, faces his most critical test. Persons who do best at this do not seem to write about their methods. Either the democratic management of group action is a complex thing, hard to analyze, or experts here do not really know what they do, or else to reveal technics decreases their effectiveness. At any rate, we are slow to get ahead, to improve. No college committee chairman feels that we have made any notable contribution at this point.

THOSE WHO CAN, DO AND----------

We have elected to use our limited space to show, from our case materials, what group management means. The situation selected is a tough one, tougher by far than most teachers will ever face. The case will illustrate a number of principles underlying this kind of teaching and will raise questions as to its feasible for use in mass-jammed schools. It is not offered as "the way" to conduct class work; in truth, average teachers cannot do it. We question, however, if any college teacher training program can plumb the bottom of intergroup education and not, somewhere, provide such experiences for their students.

TEACHING GROUP UNITY IN FEELING AND ACTION

A LESSON IN GROUP MANAGEMENT

Big John, age 10, swept the paper houses, the green grass and flower gardens, aside. He kicked over the land site, knocked down a chair in passing, and stalked out of the room. Hang it all, he was mad, madder than he had been since whipping the punk whose place he had taken as gang leader...

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[1]See Lloyd Allen Cook, "An Experimental Sociographic Study of A Stratified Tenth Grade Class," American Sociological Review, 10, April 1945, 250-61. For better data and a psychological emphasis, Helen Jennings, Leadership and Isolation, Longmans, Green, 1943.

Little John, his twin, had warned against the new teacher. "Dumb." Johnny had said, "dumb like a fox!" The warning had gone unheeded. Anyhow, it had not been the teacher, little Miss Silky Pants, who had put the hex on him. No, it had been the gang, his gang, in the workroom now, playing. Well, it was Saturday morning, a nice Saturday morning. He would do... heck, what could a guy do without his gang! Big John fell to thinking about his trouble. It had all happened so easy like, starting two weeks ago...

On that first day, with all the kids bug-eyed with curiosity, the new teacher had given the usual spiel--"good living," "group unity," "learn by doing." And then when she (fine arts major) had said, "how's about a trip to the museum to see things," Big John had given the nod. Ok, the trip was in. Nobody voted against it.

On the next day, the big project had started. Would the class like to experiment with some "art materials," say to build some pretty little houses? Again ok, why not; so alone or in pairs, the Third Street Rockets, and the others, went at it. Houses were made out of paper mache and, for a while, everyone kept busy. Then the fun had started--wisecracking, throwing things, running about, shoving, tripping guys.

To all of this, Miss Silky Pants seemed indifferent, at least too much indifferent. She cautioned against getting hurt. She put things away and locked up cabinets. She helped those still at work and didn't seem worried. She was, as Little John The Brain said, "too damn calm" about the business.

At the next meeting, the group surveyed its houses. Someone asked the teacher what they were to do with them. Big John said "do whatever you want. Kick 'em up, give 'em away, take 'em out. They're yours, ain't they?" All the teacher had done was to repeat the question. "When people build houses, what DO they do with them?" "Put 'em on the land," some punk had answered. This, once again, started gang action.

Mostly, the gang scrounged for things, though Silky Pants had warned against stealing. In no time, they found an old sandbin and sand, then a table to put it on, so a stretch of good earth came soon to await settlement. Each kid chose a landsite as he pleased, facing his house any way he liked. Big John got around to it late and so he found that the best spots were taken. With one sweep of his hand, he knocked over three or four homes, taking the whole south end of the area and putting his house in its center.

Faced with such viciousness, one might guess as to the teacher's emotions, for no one likes to see a bully in action. Instead of pinning the toughie's ears back, thus uniting him with the group against her, she must have felt the situation needed some thinking over. To prevent the tedium vitae that strikes a group during a period of inaction, she had the class landscape residential holdings.

We had helped to plan this project so that the teacher came in to talk it over. After some casting about, we got an idea that seemed worth trying. Inspecting the work the next day, I praised the homes, gardens, etc. But hang it all, "something was lacking." The town did not look right, not at all like the one in which we lived. What was the matter? We got pretty quick the type of answer we had expected, "Ain't regular like, no streets," a boy had said.

Here we had planned to reach in and take hold of the group process. Thus the children did not slap down their streets, for the old peck order would have been reestablished. Instead, a "study" was made of the city street plan. Big John himself set this up by steps he never did understand and appointed himself, forthwith, the leader of a block survey. Wanting to make this trap really solid before it was sprung, the teacher helped the class make a checkerboard street plan, drawn to scale and cut out of cardboard. When this grid was placed over the land site, a main thorofare ran squarely through the center of Big John's baronical estate!

At first, John fussed and fumed, aimlessly. Then he wanted to fight a class member, claiming he had been framed. But here the class stood tight against him. He had "made" the plan, now he was "squealing." In all of this, the teacher made no accusations, offered no explanation. She simply stood by to steady the group in what it had to do. It was here that John vented his ill feeling by knocking over the houses.

Once on the outside, with his gang aligned with the teacher, he did not know what to do. These youngsters were his boon companions, his street crowd. Within a day or so, an overture came. John sent "word" that he would consider "a deal," if the teacher was willing. She replied through the spokesman that her responsibility was limited, that the class would have to consider the matter. John's reentry into the group was effected with face saving for him, but nonetheless, on a novel basis for this little fascist, majority rule and fair play for all group members!

Cases of this sort excite strong pro and con reactions. They lead to involved ends-means discussions. Is this kind of teaching good, from a moral standpoint, and should it be taught to teachers? The defense rests its case as a rule on three points. Does the opposition know what such boys are really like? If so, in what other way (thumbs down on force or its threat) could they be captured long enough to give education a chance to work? 2) Is not this kind of group management all pervasive in our everyday group life? Is it honestly undemocratic? 3)In and of itself, is it not a pretty good preparation for social living, providing the process itself is explained somewhere along the way to participants in it?

WITH WHICH WE AGREE

As I read the reports of last year's projects, I gained the impression that our experience would fit into the picture the Council is attempting to get.

...Wayne A. R. Leys, Dean
Roosevelt College, Chicago

Group tactics per se, like any tool, are neither good nor bad, simply used by variously motivated people. For this reason, we repeat, a group leader in whom one can have faith must have a set of values, a philosophy, a religion, that shows a deep-lying belief in people, the worth and dignity of all peoples. If agreement here is full and complete, tactical differences are not irreconcilable.

FOR YOUR BOOKSHELF
ON LEADERSHIP

Bowen, Yankee From Olympus
Browne, See What I Mean
Dos Passos, Number One
Langley, Lion in Streets
Steinbeck, In Dubious Battle

IV. STAFF ACTIVITIES

It is a pleasure to announce the appointment of Paul H. Hatt, Ohio State University, as associate director. Dr. Hatt hails from Vancouver. He was naturalized in '41, took his M.A. and Ph.D. at the University of Washington, and has held a number of teaching posts and directoral positions. He has studied and written extensively on intergroup problems, and likes especially to put ideas under test. He will be on the job at our workshop and then, in August, visiting colleges.

Welcome in, Paul. A guy like you will like our people!

17-Intercultural Educ.

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How Can The American Teacher Help To Foster Intercultural Relations?

by

NATHAN DRUT

HOW CAN THE AMERICAN TEACHER HELP TO FOSTER INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS?

By NATHAN DRUT

The following essay was recently awarded first prize, a $1,000.00 Victory Bond, in Hunter College's Diamond Jubilee Contest. This contest, national in scope, attracted thousands of entries from teachers in colleges, universities, high schools and elementary schools all over the United States.

By winning first prize, Mr. Drut not only received a $1,000.00 bond for himself, but also won for his school, P. S. 121, an additional $1,000.00 award.

The American teacher can help greatly to foster intercultural relations, especially if she is blessed with a progressive supervisor. It is axiomatic that a school reflects the personality of its chief administrator, be it principal, assistant-to-principal, or teacher in charge. Fortunately for the teachers of Public School 121, Manhattan, Fate has given them two remarkable principals in the persons of Dr. Michael Levine and Mr. William H. Levy. The former inaugurated the program of intercultural education which will be described in the following pages. When Dr. Levine left to become a principal of a Junior High School, his successor, Mr. Levy, continued the program already established as a basic school policy, and even explored new channels in that direction. Under the inspirational guidance of these two men, the teachers responded enthusiastically to the experiment. What has been done here can be done in any school.

Now for a brief description of the school. P. S. 121, is located on 103rd Street between 2nd and 3rd Avenue, the heart of East Harlem. While a great many racial and national groups are represented in this neighborhood, Negroes, Puerto Ricans, and Italians are predominant in this underprivileged area, and represents about 95% of the total population. Of this group approximately 50% are Negroes, 30% are Puerto Ricans, and 20% are Italians.

At the time Dr. Levine launched the program, marked racial antagonism existed both in and out of the school. Each group resented the other two groups. There were frequent instances of clashes outside of school. Occasionally, Negroes would exact tribute from Puerto Ricans and Italians. Parents frequently complained that their children were being molested. As a matter of fact, many parents themselves were intolerant.

The program to improve intergroup relationships is a two-fold one, embracing instruction and extra-curricular activities on the one hand, and parent and community relations on the other. These phases are carried on concurrently. The finest program in the world, however, will fail if the members of the teaching staff are not willing to cooperate. The success of a school intercultural program, therefore, is contingent upon the full cooperation of the members of the faculty. This has been achieved to a notable degree in P. S. 121, which is particularly fortunate in having a group of teachers whose actions and attitudes reflect

that friendliness and cooperation which capture the willing participation of the children and their parents. Most members of the faculty have taken a course in conversational Spanish, thus enabling them to understand the Puerto Rican element. They have volunteered to take on extra-curricular activities, designed to bolster the pupils' morale. They observed a film on intercultural relations at the Union Settlement, and discussed ways of bettering their own program.

The instructional phase of the program is not a direct teaching of tolerance. It consists rather of curriculum and practices which lend themselves to the understanding and appreciation of the contributions of the major school groups to the common culture, to the participation of all groups in the cooperative solution of problems, and to the general enjoyment of the school program, with a consequent improvement of social relationships.

Units on Pan-Americanism and Negro Culture bring about mutual understanding and respect. The Pan-Americanism theme serves as a unifying curricular force. Once a year as an appropriate culmination of this type of activity, a colorful Fiesta is held in the school auditorium. This brings together children, parents, and community leaders.

Departmentalization of subjects like music and health education give the children greater opportunity to sing and play together. A Good Neighbor Chorus, organized and trained by Mrs. Hilliard of the Hilliard Music School, unites white and Negro children in a harmony which is both musical and social. Assembly music and athletic contests as culminating activities are quite effective in breaking down racial barriers. Racial differences are cast aside during a spirited game of softball in the 101st Street Park Playground, or in a ping pong tournament on the auditorium platform. Broadjumping and Indian hand wrestling for the boys, and double Dutch contests for the girls are feature of the assembly programs. Negroes, Puerto Ricans, and Italians play together amicably in informal games of punch ball and box ball on the school play street during the lunch hour.

Varied and interesting assembly programs also include concerts arranged through the Manhattan School of Music, talks by Negro librarians of the 135 Street branch of the Public Library and by neighborhood religious leaders, an intercultural program by the students of the Elizabeth Irwin High School and a performance by the Benjamin Franklin High School Glee Club. Also, as a regular feature of these assembly programs, there are culminations of classroom units of activity (such as the Pan-American Fiesta), athletic tournaments previously mentioned, contributions of various clubs of our own school, and original plays on intercultural themes. One of these plays was broadcast over station W. N. Y. C., on January 18, 1944.

The over-all school program stresses aptitudes, abilities, and creative talents of the children. Included in the extra-curricular activities are an art club, a glee club, a dance club, a gym club, a volley ball club, a basketball club, a shuffleboard club, a press club, a ping pong club, and a Youth-Builders Club.

The Youth-Builders Club in particular has a profound influence upon the school spirit. This fact was strikingly illustrated at a special assembly held in the auditorium on January 29, 1946. On that occasion the Youth-Builders conducted a panel discussion on the topic, "How Can We Become Better Neighbors." Children, parents, teachers, and specially invited guests listened with keen and attentive interest to the remarks made by the members of the Youth-Builders Club. Among those organizations represented in the audience were the Union Settlement, the Bureau for Intercultural Education, the Play Schools Association, and the Board of Health. Dr. Curtis, Superintendent of the school district, spoke briefly on the educational significance of this type of discussion. The moderator at the panel discussion was a principal from another school. At the conclusion of the program all present unanimously agreed that the experiment had been a success. It was generally acknowledged that the pupils who spoke on the subject of tolerance and brotherhood had revealed a depth of understanding and a sense of social responsibility hitherto believed non-existent in young children.

The community aspect of the problem of intercultural relations has not been neglected. The Parent-Teachers Association of P. S. 121, long dormant has been revitalized by frequent get-togethers other than meetings, such as teas, dances, and other "socials." At these affairs, the officers and members of the organization, including Negroes, Puerto Ricans, and Italians, mingle freely. Parents are invited to attend all school assemblies. They are urged to visit the school whenever they wish, to bring their problems and complaints to teachers and supervisors. It is, in short, a perpetual Open-School Week. As a direct result of the genuine friendliness of the faculty, the parents, as well as the children, now feel as if they are a part of the school. Realizing that they are always welcome, the parents are eager to cooperate.

Thru the efforts of a Parents-Teachers committee, more than a hundred children are sent each year to the Union Settlement summer camp for two-week's periods. Here, again, the parents eagerly participate in raising funds for the worthy enterprise. Our school camp committee was able to place many children in other camps, such as those run by the Casita Maria, the Herald Tribune Fresh Air Fund, the Salvation Army, The Masons, and the Boys' Club.

The school is represented in the East Harlem Council for Community Planning and the East Harlem League for Unity. While it works with a number of agencies, the most helpful is the Union Settlement. Children of all races and creeds from this school are enrolled in the Settlement's after school clubs. Parent-Teachers Association teas are sometimes held at the Settlement. Speakers from the Settlement frequently address our assemblies.

Since the intercultural program described in the previous paragraphs has been established as a basic school policy at P. S. 121, there has been a real improvement in racial relationships here. The various racial groups do not resent each other as they used to. Ancient animosities are gradually disappearing. The process is far from complete, but a step in the right direction has been taken. The classroom teacher receives less and less complaints of molestation. Pupils reflect the happier atmosphere in school by their actions. Parents work together harmoniously in the Parent-Teachers Association.

Moreover the friendly spirit engendered in the school is being carried over in the outside play of the children. Fights and brawls are less common occurrences now than in the past. Here is proof positive that the American teacher can help to foster intercultural relations. What has been done at P. S. 121, can be done in any school.

Supplementary Sheet No.5

File SS-5
E-4753

MATERIALS IN INTERGROUP RELATIONS

The College Study in Intergroup Relations*
Council on Cooperation in Teacher Education
American Council on Education
Wayne University, 5272 Second Ave.,
Detroit 1, Michigan

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Among the several ways in which the COLLEGE STUDY seeks to further "study and action" programs in intergroup relations, as these ways in which "people treat people" enter into teacher education, is the provision of reliable reading materials, for example bibliographies, study forms, and the like. This is the function of our MATERIALS LABORATORY. In general, materials deal with five large areas of human relations: race, creed, immigrant cultures, rural-urban differences, and social class (or income) levels.

In ordering items listed below, please observe the following conditions:

1. No charge is made for materials sent to colleges participating in the COLLEGE STUDY. To other colleges, public schools, citizen groups, etc., we are glad to send materials at their mailing cost to us.
2. Please order by file number. Enclose stamps or check in your letter. Be sure to indicate clearly your mailing address.
3. Where our stocks permit, we will send the number of copies requested; in general, however, our function is to supply samples which can then be adapted and duplicated.
4. In using any study form devised by our staff, or by our participating colleges, please credit the source in any study form you may make or in publication. In case of copyright, permission to use or quote must be secured from the author.
5. The COLLEGE STUDY BULLETIN, a monthly mimeographed report on college programs, plans, etc., along with special SUPPLEMENTARY SHEETS, are sent free on request to professional persons. Ask, if you wish, that your name be put on our mailing list.

I. BIBLIOGRAPHIES

1. Bird, Charles, Studies of Attitudes: A Selected Bibliography. Mimeographed, 38 pages. Examination of 1600 technical articles. 349 studies cited and cross indexed. Order from Charles Bird, Department of Psychology, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis. File # B-1. No price given.
2. Intergroup Relations: A General Bibliography. Issued as College Study Bulletin No.3, June 1946. Current fiction, sociological studies, child acculturation, school programs, community and group study technics, etc. Mimeographed, 14 pp. File # B-2, 10¢.
3. Rogers, Carl R., Bibliography on Nondirective Therapy. Mimeographed, 70 titles, 4 pages. Order from Carl R. Rogers, Department of Psychology, University of Chicago (no price given) or from the COLLEGE STUDY. File # B-3, 5¢

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*Financed for a four year period by a grant to the American Council on Education by the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

II. COLLEGE STUDY PROGRESS REPORTS

1. The Study of Intergroup Relations. 24th Yearbook, American Association of Teachers Colleges, 1945, pp. 5-51. Papers by Ethel Alpenfels, Allison Davis, R. J. Havighurst, Frank Baker, Julius Warren, Lloyd Cook. 46 pages. Reprints exhausted; order Yearbook from Chas. W. Hunt, Secretary, American Association of Teachers Colleges, State Teachers College, Oneonta, New York. $1.00.
2. Cook, Lloyd A., "Teaching Teachers Cooperative Action," 25th Yearbook, American Association of Teachers Colleges, 1946, 97-108. Report on the first year of work in the College Study. Reprint. File # PR-2, 10¢. Limited stock, one copy only.
3. Cook, Lloyd A., "The College Study in Intergroup Relations: A Progress Report," Educational Record, October 1946. Reprints available on publication. About 15 pages. File # PR-3, 10¢

III. COMMUNITY STUDIES, PROBLEMS, PRACTICES

1. Humphrey, Norman D., "Housing and Household Practices of Detroit Mexicans," Social Forces, 24, May 1946, 433-37. Concrete findings, quotes, interpretations. Reprint, 5 pages. File # CS-1, 10¢.

IV. GUIDANCE AND GROUP MANAGEMENT TECHNICS

1. Cook, Lloyd A., "An Experimental Sociographic Study of A Stratified Tenth Grade Class," American Sociological Review, 10, April 1945, 250-61. Two year experimental attempt to change interpersonal relations in a high school class, pre- and end-test sociograms. Reprint, 12 pages. File # GM-1, 25¢. One copy only.
2. "Teaching as Group Management: Two Cases." Concrete cases, no interpretation. Mimeographed, 3 pages. File # GM-3, 5¢

V. SCHOOL PROBLEMS, VIEWPOINTS, PRACTICES

1. Improving Intergroup Relations in School and Community Life. Committee on In-Service Education, North Central Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges, August 1946. 48 page pamphlet; ethnic groups, cases, technics. Written in part from materials obtained from the COLLEGE STUDY. Order from the COLLEGE STUDY or from George W. Rosenlof, Secretary, North Central Association, Lincoln, Neb. Single copy, 25¢; 10 or more, 15¢. File # SP-1. Limited to 25.

VI. STUDY FORMS

ACTIVITY AND EXPERIENCE INVENTORIES

1. General Activity Inventory. Developed by William Reitz, Wayne University, Detroit. 200 activities college students reported as having engaged in during week of inquiry. Mimeographed, 5 pages. File SF-1, 5¢.
2. Experiences With White People. By Grace Woodson, West Virginia State College, Institute, W. Va. Check list for Negro students. 48 items. File # SF-2, 3¢.

ATTITUDE SCALES, OPINIONNAIRES

1. Race Attitudes and Contacts. 4-page composite inquiry. Developed by College Study as a way of initiating a course on intergroup relations. File SF-7, 5¢
2. College Study Attitude Scales
   - Attitudes Toward Jews (short form), 1 page, mimeo. File SF-10, 3¢.
   - Attitudes Toward Jews (incident type), 4 p., mimeo. File SF-11, 3¢.

Attitudes Toward Negroes (short form), 1 page, mimeo. File SF-15, 3¢.
Attitudes Toward Negroes (incident), 4 p., mimeo. File SF-16, 3¢.

3. Experiences With Negroes: Community Contacts. By Robert N. Ford, University of Alabama, University, Ala. Nature and extent of Negro participation in community life as respondents have seen it. 2 pages, 12 tested items, five response alternatives, total scale values 12 to 60. To be used only by permission of author. File # SF-20, 3¢.
4. Experiences With Negroes: Personal Contacts. By Robert N. Ford. Same type scale as above. 14 items, scale value 14 to 70. File # SF-21, 3¢.
   Note: For use of, and data on, these scales, see Ford's article in Amer. Sociol. Rev., 6, February 1941, 9-23.
5. The Culture Conflict Index. By Louis Raths, Ohio State University, Columbus. 18 kinds of intergroup attitudinal situations answered in terms of "how many people in your room" (or group) would react by liking, disliking. Middle to upper elementary grades. Separate answer sheet. 6 pages. File # SF-30, 5¢.

COMMUNITY STUDY FORMS

1. Social Participation Scale, 1937. By F. Stuart Chapin, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis. Husband and wife participation in community organizations, tentative norms. Copyrighted. File # SF-3ϕ, 5¢.
2. Community Resources Inventory. By Lloyd A. Cook. 3-page inventory for collecting essential information on agencies of use in a school program. Sample forms only. File # SF-35, 3¢.
3. Community Satisfaction Scale. By Vernon Davies, Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis. 20 scaled statements. File SF-38, 3¢.
4. Minnesota Home Status Index. By Alice M. Leahy, University of Minnesota, Minneapoli A scale for measuring the urban home environment of children. Copyrighted. Order from author.
5. Occupational Rating Scale. By C. C. North and Paul Hatt, Ohio State University, Columbus. Six ratings for perhaps 100 common occupations. File # SF-43, 3¢.
6. Ethnic Group Problems and Adjustments Survey. College Study form, developed for use by college students in surveying Mexican adjustments to community life. Adaptable to any ethnic group. File # SF-48, 5¢.

COURSE EVALUATION DEVICES

1. Evaluation of Introductory Social Science. College Study form. Course rating, achievement of course objectives, teacher personality. Typescript, 2 pages. File # SF-54, 3¢.
2. Evaluation of A School and Community Workshop. College Study form. Comparative rating, course objectives, improvement. Typescript, 2 pages. File # SF-55, 3¢.

GROUP OBSERVATION FORMS

1. Observing A Youth Group. College Study form. Typescript, 3 pages. For use in sensitizing observer to group structure, processes and member roles. SF-52, 3¢.

INDIVIDUAL CASE STUDY GUIDES

1. Anecdotal Record Sheet. By Bertha Lawrence, New Jersey State College, Trenton, N. J. Pupil's relation to his group, school progress. File SF-62, 5¢.
2. Life History Data Sheet. College Study form. Guide questions for interviewing based on John Dollard, "The Life History in Community Studies," Amer. Soc. Rev., 1938, 724-37. File SF-63, 3¢.

INFORMATIONAL TESTS

1. American Ethnic Peoples. College Study form. A 100-item factual test, multiple choice type. Items indicative of general knowledge, college level. SF-~~55~~ 68, 10¢.

PERSONALITY INVENTORIES, GENERAL

1. The Personal Audit. By C. R. Adams and W. A. Lepley, Psych-Educational Clinic, Penn. State College, State College, Pa. Percentile score profile in nine areas of personality makeup and adjustments. 11 printed pages, copyrighted. Obtain from Science Research Associates, 228 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago. File # SF-70.
2. The Personality Inventory. By Robt. G. Bernreuter. 5 pages, copyrighted. Obtain from Stanford University Press, Stanford Univ., Cal. File #SF-71.
3. Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory. By S. R. Hathaway and J. C. McKinley. 15 pages, copyrighted. Obtain from Univ. Minn. Press. File # SF-72.
4. Minnesota Survey of Opinions (Short Form). By E. A. Rundquist and R. F. Sletto. 31 tested items. Copyrighted. Obtain from authors. File # SF-73.

PROBLEM CHECK LISTS

1. Problem Check List. By Ross L. Mooney, Ohio State University, Columbus. Over 300 items classified in 11 categories, such as health, social relations, school progress, etc., regarded as problems by respondents. Separate forms for grade school, high school, and college levels. Copyrighted. Obtain from Bureau for Educational Research, Ohio State University. File #SF-80.
2. The Wishing Well. By Louis Raths. 160 items in eight categories. More projective than Mooney Problems Check List. Elementary grades only. Obtain from Bureau for Educational Research, Ohio State University. File #SF-81.

PROJECTIVE TESTS

1. What Would You Do? An Interviewing Device. By Arnold Meier. Series of simple line drawings, showing child entering country, traveling to subject's home town, entering school, etc. Child (small doll, paper cutout, etc.) a little Negro boy, Jewish girl, and the like. Test used as interviewing device. Obtain from Detroit Citizenship Education Study, 436 Merrick St. File # SF-90.
2. Rosenzweig P-F Study. By Saul Rosenzweig, Western State Psychiatric Hospital, Pittsburgh, Pa. Four printed pages, four drawings to a page, with subject asked to write in response to personally frustrating situations. Copyrighted. Order from author. File # SF-91.
3. The "Faces" Test. By staff, Research Center for Group Dynamics, Kurt Lewin, director, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass. Panel of 16 tested photo faces about which "guess who" questions are asked. Half the panel can be Jewish or other out-group members. Also put on slides. Now in experimental stage and available only on a cooperative use and reporting basis. File # SF-92.
4. Social Insight Test. College Study form. Series of 18 original charcoal drawings (printed) depicting common intergroup social situations, for example seating on a bus, a basketball game, corner street scene. Subjects asked to write a short story about each situation, telling what has happened, how it came about, what will happen next. Test given to a college class, for example, via individual sets of photos, plus mimeographed answer sheets. Available, if at all, for experimental use only. File # SF-93.

SCHOOL INQUIRY FORMS

1. The School Inventory. By Hugh M. Bell. Series of 70 or more questions about the school, reactions to teachers, etc. Copyrighted. Order from Stanford University Press. File # SF-102.
2. Moral Judgment Scale. College Study form. 32 scaled items indicative of classroom morale. One page, mimeographed. File # SF-105, 3¢. "Upper grades."
3. How Do You Feel About Education for Better Human Relations? By staff, Bureau for Intercultural Education, 1697 Broadway, New York. Check-type test, wide range of items. Order from Bureau. File # SF-108.
4. School Inventory of Intergroup Problems. College Study form. 8-page questionnaire inquiry on school viewpoints and practices to be filled in by school administrator or staff member in conference with administrator. Mimeographed. File # SF-112.

SOCIOGRAPHIC TESTS

1. Ohio Social Acceptance Scale. Form G-3, Intermediate Grades. By Louis Raths, in cooperation with Euclid Elementary Teachers. A social distance test with six categories of personal friendliness. Printed, one page. Order from author, or from College Study. File # SF-116, 3¢.
2. Who's Who In My Group? Form G-4-B. Intermediate Grades. By Louis Raths, in cooperation with Euclid Elementary Teachers. 18 "guess who" type items indicative of pupil roles and prestige ratings. Order from author or from College Study. File # SF-117.
3. Our Home Room. By Committee Seven, Summer Workshop, Wayne University, 1946. A questionnaire blank presumably on home room activities but containing two sociographic questions, i.e. "best friends" and persons in group "whom you don't like, wouldn't want to run around with." One page, mimeographed. File # SF-121, 3¢.

MISCELLANEOUS STUDY FORMS

1. Role of Humor in Intergroup Relations. By Lulu Johnson, West Virginia State College, Institute, W. Va. Six page instrument for collecting stories told about Negroes, whites, very rich, etc., plus reactions of reporter to the incident or story. File # SF-130, 5¢.

PUBLICATIONS ON INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

1946

SRC - P. 14

A single order to the Bureau brings your choice of recommended materials from many groups.

BUREAU FOR INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION
1697 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

Publications on Intercultural Education

Selected and annotated by
WILLIAM VAN TIL
Director of Learning Materials

The Bureau for Intercultural Education serves you as America's central clearing house for the distribution of intercultural publications. These are selected from among hundreds of possibilities. This 1946 list includes books, pamphlets, bibliographies, and articles published directly by the Bureau and in co-operation with other educators. It also includes pamphlets, bibliographies, and articles published by other educational organizations and community agencies. Space limitations temporarily prevent us from stocking non-Bureau books; see bibliography sections for the recommendations of specialists.

In *Democratic Human Relations,* Wilbur Murra writes, "Even though the . . . publications originated with a large number of different publishers, they can all be ordered inexpensively from the Bureau—an arrangement of very great convenience for all teachers who use this list." One single order to the Bureau brings you what you need.

The first section, *For School and Community Educators,* lists available materials primarily useful to teachers, administrators, group workers, and community workers.

The second section, *For Students,* consists of publications especially useful for high school students, unless the materials are specifically annotated as suitable for younger age groups. The reader should especially note that many of these same publications were written for and are useful to adults.

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BUREAU FOR INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION
1697 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y.

H. H. GILES
Director

WILLIAM H. KILPATRICK
Chairman of Board

For Community and School Educators

INTERCULTURAL BACKGROUND

INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION IN AMERICAN SCHOOLS

COLE, STEWART G., AND VICKERY, WILLIAM E.

An introduction to the problem of the responsibility of the schools for improved relations with members of cultural groups in America. Proposed objectives and methods are set forth and suggestions made for activities and experiences in intercultural education, most of which could be carried on within the usual school curricular framework. A major insight is the advocacy of cultural democracy. In the Bureau for Intercultural Education Publications Series. *Harper & Bros.*, 1943. 215 *pp.* (*paper*) $1.00, (*cloth*) $2.00. *Professional discounts on quantity orders.* (a1)

AGENCIES IN THE FIELD OF INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

GILES, H. H.

Brief resume of the nature and activities of groups fostering intercultural education. Lists thirty selected educational organizations with addresses. By the Director of the Bureau for Intercultural Education for the Bureau Work in Progress pamphlet series. 1945. 8 *pp.* 10c. (a2)

CHARTING INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION, 1945-55

STAFF OF STANFORD WORKSHOP

Reports the thinking of the Summer 1945 Workshop on Intercultural Education led by Stewart G. Cole, I. James Quillen, and Mildred J. Wiese. Includes analysis of major intercultural issues and suggests effective practices for elementary and secondary schools, administrators, and community leaders. Bibliography. *Stanford University Press,* 1946. 58 *pp.* 50c. (a3)

THE CURRICULUM AS AN INTEGRATING FORCE FOR ETHNIC VARIATIONS

YEISER, IDABELLE

"The basic studies of the curriculum could and should be the medium for intercultural education." Suggestions for intercultural education through science and mathematics, social studies, literature and language arts, health and physical education, arts and crafts. *Graduate School of Education, Harvard University,* 1944. 17 *pp.* 25c. (a4)

DEMOCRATIC COMMUNICATION AND EDUCATION

KILPATRICK, WILLIAM HEARD

A discussion of building ideas and principles against intergroup injustice and of the role of education in lessening group tensions. An application of philosophy to a current problem by the distinguished philosopher of education and chairman of the Bureau Board. *Bureau reprint from* Journal of the National Association of Deans of Women, *January,* 1945. 7 *pp.* 10c. (a5)

THE FOURTH R

GILES, H. H.

Questions and principles to be considered by junior high school educators in bettering relationships—the fourth educational R. This article emphasizes the importance of democracy in administration. *Bureau reprint from* The Bulletin *of the National Association of Secondary School Principals, April,* 1945. 4 *pp.* 5c. (a6)

INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION NEWS

EDITED BY VAN TIL, WILLIAM, AND FISH, ELEANOR

Official Bulletin of the Bureau published quarterly during the school year. Sent regularly to individuals upon request. 8 *pp. Single copy of current issue, free. In quantity,* 5c *each.* (a7)

THE PUBLIC SCHOOL—LABORATORY FOR DEMOCRACY

GILES, H. H.

A brief summary of how some school systems are initiating intercultural programs. Twelve steps taken by a school system are described. *Bureau reprint from* The Woman's Press, *October,* 1945. 4 *pp. Single copy, free. In quantity,* 5c *each.* (a8)

RACE AND CULTURAL RELATIONS

BENEDICT, RUTH, AND ELLIS, MILDRED

A description of the problem by an anthropologist followed by suggested teaching activities by a classroom specialist. Useful for the teacher who utilizes resource units and who desires an analysis of the problem for her own professional competency. *The National Council for the Social Studies and the National Association of Secondary-School Principals,* 1942. 60 *pp. Single copy,* 30c. *In quantity of* 100 *or more,* 20c *each.* (a9)

THE SOCIAL STUDIES LOOK BEYOND THE WAR

Includes curricular recommendations on intercultural education in the social studies. A statement of postwar policy adopted officially by the National Council for the Social Studies. An important curricular document. *Advisory Commission, National Council for the Social Studies, Washington D. C.,* 1944. 40 *pp.* 10c. (a10)

WE, THE CHILDREN—Boys and Girls Discuss Intercultural Understanding

The frank comments of students from early elementary grades to college age on racial, religious, and ethnic relationships. This pamphlet on what young Americans are thinking rouses adult concern. *Department of Supervision and Curriculum Development, N.E.A., and Bureau for Intercultural Education.* 32 *pp. Single copy,* 25c. *In quantity of* 100 *or more,* 17c *each.* (a11)

WHAT IS INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION? COLE, STEWART G.

Intercultural education seen as the nurturing of personalities in democratic directions. What happens to the personalities of dominant and minority group members when discrimination takes place. By the co-author of *Intercultural Education in American Schools. Bureau reprint from* The American Teacher, *April,* 1944. 4 *pp.* 5c. (a12)

WHAT SOME SCHOOL SYSTEMS ARE DOING

MINORITY PROBLEMS IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS: A Study of Administrative Policies and Practices in Seven School Systems

BRAMELD, THEODORE

A survey of intercultural education in seven educational Middletowns. The author has studied what helps and hinders the development of good human relations through schools, and he states findings frankly. This "must" book helps educators and citizens to take stock of policies and practices in their own schools. In the Bureau for Intercultural Education Publications Series. *Harper & Bros.,* 1946. 262 *pp.* (*paper*) $1.50, (*cloth*) $2.50. *Professional discounts on quantity orders.* (a13)

BETTER TEACHING, February, 1946, Issue

CINCINNATI PUBLIC SCHOOLS

An entire issue on intercultural education, with special emphasis on social-economic relationships. "Making a Bigot," "Prejudices Are Learned," "Some Teaching Procedures," and other articles supply direct guidance to teachers. 12 *pp. Single copy,* 7c. *In quantity.* 5c *each.* (a14)

BUILDING UNITY WITHIN A COMMUNITY EDMAN, MARION

Description of Detroit's problem and the approach of the city schools to it. A clear exposition of face-to-face contacts, appreciation of cultures, the analysis of factual data, and the ethical approach as techniques of teaching. By the Supervisor of Language Education in the Detroit Public Schools, now acting as a school consultant for the Bureau for Intercultural Education. *Bureau reprint from* Elementary English Review, *May,* 1944. 7 *pp. Single copy, free. In quantity,* 5c *each.* (a15)

INTERCULTURAL POLICY FOR THE DETROIT PUBLIC SCHOOLS

DETROIT BOARD OF EDUCATION

A statement of policy to govern contacts of the public schools with all persons whom they serve or employ, adopted by unanimous vote of the Board of Education, January 9, 1945. *Bureau mimeo.* 2 *pp. Single copy, free. In quantity,* 3c *each.* (a16)

PROGRESS REPORT ON INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION IN THE DETROIT PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1944-1945

ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE
ON INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

A forthright summary of the achievements and unfinished business of an administrative committee of a large city system. A realistic description written about progress in one city and made available to aid other teachers and administrators who are also working on problems. *Detroit Public Schools. Bureau mimeo.* 1945. 8 *pp.* 8c. (a17)

INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION NEWS

EDITED BY VAN TIL, WILLIAM, AND FISH, ELEANOR

Six issues of the Bureau for Intercultural Education quarterly containing articles on the work of school systems. Also articles, book reviews, activity reports, notes and news. *November,* 1944 through *February,* 1946. 30c *for packet of six.* (a18)

LIVING TOGETHER WITH MUTUAL RESPECT

PHILADELPHIA PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Suggestions evolved by Philadelphia teachers on what teachers have done and can do interculturally. The suggestions are summarized under such headings as "We can work on tensions in the community itself," "We can provide backgrounds for friendly relations." Based on a conference. *Mimeo.* 1945. 35 *pp.* 15c. (a19)

THE NEWSLET, Summer-Autumn, 1944, Issue

STATE OF NEW JERSEY GOOD WILL COMMISSION

This special issue describes intercultural work of New Jersey schools through contributions by the State Commissioner of Education, Newark's Director of Elementary Education, and others. 24 *pp.* 10c. (a20)

RACE RELATIONS IN THE SOUTH HIGHTOWER, ESTELLE

A unit on Negro life developed in Grade XII, Lee County High School, Auburn, Alabama. Suggested activities, list of supplementary materials, and study guide. *Bureau of Publications, Teachers College,* 1942. 18 *pp.* 25c. (a21)

SCHOOLS ARE ORGANIZING TO IMPROVE HUMAN RELATIONS

BIDDICK, MILDRED

Representatives of seven school systems meet together to discuss how programs have developed in different communities, the problem approach, leadership, and functions in intercultural education. Report of a conference sponsored by the Bureau. *Bureau Work in Progress pamphlet series,* 1945. 12 *pp.* 10c. (a22)

PROMISING PRACTICES

DEMOCRATIC HUMAN RELATIONS: Promising Practices in Intergroup and Intercultural Education in the Social Studies
TABA, HILDA, AND VAN TIL, WILLIAM (EDITORS)
The Sixteenth Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies on promising practices now current. Reported and appraised are a variety of units, social studies courses, school activities, community projects, and guidance experiences. Important for intercultural teaching today. Includes comprehensive list of teaching aids. *National Council for the Social Studies, Washington, D. C.,* 1945. 366 *pp.* (*paper*) $2.00, (*cloth*) $2.30. (a23)

CONTROLLING GROUP PREJUDICE ALLPORT, GORDON W. (EDITOR)
In this issue of the *Annals,* specialists write of developments in education, industry and business, government, housing, private agencies, communication and entertainment, and research. *The American Academy of Political and Social Science, March,* 1946. 240 *pp.* $2.00. (a24)

EDUCATION FOR CULTURAL UNITY MYERS, N. D. (EDITOR)
Intergroup problems discussed by specialists; reports of school and community intercultural programs. Includes survey of literature and teaching aids in the field. *Seventeenth Yearbook, California Elementary School Principals' Association,* 1945. 155 *pp.* $1.00. (a25)

INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION THROUGH THE SOCIAL STUDIES
DETROIT PUBLIC SCHOOLS
Opportunities within the standard social studies courses of Detroit for teaching intercultural appreciations. Based upon suggestions from teachers sent to the Department of Social Studies. Represents intercultural emphasis in regular social studies curriculum, rather than through special units. *Division of Instruction, Department of Social Studies, Detroit. Mimeo.* 1945. 49 *pp.* 50c. (a26)

SOME GOOD PRACTICES IN INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION
Realistic accounts of actual schoolroom problems and practices in intercultural education. Illustrative of a range of approaches possible. By qualified specialists. *Bureau reprint from* Religious Education, *March-April,* 1944. 11 *pp.* 10c. (a27)

SPECIALIZED TECHNIQUES AND APPROACHES

THEY SEE FOR THEMSELVES BROWN, SPENCER
How students learn about intercultural relationships through first-hand experience in the community and through the presentation of documentary plays dealing with their findings. The author draws freely upon experiences in eleven schools which experimentally fostered documentary, fact-finding projects. Suggests procedures for the continuance and extension of such experimentation. In the Bureau for Intercultural Education Publications Series. *Harper & Bros.,* 1945. 147 *pp.* (*paper*) $1.25, (*cloth*) $2.00. *Professional discounts on quantity orders.* (a28)

ART IN INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION DIX, LESTER
Addressed to the general educator as well as the art teacher, this article deals with the role of art education in intercultural education. By the Bureau's Administrative Associate. *Reprinted from* Education, *February,* 1946. 7 *pp. Single copy, free. In quantity,* 5c *each.* (a29)

CATHARSIS AND THE REDUCTION OF PREJUDICE

ALLPORT, GORDON W.

A psychologist discusses the technique of cathartic release through expressions of hostility as a preliminary step in re-education for constructive attitudes. *Bureau reprint from* The Journal of Social Issues, *December,* 1945, 8 *pp.* 11c. (a30)

THE EARTH: A COMMON GROUND FOR CHILDREN

SMITH, LILLIAN

Advice on guiding the child's personality growth toward maturity to avoid the distortions of prejudice. Lillian Smith, the Georgia novelist, analyzes adult fears and repressions which block many in their child guidance as to race. *Reprinted from* South Today, *Spring-Summer,* 1944. 15 *pp.* 10c. (a31)

GOOD WILL AMONG AMERICANS COLE, STEWART G.

A discussion of the Chanukah and Christmas seasons as effective occasions for dramatizing the meaning of democracy. *Bureau reprint from* Educational Method, 1942. 8 *pp.* 7c. (a32)

HOSTEL VACATION VAN TIL, WILLIAM

Understanding one's neighbors through youth hosteling. A proposal for an extensive program of social travel and greater school experimentation with trips. *Bureau and Youth Hostels reprint from* Progressive Education, *April,* 1945. 4 *pp.* 5c. (a33)

HOW CAN MAJORITY AND MINORITY GROUPS CONTRIBUTE TO DEMOCRACY? COLE, STEWART G., AND TRAGER, HELEN G.

A discussion outline consisting largely of provocative quotations about which discussion might center. Useful to discussion leaders concerned for getting groups to air their opinions. Majority-minority issues and prejudice are typical focal points. *Prepared by Bureau for* Democratic Discussions, *the New Jersey Education Association,* 1943-44. 46 *pp.* 15c. (a34)

TEACHER EDUCATION

EDUCATION OF TEACHERS FOR IMPROVING MAJORITY-MINORITY RELATIONSHIPS CALIVER, AMBROSE

An examination of opportunities for teachers in training to learn about racial and national minority groups. Important to the teacher educator who wishes to know what is taught in colleges and universities. *Federal Security Agency, U. S. Office of Education. U. S. Government Printing Office,* 1944. 64 *pp.* 15c. (a35)

THE MONTCLAIR CONFERENCE ON WORKSHOP PLANNING

DIX, LESTER

Workshop problems, as discussed by specialists. The report considers workshop resources, recreation, administration, evaluation, public relations, and following up participants. Invaluable for those planning workshops, for workshop leaders, and for teacher educators. By the Administrative Associate of the Bureau for Intercultural Education for the Work in Progress pamphlet series. 1945. 55 *pp.* 25c. (a36)

THE STUDY OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS

IN TEACHER EDUCATION
COUNCIL ON COOPERATION

An introduction to a teacher education project in intercultural education and addresses by specialists: Ethel Alpenfels on race, Allison Davis and Robert J. Havighurst on acculturation and status, Frank Baker on teaching and evaluation, Julius Warren on needs, and Lloyd Allen Cook on getting the study started. *Reprinted from the* 24th Annual Yearbook, *National Association of Teachers Colleges.* 51 *pp.* 15c. (a37)

THE WORKSHOP: A Summary of Principles and Practices of the Workshop Movement

DIEDERICH, PAUL B., AND VAN TIL, WILLIAM

A pamphlet on the essential characteristics of the workshop and on practical considerations for leadership. A summary of workshop possibilities useful for teachers who plan to attend, for workshop leaders, and for teacher educators. Cites practices in intercultural education workshops. Joint publication of American Education Fellowship and Bureau for Intercultural Education. *Hinds, Hayden & Eldredge,* 1945. 32 *pp.* 25c. (a38)

EVALUATION

THE CASE OF MICKEY MURPHY BALLER, WARREN R.

A test particularly useful for teacher training to measure the extent to which a teacher is aware of the nature of growth and how much information she needs to make decisions concerning a child. Useful for discussion of what a teacher needs to know. Valuable for determining a teacher's awareness to the conditions that affect attitudes toward other nationalities. *University of Nebraska,* 1943. *Test,* 15 *pp. Answer Sheet,* 1 *p.* 37c. (a39)

THE CULTURE CONFLICT INDEX

This is an inventory that shows how pupils feel about many different groups, such as farmers, the British, Mexicans, people of different religions, Negroes, foreigners, Japanese-Americans, and so forth. Useful for grades 6-9. *Bureau of Educational Research, Ohio State University. Mimeo.* 1946. 6 *pp. Single copy,* 4c. 30 *or more,* 2½c *each.* (a40)

HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT EDUCATION FOR BETTER HUMAN RELATIONS—An Inventory for Use by a School Staff

A questionnaire designed to help a teaching staff think through its approach to intercultural education. It deals with (a) the emphasis on intercultural problems, (b) who is responsible for policies, (c) causes of poor human relations, (d) stumbling blocks to progress, (e) clues to readiness for further progress, etc. *Division of Evaluation, Bureau for Intercultural Education. Mimeo.* 1946. 7 *pp. Single copy,* 4c. 30 *or more,* 2½c *each.* (a41)

THE OHIO RECOGNITION SCALE—WHO'S WHO IN MY GROUP?

A scale to find out why pupils are or are not accepted by their group. Useful for grades 6-9. *Ohio Scholarship Tests and Elementary Supervision, State Department of Education, Columbus, Ohio.* 8 *pp. Single copy,* 6c. 30 *or more,* 4½c *each.* (a42)

THE OHIO SOCIAL ACCEPTANCE SCALE

This scale is intended to reveal those boys and girls in a classroom who are or are not accepted by others in the group. It should be followed by the Ohio Recognition Scale to find reasons for acceptance or rejection. Useful for grades 6-12. *Ohio Scholarship Tests, State Department of Education, Columbus, Ohio.* 1 *p. Single copy,* 4c. 30 *or more,* 2½c *each.* (a43)

A SCALE FOR MEASURING ATTITUDES TOWARD RACES AND NATIONALITIES REMMERS, H. H., AND GRICE, H. H.

This scale and scoring guide can be used to determine how any person or group feels about any racial, religious, or nationality group. The items are scaled from positive liking to disliking. Useful for grades 7-12. *Purdue Research Foundation, Purdue University,* 1934. 6 *pp. Single copy,* 4c. 30 *or more,* 2½c *each.* (a44)

GENERAL INTERCULTURAL BIBLIOGRAPHIES

INTERCULTURAL BOOKS FOR CHILDREN TRAGER, HELEN G.
An article developed as a result of a critical survey of lists of recommended books appraised by the Bureau for Intercultural Education specialist on childhood education. The reprint is largely devoted to a basic list of intercultural books for children based on specified criteria and edited from preceding bibliographies. Important for elementary and junior high school teachers. *Bureau reprint from* Childhood Education, *November,* 1945. 8 *pp. Single copy, free. In quantity,* 8c *each.* (a45)

A LIST OF SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHIES FOR TEACHERS—Elementary and High School TRAGER, HELEN G.
A bibliography of bibliographies which includes intercultural, the Negro, culture groups, our neighbors, the Orient, folk materials. *Bureau mimeo.* 1945. 4 *pp. Single copy, free. In quantity,* 5c *each.* (a46)

RACE RELATIONS WAXMAN, JULIA
A thorough, carefully selected list of readings on racial and cultural minorities in the United States with special emphasis on Negroes. Includes a bibliography on minorities, race, intercultural education, books for young Americans, and specialized readings on Negro-White relationships. Attractive format. *Julius Rosenwald Fund,* 1945. 48 *pp.* 15c. (a47)

TOWARD BETTER INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION: A Bibliographical Guide COLE, STEWART G.
An up-to-date general survey of the literature and teaching aids in the field plus an annotated list of pupil reference materials. *Reprinted from* Seventeenth Yearbook, *California Elementary School Principals' Association,* 1946. 32 *pp.* 15c. (a48)

PREJUDICE AND ITS CAUSES

A B C's of SCAPEGOATING FOREWORD BY GORDON W. ALLPORT
Psychological examination of the pathology of unwarranted aggression. Sources of race prejudice in the child are examined. Scholarly, abstract presentation lightened by examples prepared by a Harvard seminar. *Roosevelt College, Chicago,* 1944. 72 *pp.* 25c. (a49)

THE BIGOT IN OUR MIDST ALLPORT, GORDON W.
A psychologist's reflections on frustrations, tabloid thinking, and projection characteristic of the bigot. An introduction to the paranoid mental life of bigotry. By a Harvard social psychologist. *Reprinted from* The Commonweal, *October* 6, 1944. 5 *pp.* 3c. (a50)

MINORITY GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES MCWILLIAMS, CAREY
An economic interpretation of prejudice. Explains how dominant groups maintain dominance over newcomers. By the author of *Prejudice* and *Brothers Under the Skin. Reprinted from* ORT Economic Review, *August,* 1944. 13 *pp.* 6c. (a51)

THE MYTH THAT THREATENS AMERICA WRITERS' WAR BOARD
The myth is that America belongs to Anglo-Saxon white Protestants. Eric Johnston, Rex Stout, John Roy Carlson contribute. One section, useful for students, reports on how writers perpetuate stereotypes through short stories, movies, advertising copy. Useful for English teachers. 1945. 35 *pp.* 10c. (a52)

RACE AND WORDS HAYAKAWA, S. I.
An article on the necessity for recognition that Jew_1 is not Jew_2, that individuals differ, that names for groups are words and not living persons. A lively application of semantics to prejudice, useful to all who deal with understanding words. *Reprinted from* Common Sense, *July,* 1943. 5 *pp.* 15c. (a53)

RACIAL AND RELIGIOUS PREJUDICE IN EVERYDAY LIFE
WELTFISH, GENE (EDITOR)
A series of "episodes from life" described and commented upon by scientists from fields of social action. For instance, Episode 7, "Prejudice and Emotion in the Living Room," is commented upon by Charles Hendry, Margaret Mead, and Violet Edwards. Helpful case studies for developing insight on the part of adults who are guiding or will guide individuals or groups. The Journal of Social Issues, *February and May,* 1945. 112 *pp.* $1.00. (a54)

TWO MEN AND A BARGAIN SMITH, LILLIAN
"A parable of the Solid South" through which the novelist interprets discrimination as related to psychological fears and economic exploitation. Vehement and memorable. *Reprinted from* South-To-day, *Spring,* 1943. 12 *pp.* 10c. (a55)

RELATED SOCIAL-ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

COMMUNITY RELATIONS MANUAL
AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS
A manual to help the community examine and solve its intercultural problems. Deals with immediate programs such as law enforcement, and long-range programs such as employment. Helpful to the citizen who asks what he can do about tensions. 1945. 23 *pp.* 25c. (a56)

WORKING AND FIGHTING TOGETHER: Regardless of Race, Creed, Color or National Origin
CIO COMMITTEE TO ABOLISH RACIAL DISCRIMINATION
A pamphlet for those responsible for union practices on non-discriminatory unionism. Includes consideration of seniority, shop facilities, etc. An unequivocal statement against discrimination. *Congress of Industrial Organizations, Washington, D. C.,* 1943. 20 *pp. Single copy,* 5c. *In quantities of* 100 *or more,* 4c *each.* (a57)

RACE AND RACIAL RELATIONSHIPS

BOOKS ABOUT NEGRO LIFE FOR CHILDREN BAKER, AUGUSTA
"Books for children that give an unbiased, accurate, well-rounded picture of Negro life in all parts of the world." Stories for younger and older children are the basic sections, with shorter sections on folklore; literature, art, and music; poetry; songs; biography and history. Prepared by a children's librarian in charge of the James Weldon Johnson collection, New York Public Library. *Bureau.* 7 *pp.* 10c. *To be published, May,* 1946. (a58)

CHILDREN'S LITERATURE AND THE NEGRO STEREOTYPE
STERN, CELIA M., AND VAN TIL, WILLIAM
How literature can help children recognize differences in people of the same race and combat stereotypes. Discusses books on Negro children in West Indies, Africa, North and South America. *Bureau reprint from* Childhood Education, *February,* 1945. 6 *pp. Single copy, free. In quantity,* 5c *each.* (a59)

THE NEGRO 135TH STREET BRANCH, NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
A highly selective bibliography on the Negro. Sections on historical background, economic outlook, social development, race relations, personal achievement, literature, music and art, folklore, and books for children. Prepared by staff members of the Public Library which serves New York's Harlem. *Reprinted from* Branch Library Book News. *Rev. Ed.*, 1945. 8 *pp.* 15c. (a60)

OUR HIGH SCHOOL LIBRARIES AND RACISM JACOBS, MELVILLE
An anthropologist's case for use of books on race in our schools. He names problems to be faced by teachers. Recommended readings for school purchase are listed. *Reprinted from the University of Washington* College of Education Record, *December,* 1944. 6 *pp.* 10c. (a61)

RELIGION AND RELIGIOUS RELATIONSHIPS

THE JEWS IN AMERICA LIBRARY OF JEWISH INFORMATION OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
A selected bibliography prepared by an authoritative source. Classifications include contemporary problems, biography, juvenile reading, etc. *Rev. Ed.*, 1943. 11 *pp.* 5c. (a62)

RELIGIOUS BOOK LIST NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS
Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant book lists selected by a committee of the faith under whose name each appears. Also a Good Will book list. 1946. 31 *pp.* 3c. (a63)

NATIONALITY AND ETHNIC RELATIONSHIPS

THE IMMIGRANT IN FICTION AND BIOGRAPHY
ROUČEK, JOSEPH S.; HERO, ALICE; DOWNEY, JEAN
Annotated bibliography of fiction and biography about immigrants to America. Includes major national groups as well as smaller groups in a listing which ranges from Armenians to Yugoslavs. Books especially appropriate for junior high school have been marked by Lou LaBrant. An essential guide for all teaching or studying the literature of peoples. *Bureau for Intercultural Education,* 1945. 32 *pp.* 20c. (a64)

AMERICAN SLAVS ROUCEK, JOSEPH S., IN CO-OPERATION WITH PINKHAM, PATRICIA N.
A bibliography of many general works, autobiographies and biographies, novels, and children's books on Bulgarians, Czechoslovaks, Poles, Russians, Ukrainians, and Yugoslavs in America. Annotated. Comprehensive rather than selective. By a co-author of *One America. Bureau for Intercultural Education,* 1944. 49 *pp.* 35c. (a65)

SPANISH-SPEAKING AMERICANS AND MEXICAN-AMERICANS IN THE UNITED STATES SAUNDERS, LYLE
An unannotated bibliography to help the teacher obtain a well-rounded understanding of the problems and achievements of the Spanish-speaking American. Divisions on social and economic conditions, education, migrants, folklore, music and dances. Periodicals and organizations are also listed. By a University of New Mexico researchist. *Bureau for Intercultural Education. Mimeo.* 1944. 12 *pp.* 20c. (a66)

For Students

PREJUDICE

PROBING OUR PREJUDICES
POWDERMAKER, HORTENSE, AND STOREN, HELEN FRANCES
The first supplementary textbook in intercultural education for high school students. Written by a professor of anthropology with suggested school activities by an educator, Helen Frances Storen. Explores the nature, origin, and effect of emotionally based reactions, helping students to change attitudes that have been reached without sufficient consideration of the facts. In the Bureau for Intercultural Education Publications Series. *Harper & Bros.*, 1944. 73 *pp.* (*paper*) 65c, (*cloth*) $1.00. *Professional discounts on quantity orders.* (s67)

DISCRIMINATION IN MEDICAL COLLEGES KINGDON, FRANK
A report on the extent of discrimination in specific medical colleges. This reprint will be helpful to high school groups studying vocational opportunities as well as to guidance counselors. *Reprinted from* The American Mercury, *October,* 1945. 10 *pp.* 5c. (s68)

I'M NOT PREJUDICED, BUT . . . BEATON, ALICE
An informal, chatty article directed to high school girls. Encourages self-examination of attitudes and gives suggestions on recovering from prejudice. An effective short piece. *Reprinted from* Seventeen, *May,* 1945. 1 *p. Single copy, free.* 30 *for* 15c. (s69)

LET'S NOT FORGET WE'RE ALL FOREIGNERS SINATRA, FRANK
An article addressed to youngsters by the singer. It is simply expressed and deals with prejudice. Usable in junior and senior high. *Reprinted from* Magazine Digest, *July,* 1945. 2 *pp. Single copy, free.* 30 *copies,* 30c. (s70)

PREJUDICE!—ROADBLOCK TO PROGRESS WAR DEPARTMENT
An Army orientation fact sheet which states clearly how prejudices develop, six dangers of prejudice, etc. Contains aids for discussion leaders. This is the same fact sheet that soldiers have read. Useful for high school students. *Fact Sheet No.* 70. *May,* 1945. 8 *pp.* 5c. (s71)

PURE RACE MEETS MIXED-BLOOD BOYS PHILLIPS, H. I.
A light, humorous poem on the power of the "mixed-blood" American Army. Illustrated with cartoons. From the column in the New York *Sun.* 1944. 1 *p. Single copy, free. In quantity,* 2c *each.* (s72)

SPEAKING FOR AMERICA SCHOLASTIC MAGAZINE
A set of twelve posters for classroom use, on which twelve noted Americans speak up for intercultural goodwill. Personages included are President Truman, military men, and stars of the entertainment world. Useful on many age levels. 10c *for set of* 12. (s73)

THEY GOT THE BLAME: THE STORY OF SCAPEGOATS IN HISTORY GOULD, KENNETH
A study of the origin and history of scapegoating. Religious persecution, the black man's burden, the Jew as scapegoat, and labor versus capital are treated. By the editor of *Scholastic Magazine* for high school use. Centered about an important idea. *Association Press, New York,* 1942. 63 *pp.* 25c. (s74)

THEY GOT THE BLAME — Comic Strip GOULD, KENNETH
Cartoon story of scapegoating in history. Relates simply the technique of blaming others, with particular emphasis upon Nazi tactics. Based on the pamphlet, *They Got the Blame*. Elementary and junior high. *Reprinted from* True Comics Magazine, *published by Parents Institute*. 1943. 7 *pp. Single copy, free.* 30 *copies,* 15c. (s75)

WHAT KIND OF WORLD DO YOU WANT? GAIR, BARBARA
A challenge addressed to 'teen-aged girls to widen their horizons. Based on a discussion of Hortense Powdermaker's analysis of prejudice in *Probing Our Prejudices. Reprinted from* Seventeen, *February,* 1945. 3 *pp. Single copy, free. In quantity,* 3c *each.* (s76)

20

Plays on Prejudice

LOOK BEYOND THE LABEL JAWORSKI, IRENE
Lively, humorous one-act play for high school and junior college students. Helps students understand the falsity of stereotypes and leads to a better comprehension of propaganda. Simply staged and forthrightly written. Outstanding among available short plays. Illustrated with photos to aid production. *Bureau for Intercultural Education,* 1945. 18 *pp.* 15c. (s77)

DIVIDE AND CONQUER SLOANE, ALLAN, AND RUSSELL, BOB
A Catholic, Negro, and Jewish boy play together. A bully divides their loyalty and picks up their marbles. A bystander points out the analogy to Hitler's tactics. A delightful short play for elementary and junior high school use. *Green Publishing Company, New York,* 1944. 15 *pp. Single copy,* 15c. *In quantity of* 100, 5c. *each.* (s78)

MEET YOUR RELATIVES WELTFISH, GENE (TEXT), AND NIRENBERG, ALICE B. (DRAMATIZATION)
"This dramatization of some of the ABC's of anthropology takes the form of an illustrated lecture in musical comedy fashion." Light and gay. Written by an anthropologist, dramatized by a teacher. Elementary and junior high school. *Public Affairs Committee,* 1944. 24 *pp.* 5c. (s79)

WE CALL IT FREEDOM WILSON, DOROTHY CLARKE
A one-act play which dramatizes the importance of living democratically in contrast to giving only lip service to democracy. A melodramatic situation involving contrasting characters—notably a hypocritical adult, her sheltered daughter, a college educated Negro maid. High school or junior college presentation. *Friendship Press,* 1942. 24 *pp.* 15c. (s80)

RELATED SOCIAL-ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

EMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS OF THE NEGRO:
American War-Community Services Bulletin No. 1
A sketch of the background of Negro-White work relationships. Includes descriptions of progress made and problems faced. Dispassionate analysis by a group working for economic progress for the Negro. *National Urban League,* 1944. 15 *pp.* 10c. (s81)

HEMMED IN: ABC's of Race Restrictive Housing Covenants
WEAVER, ROBERT C.
The clear, simple story of the effect of the current housing shortage and restrictive covenants on race relations. Attractively illustrated. Useful in courses on contemporary problems. *American Council on Race Relations,* 1945. 14 *pp.* 10c. (s82)

NEGRO PLATFORM WORKERS

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS

A realistic analysis of the economic roots of the so-called race strike of Philadelphia transportation workers in August, 1944. A revealing study of experience with Negro operators in other cities. Particularly helpful for high school social studies classes. 1945. 48 *pp. Single copy,* 25c. *In quantities of* 10 *or more,* 15c. (s83)

WILL NEGROES GET JOBS NOW? NORTHRUP, HERBERT R.

A summary of Negro employment gains during the war and present job prospects. Suggests needed government activities, including FEPC. For the advanced high school student. *Public Affairs Committee,* 1945. 32 *pp.* 10c. (s84)

RACE AND RACIAL RELATIONSHIPS

"The American Indians" BUILDING AMERICA

SOCIETY FOR CURRICULUM STUDY

Picture text on the background of American Indians and their present problems. New policies of the Office of Indian Affairs are considered. Junior and senior high. 1942. 30 *pp.* 35c. (s85)

AMERICA'S TENTH MAN: A Brief Survey of the Negro's Part in American History

A history of the American Negro, packed tight with names and facts. A useful source pamphlet for students studying phases of Negro contributions. Published by one of the South's outstanding intercultural groups. *Southern Regional Council, Inc. Rev. Ed.,* 1944. 31 *pp. Single copy,* 10c. *In quantity,* $1.00 *per doz.* (s86)

CAVALCADE OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO

ILLINOIS WRITERS' PROJECT—WPA

The cultural contributions of the American Negro to education, religion, music, literature and art, etc. Fact-packed with names and dates. Useful for reference for data on Negro contributions to particular areas of American life. 1940. 95 *pp.* 25c. (s87)

THE NEGRO IN AMERICA STEWART, MAXWELL S.

The status of the American Negro, including his disadvantages, community life, protests, participation in the war. The discrepancy between the American Creed and American discrimination. A summary of Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma. Public Affairs Committee,* 1944. 32 *pp.* 10c. (s88)

NEGROES IN CHICAGO GRUNSFELD, MARY-JANE

Dramatic picture pamphlet on the background and present status of Negroes in Chicago. Useful on many age levels. *Mayor's Committee on Race Relations, Chicago,* 1944. 30 *pp. Single copy,* 5c. *In quantity,* 3c *each.* (s89)

THE NEGRO'S CONTRIBUTION TO MUSIC IN AMERICA

NELSON, ROSE K., AND COLE, DOROTHY L.

Description of the origin and development of spirituals. A shorter description of the Negro's other contributions, notably to the blues, jazz, and concert music. Also a comprehensive annotated bibliography and some suggested activities. *Bureau for Intercultural Education. Rev. Ed., mimeo.* 1941. 25 *pp.* 15c. (s90)

RACE RELATIONS BALANCE SHEET EMBREE, EDWIN R.

A summary of debits and credits in race relations today. Gains and setbacks in Negro-White relations are graphically described. Authoritative, lively. *Reprinted from* Review for the Two-Year Period, 1942-44. *Julius Rosenwald Fund.* 20 *pp.* 3c. (s91)

RACE? WHAT THE SCIENTISTS SAY SINGER, CAROLINE
Definitions of Aryan, Semitic, Hebrew, Jewish, and race. A small handbook of terms, approved by three leading anthropologists. Prepared to correct the language of intolerance employed by the ignorant and the racists. *National Conference of Christians and Jews,* 1939. 13 *pp.* 5c. (s92)

THE RACES OF MANKIND BENEDICT, RUTH, AND WELTFISH, GENE
What are race differences? How are races classified? What is the future of race differences? A best-selling popularization of race knowledge by two anthropologists. Humorous illustrations. *Public Affairs Committee,* 1943. 31 *pp.* 10c. (s93)

SENSE AND NONSENSE ABOUT RACE ALPENFELS, ETHEL J.
A primer of scientific answers to questions about race raised by high school students. Includes recommendations for further reading. Illustrated. By the Bureau's staff anthropologist. Useful for high school students. *Friendship Press. To be published, April,* 1946. 25c. (s94)

THERE ARE NO MASTER RACES!
A "comic" booklet based on the pamphlet, *Races of Mankind.* Useful particularly for elementary and junior high school students who find the original Public Affairs pamphlet too difficult reading. *Reprinted from* True Comics Magazine, *published by Parents' Institute,* 1944. 7 *pp. Single copy free.* 30 *copies,* 15c. (s95)

THERE ARE THINGS TO DO SMITH, LILLIAN
Some simple, undramatic things white people can do to promote better race relations (avoiding jokes directed against Negroes, calling Negroes by courtesy titles, sitting by Negroes in street cars). By the author of *Strange Fruit.* Written for Southerners but containing useful advice to other regions too. *Reprinted from* South Today, *Winter* 1942-43. 16 *pp.* 10c. (s96)

RELIGION AND RELIGIOUS RELATIONSHIPS

BUILDING BRIDGES BETWEEN GROUPS THAT DIFFER IN FAITH, RACE, CULTURE ELLIOTT, JOHN H.
A description of the backgrounds, beliefs, and forms of worship of Roman Catholics, the Jewish people, and Protestants. Includes questions for discussion, things to do, and a section on racial minorities. Attractively illustrated. Prepared primarily for Protestant youth groups. *National Conference of Christians and Jews,* 1945. 47 *pp.* 25c. (s97)

THE GROWTH OF GOOD WILL: A Sketch of American Protestant-Catholic-Jewish Relations CLINCHY, EVERETT R.
Description of religious intolerance and the struggle against it throughout American history. Includes descriptions of Know-Nothing and Klan agitation and surveys future Protestant-Catholic-Jewish relations. By the president of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. *n. d.* 64 *pp.* 10c. (s98)

JEWISH HOLIDAYS: DO YOU KNOW THEM? MOLLER, ELISE F.
Suggestions on sharing holiday festivals with Jewish youngsters, as well as descriptions of the significance of Jewish holidays. Prepared primarily for Gentile club members by a YWCA staff member. *The Woman's Press,* 1945. 32 *pp.* 15c. (s99)

JEWS IN AMERICAN LIFE MARCUS, JACOB R.
An effective narrative of the Jews' contribution to America. An historical sketch which includes pioneers, religion, education, literature, the arts, farming, philanthropy, labor, commerce and industry, and war service. *The American Jewish Committee,* 1945. 16 *pp.* 6c. (s100)

ONE WORLD — ONE GOD SCHEUER, JOHN
An original radio play based on the sacrifice of four chaplains of varied religions who demonstrated the unity of all faiths when they gave up their life-belts to transport troops as the S. S. *Dorchester* sank. Originally given over radio station WFIL, Philadelphia. *Philadelphia Fellowship Commission,* 1945. 16 *pp.* 20c. (s101)

NATIONALITY AND ETHNIC RELATIONSHIPS

BY DIFFERENT BOATS U.S.O. DIVISION, NATIONAL BOARD, YWCA
Colorful, very brief, typographically pleasing pamphlet dramatizing that we're all Americans. States simply "what you can do" to advance the American dream. Useful for many age levels. *The Woman's Press,* 1943. 10 *pp. Single copy,* 3c. *In quantity,* 500 *for* $10.00. (s102)

20

"Italian-Americans" BUILDING AMERICA
SOCIETY FOR CURRICULUM STUDY
Picture text largely devoted to the historical background of Italian immigration. Adjustment to American life is considered briefly, as are Italian-American contributions to our culture. Junior and senior high. 1943. 30 *pp.* 35c. (s103)

"Spanish-Speaking People" BUILDING AMERICA
SOCIETY FOR CURRICULUM STUDY
Excellently illustrated picture text on the historical background of Spanish-Americans and on their problems of relationships to other groups in the United States. 1943. 30 *pp.* 35c. (s104)

THE REFUGEES ARE NOW AMERICANS
DAVIE, MAURICE R., AND KOENIG, SAMUEL
Summarizes a nation-wide survey of the adjustment of refugees and their effect on American life. Includes background of refugee movement, distribution, difficulties encountered, integration into community life, etc. Useful for high school courses in contemporary problems. *Public Affairs Committee,* 1945. 32 *pp.* 10c. (s105)

"We Americans" BUILDING AMERICA
SOCIETY FOR CURRICULUM STUDY
An issue of this educational picture magazine on the backgrounds of immigrants, controls on immigration, the extent of Americanization. A central problem is whether to expand immigration or restrict it further. Colorful, lively publication for junior and senior high school use. 1943. 31 *pp.* 35c. (s106)

WHAT ABOUT OUR JAPANESE-AMERICANS? MCWILLIAMS, CAREY
The Japanese-Americans before Pearl Harbor, the evacuation, the relocation centers, and democratic potentialities in the situation. A skillful popularized summary of recent history by a California writer. *Prepared for American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, by Public Affairs Committee.* 1944. 31 *pp.* 10c. (s107)

Please give catalogue number in ordering.

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Reprinted from
NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION JOURNAL
March 1947

FREE AND EQUAL

—leaves from a teacher's diary

GABRIEL R. MASON

Principal, Abraham Lincoln Highschool
New York City

NOVEMBER 5—Work this week was highlighted by pupils' reports during homeroom. Topic for the week was "Understanding Our Neighbors." Students described visits to Little Italy, Harlem, and Chinatown.

A boy had interviewed managers of six large hotels in connection with a school prom. He inquired whether there was any objection to Negro students' participating in the dance. One said there was no objection. The other five said that tho they had no personal prejudices their clientele would object.

NOVEMBER 12—We had an interesting faculty meeting. It was devoted to a demonstration lesson by Mrs. S. of our English department. She had her pupils on the auditorium platform and gave them a 30-minute lesson on just four lines of poetry. She used Markham's quatrain, "Outwitted":

He drew a circle that shut me out,
Heretic, rebel, a thing to flout.
But Love and I had the wit to win:
We drew a circle that took him in.

The lesson was beautifully taught. The pupils' discussion was on a high plane. It was followed by questions and comments by many of the teachers.

I was surprised to learn of the wealth of material for better human understanding—poems, one-act plays, essays, biographies, and students' compositions—being used in our classes. If all this were used skilfully, we could look forward to the dawn of a brighter day.

NOVEMBER 19—At our assembly Mr. H. in an address attacked the newspapers which, Hitler-like, stir up racial, religious, and political animosities. He warned us to be on guard against such papers, and not to be inveigled into patronizing them because of their price, their sensational pictures, or their comics.

DECEMBER 6—Just came back from our varsity show, *It Can't Happen Here.* I am glad Mr. B. chose a play with social significance, rather than wasting time putting on an empty farce.

DECEMBER 8—At assembly a film, *Americans All,* was shown. It reminded us forcefully that many generations of immigrants have built America. When I complimented our visual instruction director, he told me there are hundreds of such films.

JANUARY 8—We had elections to decide who should receive the school award for service to the city. I was delighted that 63% of our students voted for Paul Robeson for his courageous efforts in the battle for minority rights. Perhaps our campaign for interculture is succeeding.

JANUARY 12—Two hundred teachers met to discuss ways of developing tolerance among school children. For an hour and a half we talked about good subjects for compositions, poems, and essays for classroom reading, assemblies, appropriate movies, and the contribution various subjects of the curriculum can make for better mutual understanding among our students.

Just before adjournment a principal said bluntly that he thought nothing we had done this afternoon was of much consequence, that in his school all his efforts in human relationship had come to naught because on Sunday hundreds of his pupils had received at church a pamphlet, a copy of which he took from his wallet.

This, he said, was a garbled version of the Gospel according to St. John. Sentences were lifted out of their context to serve as a brief for condemning the Jews for crucifying Christ. He said that history records it was the Romans who crucified Christ. But, in any event, he inquired, "Why should all this be revived now to accuse a generation of Jews after almost 2000 years?"

Immediately several teachers rose in defense of the pamphlets and the practice of distributing them in church. Arguments multiplied, voices became louder, and the air was surcharged with antagonism.

JANUARY 15—Talked with a minister about our meeting. He thought the principal was right, and added: "The schools' well-intentioned efforts will accomplish little if the churches don't help. The whole problem could be easily solved if our church leaders would courageously tell their congregations that they had erred in the past when they encouraged antagonism to any other religious group. They must emphasize the fact that it is un-Christian to hate, ridicule, or hurt people of other faiths."

JANUARY 25—Just returned from our commencement exercises. We had an unusually fine speaker. He discussed "Five Levels in Human Relationship."

On the first level men say, "We hate you and we'll kill you." That's extermination. On the second they say, "We hate you, but we'll use you." That's exploitation. On the third they say, "We don't like you, but we'll let you alone." That's toleration. On the fourth they say, "You're different, but we know your worth." That's appreciation. On the fifth and highest level they say, "We appreciate you and will help you to realize all your latent powers and capacities." That's creative development.

JANUARY 29—We are planning to establish a community cultural center as a school war memorial. The best speech at the launching of the campaign was made by a student who quoted from Chaplain Roland B. Gittelsohn's address at the Iwo Jima cemetery:

"Here lie officers and men, Negroes and whites, rich men and poor—together. Here are Protestants, Catholics, and Jews—together. Here no man prefers another because of his faith or despises him because of his color. Here there are no quotas of how many from each group are admitted or allowed. Among these men there is no discrimination. No prejudices. No hatred. Theirs is the highest and purest democracy.

"Whoever of us lifts his hand in hate against a brother, or thinks himself superior to those who happen to be in the minority, makes of this ceremony and the bloody sacrifice it commemorates, an empty, hollow mockery."

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1947 SUPPLEMENT

PUBLICATIONS ON INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

A single order to the Bureau brings your choice of recommended materials from many groups.

BUREAU FOR INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION
1697 BROADWAY NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

H. H. GILES
Director

WILLIAM H. KILPATRICK
Chairman of Board

1947 SUPPLEMENT

PUBLICATIONS ON INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

Since issuing its 1946 *Publications on Intercultural Education,* the Bureau for Intercultural Education has been screening the published materials in its field in order to continue serving as America's central clearing house for distribution of recommended intercultural publications. Listed herein are recent pamphlets, articles, and bibliographies to be stocked by the Bureau in addition to those in the 1946 catalog. This supplement includes Bureau publications and those of other organizations and agencies.

While the materials described here supplement rather than replace those on the previous list, certain earlier items will not be restocked when present supplies are exhausted. If you wish to make sure of economically obtaining such items before they become unavailable, please write for the Bureau's "Special Offer" list.

Thanks are due to Evelyn Necarsulmer of the Bureau staff for much of the preliminary screening and annotating. Final selection was made by the writer.

WILLIAM VAN TIL

Director of Learning Materials

If you wish, you may use this list as an order blank. Simply write beside each item the quantity you want and fill in the blanks below. Another list will be mailed to you with your order.

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For School and Community Educators

INTERCULTURAL BACKGROUND

SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY PROJECTS

H. H. GILES AND WILLIAM VAN TIL

An informative review of some intercultural agencies and their projects, and a statement of five hypotheses which seem to underly current efforts. By the Bureau's Director and its Director of Learning Materials. *Reprinted from* Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, *March* 1946. 8 *p.* 5¢. (a108)

PLANNING INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

WILLIAM VAN TIL

Points to the ideals of western civilization as the basis for the growth of intercultural education and urges courageous experimentation in finding techniques suitable for each individual community. By the Bureau's Director of Learning Materials. *Reprinted from* The Clearing House, *January* 1946. 2 *p. Single copy, free.* (a110)

WHAT SOME SCHOOL SYSTEMS ARE DOING

BETTER TEACHING, February 1947

CINCINNATI PUBLIC SCHOOLS

An entire issue devoted to basic concepts, promising practices, and a number of suggestions on what needs to be done next in intercultural education. 16 *p.* 10¢. (a111)

INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION IN THE DETROIT PUBLIC SCHOOLS

ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE ON INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

A progress report on activities in administrative organization, curriculum, in-service education, school-community relations, and cooperation with the Bureau. *Detroit Public Schools. Bureau mimeo,* 1947. 6 *p.* 7¢. (a112)

MORE—THAN TOLERANCE

NEA RESEARCH DIVISION

Summary of activities carried on in a number of city school systems to promote tolerance, intergroup understanding, and the democratic way of life. List of things to do and questions for discussion. Bibliography. *NEA Commission for the Defense of Democracy through Education,* 1946. 32 *p.* 15¢. (a114)

A PROGRAM OF INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION IN SAN DIEGO

SAN DIEGO CITY SCHOOLS

Outgrowth of a 1946 intercultural workshop. Outlines the scope, basic principles, and objectives of intercultural education and the resources available. Numerous suggestions for discussions and activities. *Pacific Coast Council on Intercultural Education,* 1946. 95 *p.* 50¢. (a115)

THREE BOARDS OF EDUCATION SPEAK OUT

INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION NEWS

Statements of intercultural policy by the school boards of Detroit, Gary, and Kalamazoo. *In the Bureau's* Intercultural Education News, *Spring* 1947. *Single copy, free. In quantity,* 5¢. *each.* (a116)

SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION AND INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS

THEODORE BRAMELD AND ELEANOR FISH

A summary of Brameld's book, *Minority Problems in the Public Schools,* with the conclusion that despite confusions and negative factors the "American school is one of the most encouraging foretokens of a genuinely equalitarian democracy." By Bureau staff members. *Reprinted from* Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, *March* 1946. 8 *p.* 5¢. (a117)

UNDERSTANDING OTHERS

MICHIGAN STATE COMMITTEE ON INTERCULTURAL UNDERSTANDING

Summarizes the basic concepts of intercultural education, the nature of prejudice, and the role of the school and the teacher in developing programs of intercultural education at all age levels. Bibliography. *Eugene B. Elliott, Superintendent of Public Instruction, Lansing, Mich.,* 1946. 34 *p.* 15¢. (a118)

PROMISING PRACTICES

INTERCULTURAL ATTITUDES IN THE MAKING

EDITED BY WILLIAM H. KILPATRICK AND WILLIAM VAN TIL

Ninth Yearbook of the John Dewey Society. Chapters by various investigators to show how intercultural attitudes can develop and change in the family, in a primary grade, in a junior high school, in a senior high school, in an adult-sponsored youth group, in a gang, and in a school system as a whole. By a committee under the chairmanship of the Bureau's Board Chairman, William Heard Kilpatrick, distinguished philosopher of education. *Harper. Ready early autumn. About* 180 *p.* (a119)

A POUND OF PREVENTION

JAMES L. HYMES, JR.

Describes the behavior of "war babies," as examples of children injured by life experiences, and suggests how the teacher especially can help meet the emotional needs of such children. By the President of the National Association for Nursery Education. *Teachers Service Committee on the Emotional Needs of Children,* 1947. 63 *p.* 25¢. (a120)

SPECIALIZED TECHNIQUES AND APPROACHES

SOCIAL TRAVEL

EDWARD G. OLSEN

Examples of social travel by both children and adults, with evaluations of the technique and some conditions that contribute to its success. By the Director of School and Community Relations, Washington State Office of Public Instruction. Joint publication of the Bureau for Intercultural Education and the American Education Fellowship. *Hinds, Hayden & Eldredge,* 1947. 46 *p.* 35¢. (a121)

DEMOCRACY FOR ALL

HELEN PARKER MUDGETT

An adaptable study program for intergroup relations, including introductory suggestions, reading materials, questions for discussion, and projects and activities. *University of Minnesota Press,* 1945. 87 *p.* 50¢. (a122)

ENGLISH JOURNAL, June 1946

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF TEACHERS OF ENGLISH

An entire issue devoted to the contributions of English teaching to increased understanding of prejudice. Specific suggestions for using literature and language for broadening young people's thinking. 77 *p.* 35¢. (a123)

IMPROVING INTERGROUP RELATIONS IN SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY LIFE

NORTH CENTRAL ASSOCIATION OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

A useful summary of basic concepts and advanced techniques in intergroup relations, emphasizing progressive principles for the curriculum and for school-community action. Stresses the need for centering on a challenging problem in the local situation, the solution of which involves the creative participation of the entire faculty. 1946. 48 *p.* 25¢. (a124)

GENERAL INTERCULTURAL BIBLIOGRAPHIES

FILMS IN INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

JAMES H. TIPTON AND PAUL K. WEINANDY

An annotated list of films for stimulating better group relations, prepared by Bureau consultants. An attempt was made to find films that were entertaining as well as based on sound principles. Includes bases of selection, suggestions for use, and recommendations for appropriate age levels. *Bureau mimeo,* 1947. 18 *p.* 10¢. (a125)

ONE WORLD IN SCHOOL

LOUELLA MILES

An annotated bibliography in intergroup relations, including novels and films, for teachers and students. Introductory comments and specific suggestions for use. *American Teachers Association,* 1946. 57 *p.* 35¢. (a126)

READING LADDERS FOR HUMAN RELATIONS

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION

Reading ladders and annotations for eight areas which teachers consider important for developing sensitivity to the values and ways of life of others. Developed by the Advisory Committee on Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools. 1947. 67 *p.* $1. (a127)

RELIGION AND RELIGIOUS RELATIONSHIPS

RELIGIOUS BOOK LIST

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS

Annotated lists for children and adults, selected by Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant committees, plus a general Good Will list. 1947. 35 *p.* 10¢. (a128)

For Students

PREJUDICE

COLLEGE QUOTAS AND AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

DAN W. DODSON

Refutes arguments favoring discrimination often advanced by college administrators and offers reasons for complete abolition of the quota system. By the Executive Director of the Mayor's Committee on Unity in New York City. *Reprinted from* The American Scholar, *Summer* 1946. 12 *p.* 5¢. (s129)

PLAYS ON PREJUDICE

AS ONE STAR DIFFERETH

HELEN R. FISH

A play which aims to develop respect for people by showing how individuals are persecuted because they differ in behavior, appearance, tastes, or interests. *National Conference of Christians and Jews,* 1947. 6 *p.* 10¢. (s130)

RELATED SOCIAL-ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

RACIAL PROBLEMS IN HOUSING

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

Examines a few underlying causes of slum areas, points out that a slum is a danger to the whole community, and urges an end to segregation. 1945. 30 *p.* 25¢. (s131)

RACE AND RACIAL RELATIONSHIPS

OUR NEGRO VETERANS

CHARLES G. BOLTE AND LOUIS HARRIS

Analysis of the Negro veterans' intensified problems since the end of the war, based on a series of surveys made by several organizations. *Public Affairs Committee,* 1947. 31 *p.* 20¢. (s133)

OUR RACIAL SUPERIORITY

ETHEL J. ALPENFELS

Attacks the myth of racial superiority with an array of scientific facts. By the Bureau's Staff Anthropologist. *Bureau reprint from* Reader's Digest, *September* 1946. 4 *p.* 2¢. (s134)

SEGREGATION

SURVEY GRAPHIC

An authoritative historical review, a description of existing practices, and an account of the struggle to abolish segregation. Numerous photographs. *January* 1947. 130 *p.* 60¢. (s135)

RELIGION AND RELIGIOUS RELATIONSHIPS

THREE GREAT FAITHS WORSHIPPING ONE GOD

Six colored posters portraying Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish customs, based on Florence Mary Fitch's book, *One God—The Ways We Worship Him. American Jewish Committee,* 1946. *Set of six,* 60¢. (s136)

NATIONALITY AND ETHNIC RELATIONSHIPS

WHAT SHALL WE DO ABOUT IMMIGRATION?

MAURICE R. DAVIE

A review of immigration trends, policies, and laws, with proposals for domestic and international action. *Public Affairs Committee,* 1946. 32 *p.* 20¢. (s137)

BOOKS ON MINORITY GROUPS FOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

compiled by

Mabel E. Jackman

New York State College for Teachers
Albany, New York

for

The College Study in Intergroup Relations
Council on Cooperation in Teacher Education
American Council on Education

August, 1947

The majority of the books on this list are fiction and biography which make an emotional appeal to the reader. Books marked with "j" are for junior high school. Those marked with "s" are for the mature reader in the eleventh and twelfth grades. It would be advisable for the teacher or librarian to read them before recommending them to individuals. A few books have been marked "T" to indicate that they are intended for the teacher. A very few are listed which are not recommended at all.

Some books of the factual type have been included to furnish background for the student whose interest has been aroused by the fiction and biography.

Each book has been read with the following in mind: Does it present a fair picture of the group depicted? Even though it is an unfair picture of a racial, religious, or national group as a whole it may help in the understanding of some social or economic strata of that minority. Does it give the reader an understanding of the problems confronting such individuals and evoke a feeling of sympathy? Are the characters real or stereotypes?

The list is incomplete for two reasons. No books have been included which have not been read by the compiler. Some areas such as immigrants from Europe have been touched very lightly while others, such as Protestant-Catholic and economic levels have not been included at all.

IMMIGRANTS

FICTION

Judson, C. I. Peter's treasure. Houghton, 1943.
Contrasts life in Dalmatia and the American gulf coast in the early 1900's. Difficulties of adjusting to the new ways and the pride in the new country.

MacLean, K. A. Mama's bank account, by Kathryn Forbes, (pseud.), Harcourt, 1943.
Warm sketches of a Norwegian-American family in San Francisco.

Rolvaag, O. E. Giants in the earth. Harper, 1927.
A Norwegian family faces great hardships in settling in the Midwest. Difficulties of adjusting to a new environment.

BIOGRAPHY

Christowe, Stoyan This is my country. Carrich, 1938.
The author came to this country from Macedonia at the age of thirteen.

De Jong, D. C. With a Dutch accent. Harper, 1944.
The first half covers his childhood in the Netherlands, the second his experiences when he first came to the United States. The difficulties of adjusting to a new country and language are brought out.

Logan, Milla Bring along laughter. Random, 1947.
A Serbian family in San Francisco in the years following the earthquake. Many traditions and customs of the homeland were kept in the new country as well as increasing conformity to American ways.

Papashvily, George and Helen Anything can Happen. Harper, 1945.
George Papashvily came from Georgia in Russia. Amusing account of meeting bewildering situations in America.

DRAMA

Van Druten, J. I remember mama. Harcourt, 1945.
Play based on Mama's bank account.

FACTUAL

Adamic, Louis From many lands. Harper, 1940.
Problems of immigrants told through the medium of stories of individuals.

Seabrook, W. B. These foreigners. Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1938.
Various foreign born groups - problems seen through the eyes of individuals.

NAGRO AMERICANS

FICTION

Allen, M. H. Great tradition. Houghton, 1937.
A group of white graduate students at the University of Chicago share an apartment. A Negro student who works for them is also in the same laboratory. Good understanding of the difficulties for both the Negro student in a large university and the Negro college.

Carter, Hodding Winds of fear. Rinchart, 1944.
Rising racial tension and fear in a southern town. For mature readers. Read before recommending.

Cook, F. F. Mrs. Palmer's honey. Doubleday, 1946.
Negroes in St. Louis. Honey Hoop becomes a war worker and a C.I.O. enthusiast. More a labor than a race story.

Fast, Howard Freedom road. Duell, 1944.
North Carolina in reconstruction days. A short lived, successful attempt of Negroes and whites to work together to improve conditions.

Fuller, Edmund Star pointed north. Harper, 1946.
A novel about Frederick Douglass through 1877. Closely parallels his biography.

s Harris, B. K. Janey Jeems. Doubleday, 1946.
The long happy marriage of Jeems and Janey West as they struggle to raise a family and to acquire land in the N. Carolina hills to pass from "heir to heir". Dialect may bother some readers. No mention that the characters are Negroes.

s Harris, Mark Trumpet to the world. Reynal, 1946.
Willie Jim from his birth through his experiences in the army. He does much thinking about racial problems.

s Hedden, W. T. Other room. Crown, 1947.
Nina Latham of an old Virginia family to New Orleans to teach in a college, learning that it is for Negroes after her arrival. She stays and gradually loses her prejudices. Not sensational but provocative.

j Jackson, Jesse Call me Charley. Harper, 1945.
Charley is the only Negro in the high school. A group of his classmates try to overcome the prejudices of their elders.

T Jackson, Jesse Anchor man. Harper, 1947.
Continues the story of Charley. He is a senior and a member of the student council. New school problems arise with the admission of a group of Negroes. Track team plays an important part.

j Lang, Don Strawberry roan. Oxford, 1946.
Appealing story of a boy and a race horse. Only the illustrations and one mention indicate the boy is colored.

s Lewis, Sinclair Kingsblook royal. Randon house, 1947.
Neil Kingsblood discovers he is one thirty second Negro and "resigns from the white race". An exposition of a thesis rather than a novel. Improbable but thought provoking.

Means, F. C. Great day in the morning. Houghton, 1946.
Present day story of a Negro girl who decides to study nursing. She attended Tuskegee while George Washington Carver was there.

Means, F. C. Shuttered windows. Houghton, 1938.
A Negro girl from Minneapolis goes to live with her grandmother in South Carolina.

Miers, E. S. Big Ben. Westminster, 1942.
Ben Jackson goes to a "white university", plays football, and eventually becomes a singer. Based on the life of Paul Robeson. Good depiction of the obstacles confronting the talented Negro.

s Norway, N. S. Chequer board, by Nevil Shute. Morrow, 1947.
When John Turner learns he has not more than a year to live, he decides to look up three soldiers who had shared a hospital ward with him. One was an American Negro who has since married an English girl. Another is married to a Burmese girl. The essential similarities of peoples are stressed.

T Petry, Ann Street. Houghton, 1946.
Lutie Johnson lived in Harlem with her eight year old son. Shows the effect of sordid living conditions due to segregation which forces slum conditions on even the Negro of a higher economic level. Not for high school students.

s Pope, Edith Colcorton. Scribner, 1944.
Florida family that has Negro ancestry unknown to the present generation. Tragedy follows when Jared learns this.

s Smith, Lillian Strange Fruit. World, 1947.
The deep South in the years following the first World War. Love affair between a white man and a colored girl. Attitudes and mob spirit well depicted.

Sumner, C. R. Quality. Bobbs-Merrill, 1946.
Excellent, moving story of a Negro girl who appeared white, in Mississippi. A sympathetic understanding of both races.

j Swift, H.H. Railroad to freedom. Harcourt, 1932.
Novel on the life of Harriet Tubman, the Negro "Moses" who helped so many to escape by the "Underground Railroad".

Tunis, J. R. All American. Harcourt, 1942.
Football story in a large city high school. Ronny Perry transfers from his private school as a protest against discrimination. Later the race question arises when the team has a chance to play a southern school.

Wheaton, E. L. F. Mr. George's joint. Dutton, 1941.
Story of Negroes in a Texas city. Told in dialect. Characters are stereotypes. Not recommended.

Whitney, P. A. Willow Hill. Reynal, 1947.
A group of high school students work to solve inter-racial problems rising from a Negro housing project in the community. Good explanation of how prejudices start.

BIOGRAPHY

Bartlett, R. M. They did something about it. Association press, 1939. p. 72-82 a biography of Mary McLeod Bethune.

Bontemps, A. W. We have tomorrow. Houghton, 1945.
Biographies of twelve Negroes who have achieved success in unusual lines. E. S. Campbell.-B. J. Trammell.-Dean Dixon.-S.C. Watkins.-Douglas Watson.-E. M. May.-Hazel Scott.-A. P. Henry.-J. E. LuValle.-Benjamin Davis.

Embree, E. R. Thirteen against the odds. Viking, 1944.
Short biographies of M. M. Bethune, Richard Wright, C. S. Johnson, Walter White, G. W. Carver, Langston Hughes, Marian Anderson, W. E. B. DuBois, M. W. Johnson, W. G. Still, A. P. Randolph, Joe Louis, and Paul Robeson.

Graham, Shirley, and Lipscomb, G. D. Dr. George Washington Carver. N.Y., J. Messner, Inc., 1944.
Written for younger people than the biography by Holt.

Graham, Shirley. There was once a slave. Messner, 1947.
Biography of Frederick Douglass - for senior high school. More interesting than the novel.

s Holt, Rackham George Washington Carver. Doubleday, Doran & Co, 1943.
Outstanding biography of a great Negro scientist.

s Hughes, Langston Big Sea. Knopf, 1940.
Autobiography of the Negro poet.

Fisher, D.F.C., and Kaufman, Enit American portraits; illus. by Enit Kaufman. Holt, 1946.
Brief sketches by Dorothy Fisher to stress contributions of individuals of minority groups. p. 294-7 Paul Robeson
p. 311-2 Marian Anderson
p. 314-8 Joseph Barrow Louis

Hurok, S. Impresario. Random House, 1946.
Reminiscences of the author's career and the musicians he has known. p. 237-261 are on Marian Anderson. He discusses discrimination and how they have tried to combat it.

Lotz, P. H. Rising above color. N.Y., Ass'n. Press, 1943.
Short biographies of G. W. Carver, Marian Anderson, W.E.B. DuBois, R. R. Morton, S. C. Taylor, Richard Allen, Frederick Douglas, D. H. Williams, B. T. Washington, Roland Hayes, P. L. Dunbar, J. W. Johnson, and Walter White.

Miller, Margery Joe Louis: American. Current books, 1945.
Readable biography.

Thompson, E. B. American daughter. U. of Chicago press, 1946.
As a Negro growing up in a North Dakota town she met very little prejudice. Contrast with situation in city is marked.

Vehanen, Kosti Marian Anderson. Whittlesey, 1941.
Biography by her accompanist.

DRAMA, POETRY

Brown, S. A. Negro caravan. The Dryden Press, 1941.
A selection of the literary work of Negro writers.

Cullen, Countee On these I stand. Harper, 1947.
A collection of his best poems which he chose from his nine volumes before his death.

D'Usseau, Arnaud, and Gow, James Deep are the roots. Scribner, 1946.
Drama about a Negro officer who returns from the war to the southern town where he grew up. Various attitudes are depicted and the problems posed but no answers given.

Swift, H. H. North star shining. Morrow, 1947.
Narrative poem of the Negro's part in the United States. Well illustrated. Could be adapted to choral reading.

FACTUAL

Beecher, John All brave sailors. N.Y., Fischer, 1945.
The story of the S. S. Booker T. Washington which was manned by a mixed crew under a Negro captain.

Bontemps, A. W., and Conroy, Jack They seek a city. Doubleday, 1945.
The Negro migration from the South with the difficulties and problems it has raised. Emphasis on the 20th century.

s Conrad, Earl Jim Crow America. Duell, 1947.
A white newspaperman who has worked on Negro papers discusses the entire problem of Negro-white relationship. Readable and provocative.

s DuBois, W. E. B. World and Africa. Viking, 1947.
or "An inquiry into the part Africa has played in world history."
T Stresses the culture of Africa and its influence from prehistoric times to the modern era.

Federal writers project Lay my burden down; a folk history of slavery; ed. by B. A. Botkin, U. of Chicago press, 1945.
Memories of Civil War and Reconstruction days collected from interviews with former slaves.

s Halsey, Margaret Color blind. Simon, 1946.
Experiences in running an inter-racial canteen in New York during the war. Straight forward writing on racial issues. Read before recommending to high school students.

s Logan, R. W. What the Negro wants. U. of N. Carolina press, 1944.
Fourteen Negro leaders, representing left-wing, right-wing, and moderate points of view have tried to answer the question of what the Negro wants today.

s Logan, Spencer Negro's faith in America. Macmillan, 1946.
Condemned by the Negro press for its "Uncle Tom" attitude. May serve as introduction to problems.

T Lumpkin, K.D. Making of a southerner. Knopf, 1947.
Autobiography. She depicts clearly the traditional southern culture in which she grew up and her participation in the movements for better inter-racial understanding.

s Moon, Bucklin, ed. Primer for white folks. Doubleday, 1945.
"An attempt to present a general picture of the Negro-his backgrounds, his relationship with whites, his everyday denial of first-class citizenship, and what he really wants in American life." Preface.

s Ottley, Roi New world a-coming. Houghton, 1943.
"An intimately detailed story of Negro life." A reporter's job, with the main emphasis on Harlem as presenting examples of most of the problems.

s Smith, Ruth White man's burden. Vanguard, 1946.
Ruth Smith, blond, white, Protestant, taught in Negro mission schools in the South. She is keenly aware of the problems of the "Negro world" and the responsibility of the white group for this.

s White, W. F. Rising wind. Doubleday, 1945.
Discussion and reporting on the Negroes in our armed forces during the war. Attitude of some officers in producing racial tension and friction.

ANGLO AMERICANS, ASIATICS

SPANISH AMERICAN

FICTION

Means, F. C. Teresita of the valley. Houghton, 1943.
Teresita moves with her family to Denver and goes to high school. At first she is ashamed of her Spanish speaking background but eventually becomes proud of it.

MEXICAN

FICTION

j Angelo, Valenti Paradise valley. The Viking Press, 1940.
A Mexican family living in southwestern U.S.

j Gates, Doris Blue willow. Viking, 1940.
A blue willow plate is the only treasure of Janey Larkin whose family are migrant workers from the "Dust bowl". She finds a friend in Lupe Romero, a Mexican girl, and finally a house where the family may live "as long as we want to".

JAPANESE

FICTION

Emery, Anne Tradition. Vanguard, 1946.
Japanese-American family moves into a conservative Chicago suburb. Tensions arise in high school but eventually the student body evolves a real sense of democracy.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

s Kohoe, Karon --~~City in the sun.~~ -- Dodd, 1946.
The Maricopa relocation center and its effect on the individuals, told through the story of the Matsuki family, father, mother, and high school age son, Coke.

Means, F. C. Moved-outers. Houghton, 1943.
Moving story of a family of Japanese-Americans, Sue and Kim are high school seniors in Dec. 1941. Popular. Junior and senior high school.

s Wynd, Oswald Black fountains. Doubleday. 1947.
A Japanese girl educated in the U.S. returns home before Pearl Harbor. She struggles against imperialistic trend in family.

BIOGRAPHY

Martin, H. G. Boy from Nebraska. Harper, 1946.
Biography of Ben Kuroki, the first Nisei to be in the air corps in the Pacific. Emphasis is on the struggle against race prejudice. The difficult position of the Japanese-American soldier both during the war and the immediate post-war period.

s Matsumoto, Toru A brother is a stranger, by Toru Matsumoto and Marion Olive Lerrigo. Day, 1946.
Autobiography of a Japanese who was a fugitive from Japan because of his liberalism. Excellent understanding of both Japanese and American character.

FACTUAL

s McWilliams, Carey Prejudice: Japanese Americans Boston, Little, Brown, & Co., 1940.
The facts about the treatment of the Japanese Americans after Pearl Harbor.

Okubo, Mine Citizen 13660. Columbia Univ. Press, 1946.
Sketches and brief comment by an artist who was in two of the centers for Japanese-Americans. Text is free from bitterness.

CHINESE

BIOGRAPHY

Lowe, Pardee Father and Glorious Descendant. Little, Brown, 1943.
Autobiography. Lowe grew up in a suburb of San Francisco. Father was more "westernized" than most of the Chinese and conflicts between the generations were settled more easily than in many homes of the foreign-born.

FACTUAL

Colman, Elizabeth Chinatown, U.S.A. Day, 1946.
Very brief history of the Chinese in the United States and a large section of photographs of Chinese-Americans and Chinatowns.

Click, Carl Shake hands with the dragon. Whittlesey, 1941.
A journalist and social worker tells of life in Chinatown in New York City. Shows how the Chinese keep many of their patterns of living while conforming to the ways of an American city. Amusing, interesting.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Click, Carl Three times I bow. Whittlesey, 1943.
More about New York's Chinatown. The central character is Kung who was in the U.S. Army.

INDIANS

FICTION

Armer, L. A. Dark circle of branches. Longmans, 1933.
Navaho boy and his uncle, the medicine man. Many legends retold in the story. Includes the "Long march" when the Navahoes were moved into exile during the Civil War period.

Armer, L. A. Waterless mountain. Longmans, 1931.
Navaho boy who aspires to be a medicine man. Good protrayal of Indian life and beliefs but of limited appeal.

s Arnold, Elliott Blood brother. Duell, 1947.
Cochise, Apache chief, and Jeffords, peacemaker and Indian agent, are the leading characters. Sympathetic portrayal of Indian cause. Theme that all men are blood brothers.

s Fuller, Iola Loon feather. Harcourt, 1940.
Novel about an Indian girl, the daughter of Tecumseh. A time of adjustment to changing ways for the Indian. Much of the story takes place at Mackinac.

s Fuller, Iola Shining trail. Duell, 1943.
The Indian rebellion against the treachery of the whites at the time of Black Hawk's War.

s Lauritzen, Jonreed Arrows into the sun. Knopf, 1943.
Navaho Indians in the period when the Mormons were spreading into their territory. Sympathetic treatment of Indians.

McNichols, C. L. Crazy weather. Macmillan, 1944.
Two boys, one white, and one Indian, travel together through the Mohave country during a period of hot "crazy weather". Sympathetic portrayal.

j Means, F. C. Whispering girl. Houghton, 1941.
Vensi, a Hopi girl of today, is so shy she rarely speaks aloud outside the family circle but she gains courage to talk to the village when the family honor is at stake. Good picture of customs.

j Moon, Grace Singing sands. Doubleday, 1936.
Piki, a Navaho girl, comes back to her home after five years in a government school.

s Shepard, Odell Holdfast Gaines, by Odell and W.O.Shepard. Macmillan, 1946.
A long historical novel covering the period of the Revolution and the early 1800's. The hero is an Indian who tries to bring peace between the two races.

BIOGRAPHY

Coblentz, C. C. Sequoya, Longmans, 1946.
Biography of the Indian who invented the Cherokee Alphabet.

FACTUAL

Hannum, A. P. Spin a silver dollar. Viking, 1945.
The Lippincotts bought an Indian trading post at Wide Ruins, Arizona, and spent four years there. Very understanding portrayal of Indians, especially the little boy who did paintings.

JEWISH AMERICAN

FICTION

s Asch, Shalom East river. Putnam, 1946.
46th St, in New York in the early part of this century with its mixture of nationalities and religions. Jewish and Catholic predominate.

j Gollomb, Joseph That year at Lincoln High. Macmillan, 1918.
Religious prejudice in a public high school. Jim comes to like and understand the Jewish boy whom he disliked at first.

s Graham, Gwethalyn Earth and high heaven. Lippincott, 1944.
Eria Drake, of an old English-Canadian family, fell in love with Marc Reiser, a Jewish lawyer. Racial and religious intolerance well portrayed.

s Hobson, Laura Gentleman's agreement. Simon, 1947.
To gather material for a series of articles on anti-Semitism Phil Green pretends to be Jewish. Vivid picture of discrimination as it affects the educated group, even from those who pride themselves on tolerance.

s Lawrence, Josephine Let us consider one another. Appleton, 1945.
Cecilia, convent bred daughter of a Catholic mother and a Protestant father, marries the son of a Jewish father and Gentile mother. Racial and religious prejudices are well reflected but story is weakened by overdrawn minor characters.

s Miller, Arthur Focus, Reynal, 1945.
The hero, personnel manager for a very anti-semitic firm, finds new glasses make him look Jewish. He meets increasing discrimination and acquires sympathy for the minorities.

s Nathan, Robert Road of ages. Knopf, 1935.
Fantasy in which all the Jews are moving across Europe toward an exile in Mongolia. There are still the same economic, national, and ideological divisions as in the countries from which they had come.

Rosten, L. O. Education of H Y M A N K A P L A N. Harcourt, 1937.
Humorous accounts of a night school for adults. Hyman Kaplan's love of America is evident through all his difficulties with language.

T Sinclair, Jo Wasteland. Harper, c1946.
Jake Brown's memories as tells them to a psychiatrist. His denial of his religious and cultural background had made him confused and ashamed.

Singer, J.F.G. This festive season. Harcourt, 1943.
A Jewish family in New York. The story covers the period of the Passover, Discrimination in faculty appointment at a university is a factor in the story.

BIOGRAPHY

Bartlett, R. M. They did something about it. Association press,1939.
p. 61-72. Louis Dembitz Brandeis.

Chagall, Bella Burning lights. Schocken books, c1946.
Reminiscences of the celebration of the Jewish holidays in Russia in the author's family during her childhood.

Fast, Howard Haym Salomon, son of liberty. Messner, 1941.
Biography of the patriot and broker who helped finance the American Revolution.

Ferber, Edna Peculiar treasure. Doubleday, 1939.
Autobiography. Although in her childhood she met very little discrimination, she is conscious of the need for greater understanding.

s Lewisohn, Ludwig Up stream. Liveright, 1922.
Biography of a writer. For the most mature students.

Lotz, P. H. Distinguished American Jews. N.Y.Association press,1945.
Short biographies of A. S. Ochs, Lillian Wald, Charney Vladeck, S. S. Wise, C. P. Steinmetz, Fannie Hurst, Paul Muni, Yehudi Menuhin, Joseph Goldberger, Carl Maemmle, Felix Adler, and L. D. Brandeis.

s Solomon, H. G. Frabic of my life. Bloch, 1947.
Autobiography of the founder of the National Council of Jewish women.

DRAMA

Zangwill, Israel Melting pot; drama in four acts. Macmillan, 1914.
Jewish life and ideals in America.

FACTUAL

Adamic, Louis From many lands. Harper, 1940.
p. 3-52 Story of a Jewish doctor.

j Fitch, F. M. One God. Lothrop, Lee, & Shepard Co., 1944.
Elementary presentation of three religious beliefs, Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant. Well illustrated with photographs.

GENERAL

FICTION

Allee, M. H. House. Houghton, 1944.
A group of graduate students at the Univ. of Chicago live in a cooperative house. The fact that one is Chinese causes prejudices in one neighborhood. Some of the characters in The Great Tradition appear.

Fernald, H. C. Jonathan's doorstep. Longmans, 1943.
A descendant of an old American family gains understanding of the refugees from Europe and their contributions to the country.

Gollomb, Joseph Tiger at City High. Harcourt.
Same setting as Up at City High but a better story.

j Gollomb, Joseph Up at City High. Harcourt, 1943.
A large city high school, torn by inter-group tensions.

McLellan, M. B. Within our gates. Harper & brothers, 1940.
A collection of stories and short essays about various minorities.

Walden, A. E. Gateway. Morrow, 1946.
Peyton, a spoiled rich girl, and Mig, of Hungarian ancestry are the principal characters in a story of school and winter sports. Peyton gains understanding of others who are different.

Worth, Kathryn New worlds for Josie. Doubleday, 1944.
Two American girls at school in Switzerland find themselves the "outsiders" and must overcome prejudice caused by the behavior of former American students.

FACTUAL

Baruch, Dorothy (Walter) Glass house of prejudice. N.Y.W.Morrow & Co., 1946.
Excellent treatment of prejudice and suggestions for combating it.

j Evans, E. K. All about us. Capitol, c1947.
Simply presented facts about peoples, their beginnings, variations in skin color, customs, etc. Humorously told. Useful for both intermediate grades and junior high school.

Huszar, G. B. ~~Anatib~~ Anatomy of racial intolerance. Wilson, 1946.
Reference shelf. Good bibliographies.

s McWilliams, Carey Brothers under the skin. Little, 1943.
The history and treatment of the various non-Caucasian minorities in the United States and its possessions.

Powdermaker, Hortense Probing our prejudices. Harper, c1944.
Good basic presentation of the formation and effects of prejudices and suggestions for attacking them.

Stegner, Wallace One nation. Houghton Mifflin Co., 1945.
Pictures of various minority groups with a brief accompanying text.

TEACHERS COLLEGE
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

November 4, 1947

Gentlemen:

Sorry it was necessary to mimeograph attached letter involving Brooklyn Tablet and its new attack on intercultural education. (It has previously attacked the Springfield Plan.)

Sincerely yours,

Clyde R. Miller

Clyde R. Miller
Associate Professor
of Education

17 - Intercultural Education

FORUM ON

"THE PRICE OF PEACE"

DR. RALPH W. SOCKMAN, Presiding

RECEIVED
NOV 17 1947

HUMAN RELATIONS ASPECTS

An address

by

DORIS E. FLEISCHMAN

CHRIST CHURCH
Park Avenue at Sixtieth Street
New York

Doris E. Fleischman is associated with Edward L. Bernays, her husband, in the practice of the profession of Counsel on Public Relations at 26 East 64 Street, New York 21, N. Y.

I'VE been asked to discuss three questions about human relations: "What is the scope of human relations as applied to world organization? What is its promise? What are its limitations?" You'll agree, I think, that the questions are broad enough to cover most of our troubles. The chaotic conditions of the present-day world are the direct result of faulty human relations. They are so bad that we may have war again, soon. If we do it seems certain that a human relations debacle will follow the next peace. Only wise and decent human relations can save civilization.

We might answer these three questions quickly and cynically, something like this. The scope of human relations is unlimited. Man's conduct towards his fellow men, and nations' conduct towards nations can be improved forever. The promise of human relations is almost negligible. The limitations are ominous. Time is so short, education is so slow and difficult. Our attitudes on national and international affairs are irresponsible. Most individual Americans don't mix into politics, into education, or any matters of state. We let George do it. We don't even bother to vote in the primaries. We are defeated without a struggle.

But these short answers aren't really complete. There *is some* hope that we *can* bring peoples together. Our scientists, and experts on communications may decide to put the brakes on the downward plunge of human relations.

Seventy-eight years ago, a great scientist, Mendeleyeff charted ninety-two elements, all of which he predicted would be discovered in time. He was right. He failed to allow for plutonium, uranium, neptunium and curium. He failed also to list the most powerful element of all—human relations—because technically it's not a physical entity. But human relations is stronger than plutonium, more powerful than atomic fission. It controls and directs these energies. The basis of all human relations, and understanding is communication. We can, even at this late date, make a peaceful world if we communicate correctly with one another. Words, pictures and other symbols give us moral, ethical, spiritual and cultural values. What we tell the child, teaches it to get along with other people. In the same way, nations can learn to get along with one another through effective communications. The evolution of civilization

and the history of the world parallel the history of communications.

Communication is the art, or the science, of getting our ideas understood by other people. We can build up sounder human relations at home and abroad by using our enormous communications systems to the full, and using them wisely to increase knowledge of people.

Now you can divide the whole question of communications neatly into two parts. One part is content, and the other is form. Or, what you say, and how you get it said mechanically. Science, engineering, and commercial mass production have made communications media so superbly efficient, that it's possible, physically, to reach the mind of everyone in the world in a short time. Radio, telephone, motion pictures, airplanes, ships, automobiles, trains, and wires race through time and space to carry our ideas everywhere. We drop pictures into the hands of a Sudanese farmer, broadcast a song to an Indonesian patriot, leave a news sheet at the door of a Bulgarian peasant. An inch of photographic film is reflected in five continents almost simultaneously. A whisper encircles the world. But the messages they carry have little relation to the need for better understanding. What they say is not nearly as good as the machines that tap out their messages. Our great networks of communications have achieved technical excellence. Now is the time for them to apply the same skill to the propagation of constructive ideas, in words and pictures to create good will and international understanding. Ignorant, unskillful or vicious expressions injure human relationships. Intelligent communications can guide us to peace.

There is a practical and realistic way of persuading people to see that world organization is necessary and possible. The great communications networks that control world communications can do it by assuming this responsibility. The church, press, radio, motion pictures, wire services, public relations, advertising agencies, book publishing, authors, artists, all have entree to the public's eyes and ears, to the public's mind. They can speak up for world organization as we are doing in this Forum today. For example, they can show Europe how democracy works in practice. Our own State Department's Bureau of Cultural Affairs is working in this direction. But its budget

is so limited that its efforts are inadequate. We need the active help of all commercial and professional channels to people's attention, so that we may spread good will and reasonableness in ways that will carry conviction.

While social scientists have made little research in the vast field of communications, a good deal is known, and should be used by the press, radio, motion pictures to solve some of our human problems.

What shall we say, for instance, to uneducated or unintelligent people? What words or pictures will make sense to the millions of men who now shout yes to the half-truths and promises of unscrupulous demagogues? What ideas would appeal to Italian leaders, to French workmen, to Greek Guerillas, to American share-croppers? Dictators know the answers intuitively, but men of good will neglect the science of sharing ideas.

Let's apply the important facts that social scientists have learned. Populations of the world have different customs and points of view, of course, but we can appeal to the common denominators of self-preservation, moral standards and human feelings to bring peoples closer together.

Unesco is trying to increase world understanding, but Unesco is young and comparatively small. It's only one part of a harassed body. It has to go gingerly. Unesco ought to be encouraged and enlarged, because its potentiality for improving human relations are enormous. But we can't expect Unesco to do the whole job of education. Other groups could help. Especially our American systems of communications. They would be wise if they drafted themselves to promote amicable human relations. If they will study and plan the social effects of their messages, they might, even at this late date, conceivably make the peoples of the world understand one another's aims. What we say in this country affects the rest of the world. Our words are reprinted, and influence world opinions directly and indirectly. So we should start in this country. We can use the content of our communications to build a more peaceful daily life right here.

In a sense, America is a microcosm of the entire world. Most of us have prejudices, and fears. Like other people, we are intellectually lazy, because we accept rumors, unfacts and lies.

We are immature, often emotionally unstable. We have aggression, greed, love of power, and all the rest of the psychological zoo. On a broad scale our group tensions constantly disrupt the ordinary course of life. We can't change what we call human nature quickly, but we can change important attitudes by making good use of every road to people's minds.

Can we educate people to break down the ugly barriers between races here in the United States? I think so. Can we clarify the issue between producer and consumer? Can we show majorities how to treat minority groups considerately? Can capital and labor be made to understand that they have the same goals? Can we teach legislators to work for the entire country, and not for special groups? We must, it seems to me, before we can hope to accomplish anything important abroad, where the problems are so much graver.

We can go a long way in a short time, if our experts in communications lead the way. Our opinion molders, all men and women of influence, can educate people to get along with one another. It's not enough to rush curious crowds through red, white and blue Freedom Trains. We shall have to use all the ready-made channels to the public.

How can communications systems solve these social problems? The first step, it seems to me, is for them to set high professional standards for themselves, just as the medical profession has done. A doctor must complete training before he can practice, and then he is bound by the Hippocratic oath. The legal profession sets rigid standards of ethics and education. The communications professions should realize that our social conditions demand a high professional level of education and self-regulation. American journalism, for instance, is the best in the world, and the majority of newspapers, columnists, editors, show great integrity and skill. Certainly, however, at this critical time all these professions should be able to bar those who use the great media to distort facts and thus disrupt human relations.

Our radio obeys the vague demands of "public interest convenience and necessity." But it should go much farther to expand its social responsibility, by propagating methods for bringing discordant groups into harmony, by showing the benefits of democracy. If we succeed at home, we may succeed

abroad. For example, we export so many crime pictures that many sections of the world actually believe we are a nation of gangsters, rioters and lynchers. All communications media can give positive value to their messages all over the world. They will become more valuable if they raise their own level of responsibility.

They can insist on better education for their own professions, schools and colleges. They can also use adult education methods, such as seminars, to keep their members refreshed and orientated on the best methods of solving human relations problems.

This is not a matter for government intervention or law. Official regulation would threaten freedom of speech. It's up to the communications industries to regulate themselves. When we have learned how to use our mechanics of communications for sound social purposes in this country, we may be able to show the rest of the world how to do it. We can get clear talk among people and nations, if our free press takes the lead.

Perhaps I had better sum up the things in my mind. There is no limitation to improvement in human relations. Two groups are sufficiently organized to undertake the job of improving them. One is Unesco. The other is the commercial communications systems. Communications are only as good as their content, no matter how excellent are the mechanics. We must be sure that what we say increases international understanding and good will.

We can start at home, in the United States, by educating people, groups and communities in the salient facts of human relations. Public opinion will surely follow the leadership of the professional communications groups.

America's example in solving these problems will help Unesco show the rest of the world how to use communications for good will.

There is no other short-cut. Perhaps, if communications systems work for better human relations, we shall be able to reach the goal of world organization before all roads leading to it are blown to bits. At least we can function as if there were time enough, and work hard and quickly for a peaceful world.

Phi Delta Kappan
Vol. XXIX Nov. 1947 No. 3

Foster Intercultural Relations

By CORNELIUS V. TROUP

THE American teacher is a person of great influence. In many instances, the influence of the teacher far surpasses that of the parents. The teacher has been likened to the potter and the child to clay. This simile is objectionable only because the child, a growing being, is likened to an inanimate object. Nevertheless, the general idea expressed in this figure of speech is sound, for the teacher does shape and mold, for good or for ill. To the pupil, the teacher is a leader—a person worthy of emulation, and whatever the teacher says or does frequently carries with it tremendous weight.

With regard to intercultural relations, there is much that the American teacher can do. Here, in the United States, we see enacted daily on the stage of human affairs a paradoxical drama. In a country founded upon the principle of human equality, we see executed, planned efforts to relegate to a status of inferiority certain groups within the national population because of so-called racial or religious differences. We see, through the press, through textbooks and other media, deliberate attempts to ignore the cultural contributions of certain groups or efforts to minimize their importance as significant aspects of a total cultural pattern.

In the light of his status as a person of influence, the American teacher can help to foster intercultural relations:

(1) By living the type of life which bears testimony to the fact that the teacher respects and appreciates the cultural contributions of all peoples. This goes far deeper than the mere formality of paying lip service to the ideals of sound intercultural relations. The teacher must prove that he knows our present civilization was made possible because of the cultural contributions of many different groups of people. This can be easily reflected in the way the teacher lives with his neighbors; in his dealings with people of other national backgrounds and in the way he reacts to his students who happen to belong to different cultural groups. Young people are not easily fooled and can readily discern the difference between pretense and reality. The teacher who would help foster intercultural understanding must remember that the tree is known by the fruit it bears.

★ *Cornelius V. Troup is President, Fort Valley State College, Fort Valley, Georgia. He is a member of Phi Delta Kappa.*

(2) The American teacher can help foster intercultural relations by inviting people of different cultures to visit his classes from time to time. In too many instances, young people in school have no opportunity to come in contact with persons of other cultures. Not knowing such people often leads the child to reach the erroneous conclusion that there is but one culture—that produced by people of his particular group. Hence the teacher, by making possible frequent opportunities for youngsters to see and hear people of different "races," can do much toward the develoment of a better understanding of other peoples and greater appreciation of their achievements.

(3) The resourceful teacher can contribute much toward fostering intercultural relations by weaving into his teaching the cultural achievements of all peoples. The history of history, sociology, art, literature, music, etc., has innumerable opportunities to supplement the materials found in textbooks with a plenitude of data pointing out the cultural developments and contributions of groups other than those treated in the texts. For example, the teacher of American history could easily enrich his teaching by including information relative to the part played by the Indians, the European immigrants, the Negroes, and other groups in developing our American culture.

Likewise, the teacher of music could do much toward fostering intercultural relations by giving students an opportunity to learn something about the musical contributions of different peoples. This technique could be employed to great advantage in many ways.

(4) The American teacher can help foster intercultural relations through the intelligent use of audio-visual aids. With the growing popularity of such devices, it is possible for the teacher to use

them most effectively in helping young people to understand and appreciate others. The radio, for example, provides a cogent means of bringing to the classroom programs which reflect the cultures of many diverse groups.

The moving picture is another practical way of enabling youngsters to learn about the culture of peoples throughout the world. At a nominal cost, films depicting life in many lands can be rented. The phonograph could also be used to great advantage in presenting the recorded music of many different groups. Other audio-visual aids could be used to advantage in helping young people to appreciate the cultural contributions of others.

(5) The American teacher can foster intercultural relations by believing firmly in and striving zealously to help boys and girls to develop the "one world" concept.

The bitter experiences of World War II should have taught all men that this is a small world after all and that an enduring peace can come only when all of the peoples of the earth understand, appreciate, and respect each other. The teacher who constantly emphasizes the many respects in which all people are alike instead of accentuating the few unlikenesses, is the one who makes the greatest possible contribution toward developing intercultural understanding.

The teacher could use, rather convincingly, the voluminous scientific data which shatters the myth of human superiority and inferiority. This, supported by the teaching of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, should go a long way toward breaking down long-standing prejudices and building up in their stead new vistas of world brotherhood.

The teacher can help foster intercultural relations by ceasing to teach the existence of several "races." Instead, enlightened teachers should know and teach the fact that there is but one race —the human race, and that peoples of different skin colors are merely branches of one great family. When young people can be taught that under the skin all men are the same, the way is paved for teaching them to comprehend fully what is meant by "one world."

We are compelled to look askance at our so-called civilization when we consider the fact that for centuries, men have used their intellectual and physical powers to devise more effective means of destroying one another. If the present generation and generations to come continue this damnable folly, all mankind will eventually be destroyed. To survive, man must learn that every other man is his neighbor and that, as neighbors, it is to the mutual advantage of all to "love thy neighbor as thyself."

In this process, the teacher in America has a great opportunity to make a lasting contribution toward the development of an enduring peace. One of the chief tasks of the teacher is to strive for the development of intercultural understanding as a means of bringing to fruition a society in which the individual worth of every person is fully recognized and appreciated.

Causes of Accidents

Every day 17.1 children between the ages of 5 and 14 are accidentally killed.

Causes for accidents to such children, listed by a speaker before the National Safety Congress section of schools and colleges, included the following:

1. Lack of proper supervision.
2. Lack of proper or safe equipment (including clothing).
3. Use of incorrect equipment for purpose.
4. Lack of knowledge.
5. Lack of skill.
6. Lack of desire (show-off, unhappy child, timid child).
7. Accident-prone child (poor mental health, poor physical health, personality difficulties such as too rapid or too slow reactions, etc.).
8. Adult imposition of activity for which child is not sufficiently matured or prepared.
9. Lack of safe environment (poor or insufficient playgrounds, unsafe home, unsafe schools, poor illumination, unguarded streets, etc.).

For how many of these can causes be removed? How may adults help remove these causes of accidents?

"The pleasures of the senses pass quickly; those of the heart become sorrows; but those of the mind are ever with us, even to the end of our journey."—*From an old Spanish proverb.*

17 - Intercultural Educ.

RE CIVIL LIBERTIES IN THE NEW YORK CITY SCHOOLS

RECEIVED
DEC 15 1947
Southern Regional Council

To: The Southern Regional Council

From: The Executive Boards of the New York City English Teachers' Association, Biology Teachers' Association, and Social Studies Teachers' Association, c/o Mr. Joseph Gallant, 250 E. 178th Street, Bronx, New York.

The Case

The Superintendent of the New York City Schools, Dr. William Jansen, has advised Dr. Bernhard J. Stern to withdraw as a lecturer from the in-service course offered to New York teachers, "Background and Techniques for Teaching Intercultural Education." Reasons given for Dr. Jansen's request are that Dr. Stern has become a subject of "public controversy," and that he has impaired his effectiveness as a lecturer because he once wrote (1930), under a pen-name, a pamphlet which was critical of established churches.

Further, the Board of Superintendents has indicated that it will not approve the course for credit in the spring term. (Dr. Stern is one of about twenty lecturers in the course.)*

Origins of the Case

On October 10, 1947, Frederick Woltman, in the New York World-Telegram, and, on October 11, the Brooklyn Tablet, attacked the course, writing among other things that "the word 'intercultural'....has now generally come to be associated with propaganda of the Communist Party line."

The Issue

Neither the World-Telegram nor the Brooklyn Tablet has offered any evidence that the course is "subversive." Failure to renew the course will deprive teachers of enlightenment by experts on how best to encourage intercultural understanding in the classroom. That Dr. Jansen and the Board of Superintendents have acted without considering all the facts is documented below, and constitutes a threat to academic freedom.

Action Requested

1. Write to Dr. William Jansen, Superintendent of Schools, Board of Education, 110 Livingston Street, Brooklyn 2, New York, protesting against withdrawal of Dr. Stern and urging renewal of approval of the course.

2. Kindly send copies of your letter to the press and a copy to Mr. Gallant whose address is at the top of the page.

3. Since Dr. Stern is scheduled to speak on January 14, may we urge immediate action?

* ON DECEMBER 10th THE BOARD OF SUPERINTENDENTS DIRECTED THE CANCELLATION OF DR. STERN'S LECTURE AND REFUSED TO CONSIDER RENEWAL OF THE COURSE FOR THE SPRING TERM.

Re Bernhard J. Stern

PRESENT POSITION: Lecturer in Sociology, Columbia University, since 1931.

QUALIFICATIONS: Ph. D., Columbia University, 1927; Assistant Professor of Sociology, University of Washington, 1927-1930; Assistant Editor, Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, 1930-34; Lecturer in Anthropology, New School for Social Research, 1932-1943; Visiting Professor of Sociology, Yale University, 1944-45; Collaborator Carnegie Study of the Negro in America, 1939. (A detailed outline of Dr. Stern's activities are in Who's Who 1948-49.)

WRITINGS: Author and co-author of 12 books among which are: When Peoples Meet. A Study of Race and Culture Contacts, N.Y., 1942. Co-author with Alain Locke. Third ed., 1946.

"...outclasses any other book on the subject."

Book-of-the-Month Club News

Outline of Anthropology, N. Y., 1947. Co-author with Melville Jacobs.

"It has the balance and comprehensiveness expected of your publications, but in addition it has a freshness of approach and an unusually attractive style."

William F. Ogburn, Professor of Sociology, U of Chicago

ENDORSEMENTS

"I have a high regard for him both as a scholar and as a gentleman of manifest integrity. His writings have given him an enviable reputation in the field of sociology. Several of his books...have been of great use to me and my colleagues in historical work. They show scrupulous accuracy, a penetrating power of judgment, and a liberal and tolerant temper. All his recent writings that I have examined show a thoroughly scientific approach toward the problems of our time, free from prejudice or unfairness."

Letter from Allan Nevins, historian and Pulitzer Prize winner, to Dr. Jansen, Nov. 22, 1947.

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"We in the Methodist Federation for Social Action would consider it very detrimental and alien to our American democratic tradition to eliminate lecturers because of their religious views. Such elimination becomes, if anything, even less justifiable when the views in question are not those at all being expressed currently but rather those expressed seventeen years ago."

Jack R. McMichael, Executive Secretary, Methodist Federation for Social Action, to Dr. Jansen, Nov. 21, 1947.

(continued on page 3)

"...may I express to you the deep appreciation for the intelligent and clear cut presentation you made last Monday evening on the subject 'Can There Be Peace in Palestine?'....Our choice of you as one of the speakers was completely justified. I felt that you were not only fair and authoritative in all your statements, but the spirit in which you presented your address was typical of that which is so necessary to the amicable solution of a problem as important as this."

Philip H. Ahrens, on behalf of the
Young Men's Christian Association,
Plainfield, N.J., to Dr. Stern,
Feb. 12, 1947.

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"Organizations such as the National Conference of Christians and Jews have inquired whether we would be willing to publish Dr. Stern's chapter /on races in Outline of Anthropology/ in a separate booklet as a public service. I am certain that Dr. Stern's oral presentation in a lecture would be in no way inferior to his printed exposition in our books. If he is not encouraged to lecture on this vital topic, will the next step be an attack on his books so that teachers will be deprived of an opportunity to read as well as listen to the findings of an acknowledged expert?"

Dr. Samuel Smith, of Barnes & Noble,
to Dr. Jansen, Nov. 6, 1947.

****

"All the men were delighted with the leadership which you gave to the Round Table on Science and Race. With Weltfish gone, we would not have known what to do. You saved the day. Even though you do not believe in miracles, your presence was a miracle."

Rabbi F. M. Isserman, Central Conference of American Rabbis, to
Dr. Stern, Nov. 28, 1945.

Dr. Jansen's Objections Answered

The foregoing is a sampling of abundant testimony on Dr. Stern's qualifications to lecture before teachers on intercultural relations. He has lectured in in-service courses for several years (always without remuneration) without any objection from the Board of Superintendents either prior to or after his addresses.

The pamphlet which Dr. Jansen cited has long been out of print and does not reflect Dr. Stern's current views; nor was it an attack on religion. Many of Dr. Stern's scholarly productions, on which he should be judged, have been subsidized by the leading Foundations in the country.

The use of a pen-name is acceptable practice (e.g., Mark Twain, Ellery Queen). Dr. Stern's pen-name was, for example, known to his colleagues on the Encyclopedia of Social Sciences.

Objections to his lecture on the ground that he is a "matter of public controversy," if extended, would mean that any person criticized in the press would be eliminated as a lecturer to New York teachers.

(continued on page four)

Re The Course

"In-service course No. 117, called 'Background and Techniques in Teaching Intercultural Education' has been described by certain newspapers as subversive and un-American.

"To date, I have attended the first five sessions of this course. During these sessions I have seen and heard nothing which remotely resembles subversive or un-American teachings. On the contrary, I have seen a large number of school teachers meeting to consider seriously and discuss in a highly professional manner how to combat such un-American phenomena as racial and religious prejudices.

"Every speaker we listened to and every film we saw were directed toward the aforementioned aim.

"I hope that you will give serious consideration to this first hand testimony as to what goes on in this course at the same time that you read second hand accounts of the course in the newspapers."

Letter signed by teachers taking
the course, to Dr. Jansen,
Nov. 12, 1947

Appendix

An outline of the course, approved by the Board of Superintendents, and now being given, is attached.

12/12/47

IN-SERVICE COURSE NO. 317 AIERTNESS CREDIT GRANTED

BACKGROUND AND TECHNIQUES IN TEACHING INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

Wednesday at 4:15 -- October 1, 1947 - January 21, 1948
Central High School of Needle Trades, 225 West 24 St. bet. 7 & 8 Aves.

1. Oct. 1 - Registration - Introduction - the indirect approach to creating intercultural understanding.
   Mr. Harold Nagler, Chairman, F. K. Lane H.S.
   Film: "Brotherhood of Man"
2. Oct. 8 - Fighting prejudice through the motion picture film. Demonstration lesson to show the use of the film in intercultural education. Mr. Louis Relin, Abraham Lincoln H.S.
   Film: "Does it matter what you think?"
3. Oct. 15 - Intercultural education in the General Science curriculum. Demonstration lesson. Use of 'rumor' slide prepared by Dr. Gordon Allport of Harvard University; and use of the slide-film, "Forward, All To-gether".
   Mr. Alfred B. Kirshner, W. H. Taft H. S.
4. Oct. 22 - Intercultural Education in the English Curriculum. Panel: Mrs. Theresa Carlucci, Central H.S. of Needle Trades, Chairman; Miss Margaret Heaton, Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools; Dr. Lou LaBrant, New York University; Mr. Norman Rubinstein, Food Trades Vocational H. S.
   Film: "Seeds of Destiny"
5. Oct. 29 - The Psychology of Prejudice. Dr. Kenneth Clark, Queens College. Film: "Man - One Family"
6. Nov.5- Intercultural Education in the Elementary School. Panel: Mr. Morris Lipschitz, P.S. 253, Bklyn., and Mr. Irving Caesar. Film-slides illustrating "Songs of Friendship"
7. Nov. 12 - A Social Studies Project in Intercultural Education in J.H.S. 165. Dr. Rachel Davis DuBois, Director, Workshop for Intercultural Democracy.
   Film - "House I Live In"
8. Nov. 19 - Applications of Intercultural Teaching to the Social Studies Curricula. Panel: Mr. Louis Jaffee, S.J. Tilden H.S.; Dr. Howard Murwitz, Grover Cleveland H. S.
   Film: "Don't Be a Sucker"
9. Nov. 26 - The Negro and Intercultural Education. Dr. Lawrence D. Reddick, Schomberg Collection, N. Y. Public Library. This session will be given at the library - 104 West 136 Street. (Take 8 Ave. local to 135 St.; or 7 Ave. Bronx Park Express to 135 Street.)
   Film: "The Negro Soldier"
10. Dec. 3 - The public relations of a community program to fight prejudice. Mr. Robert Norton, Secretary, League for Fair Play.
    Film: "The Town"
11. Dec. 10 - Propaganda Analysis. Dr. Clyde Miller, Columbia University.
    Film: "Americans All" (March of Time - Springfield Plan)
12. Dec. 17 - Research in Prejudice. What prejudice does to people. Dr. Marie Jahoda, Assistant Director, Department of Scientific Research, American Jewish Committee.
    Film: "Color of a Man"
13. Jan. 7 - Intercultural Education in the Biology Syllabus, Demonstration lesson. Mr. Harold Nagler, Chairman, F.K.Lane H.S.
    Film: "A Way in the Wilderness"
14. Jan. 14 - The development of Prejudice. Dr. Bernhard J. Stern, Columbia University.
    Film: "The Cummington Story"
15. Jan. 21 - Moving Forward - This is our America - Organizations for unity. Panel: Mrs. Annette Smith Lawrence, Council Against Intolerance in America; Mrs. Elizabeth Brady, Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools; Mr. Henry K. Craft, N. Y. State Com. Against Discrimination; and representative of parent group.
    Film: "Whoever You Are"

Sponsored by: New York Association of Teachers of Biological Science
New York Association of Teachers of English
General Science Teachers Association
Association of Teachers of Social Studies

Committee: Miss Catherine Shinar, Chairman; Mrs. Theresa Carlucci; Mr. Rudolf Cooper; Mr. I. A. Herskowitz; Mr. Alfred B. Kirshner; Dr. Leonard Lashley; Mr. Louis Relin; Mr. Norman Rubinstein; Mr. James Taite.

Vol. II, No. 10, 1947
Colleges, Schools, Churches, Agencies
Address 5272 Second Ave., Detroit 2
(E5105)

Lloyd Allen Cook, Director
Ray P. Harris, Associate Director
Eleanor Carabelli, Secretary
Research Assistants

THE COLLEGE STUDY BULLETIN

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RECEIVED AUG 5 1947 COLLEGE STUDY IN Southern Regional Council

The College Study in Intergroup Relations*
Council on Cooperation in Teacher Education
American Council on Education

ACTION, ACTION-RESEARCH, FOR 1947-48

1. Once Again, the Goals We Seek
2. Four Roads, None Easy
3. Action Research, How and Why
4. College Study Emphases '47-48
5. Group Process in Colleges
6. Action Projects in Public Schools
7. Community Study and Action
8. Science, Values, and Reality
9. News and Notes, Staff and Colleges

I. ONCE AGAIN, THE GOALS WE SEEK

"In any activity of size," warns a critic, "there is always a danger that one will lose his way, charging off, lapsing back, wasting time. The cure is to state, and restate, major goals, define them, apply them, ask for greater ingenuity in their realization. This is the only way to keep on the beam, to make effort cumulative."

While the College Study is not large, as nationwide experimental projects go, it is large enough to heed this warning. Now, at the end of our second year, with twenty colleges and universities reporting their 200-odd committee projects, we can see the need to affirm, and reaffirm, our major purposes.

> ONE PEOPLE, MANY TONGUES
>
> One problem of our modern world, perhaps at the moment the greatest problem, has arisen from the necessity of curing ourselves, as far as that is humanly possible, of every form of blindness which makes it difficult for us to communicate, to achieve understandings, and to act effectively with others in the interest of a common cause.
>
> --Robert E. Park

We can state, with confidence, what sponsors of the College Study had in mind. Here, in our files, is a now fading, dog-eared document, undated (1944), and much marked up for emphasis.

A PROPOSAL FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF THE STUDY OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS IN TEACHER EDUCATION

In few words, the Council on Cooperation in Teacher Education details the concern of its member bodies in intergroup relations. It takes the stand that these relations, "in all their many forms," are now of "supreme importance" in American life, and certain "to increase in critical nature" as we move into and out of the war's inevitable backwash. The Council then goes on record, as the single most representative national body dealing with teacher education, to suggest a program, and request a budget, for work in intergroup relations. Its general aim is "to stimulate teacher educating institutions to deal more adequately" with these human relations in their total college program.

Nowhere does the Council assume that we in teacher education know how, in any exact sense, to do the work it has in mind. On the contrary, participants in the College Study are charged with finding out how to get the job done. Here, again,

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*Financed for a four year period by a grant to the American Council on Education from the National Conference of Christians and Jews, 381 Fourth Ave., New York.

the document is clear, "Our concern," it is said, "is to achieve actual changes in the behaviors of teachers." To this end, it is judged that "an adequate program" in intergroup education is one which will stimulate a college "to work through all aspects of its program"--classrooms, staff, campus, schools, the community, etc.

In November, 1945, as our first year of work neared its end, the Council on Cooperation in Teacher Education prepared a second document, a request for the continuation and enlargement of the College Study. Work with the eight institutions in the Study was reviewed and approved, and a bid made to the National Conference of Christians and Jews for sufficient budget to expand the work to include a larger, more representative sample of the nation's teacher educating institutions. A budget was granted which made possible a rather thin service to twenty colleges and universities, perhaps an eighth of the schools making application to us.

LIMITED RESOURCES
MANY APPLICATIONS

What, now, in succinct words, are the things we are after, the goals which guide our many diverse efforts? Our colleges are charged to find out how, under as exact test as possible, teaching practices, and teacher behaviors, in respect to intergroup relations, can be changed in line with the democratic ideals of the nation. Colleges are asked to work cooperatively toward this inclusive goal, with frequent interchange of ideas and experiences, and to make, with as much speed as is possible, improvements in their own teacher educating program and contributions to the profession at large.

HUMAN RELATIONS
Is the title of a new journal of interest to educators. Issued quarterly, $7.00 a year, Research Center for Group Dynamics, N.I.T., Cambridge 39, Mass. Action-research studies

Within the above framework, each college has formulated its own specific interests, its own study-action projects. These run for 1946-47, as was said, into more than two hundred. Each college, each college subcommittee, has been encouraged to experiment, to determine its own major interests, to devise its own procedures. Confusing as this may appear to one trained in laboratory research, we have not found it so in our staff operations. It has seemed the sensible thing to do, the approach enjoined by our educational sponsors. No two colleges have organized for work in exactly the same way, moved forward at the same speed, used findings in an identical manner. All of this is, we believe, an aspect of the problem we were asked to try to solve.

FREEDOM TO EXPERIMENT

At this writing, the College Staff is engaged, in cooperation with the twenty colleges, in analyzing the past two year's experiences for publication in book form. Of particular interest here are the four main roads the colleges have traveled toward their common goal, changes in teaching practices and in teacher behaviors.

II. FOUR ROADS, NONE EASY

One road our colleges have followed, an "assembly line" for a vast amount of factual data, consists of fact-finding studies the only immediate aim of which is to make known what people are like, how people treat people, the conditions under which people live. For example, the State Teachers College at Moorhead, Minn., has assembled more information on its campus population than any other college we know. Faculty committees have worked all year, and hard, at this difficult job, and the coming year they plan to use these data in their teacher training program.

SIGGLE-SOGS AND BIGGLE-GOGS
And Oh my, what a time they had! And it was all so funny, too, for at first you know, they were just one big family. And somebody went away, and somebody else went away, and then they all went away. And Gee, you know what? Well, much, much later, why they didn't know each other, 'cause some were white, and some were black, and some were yellow. And so everybody just stuck out his tongue and said, "Go 'way, go 'way, I'm better'n you."
A purely delightful little book, ALL ABOUT US, by Eva Knox Evans (Capitol Publ. Co., New York) for your very young hopeful.

In general, descriptive studies in the twenty colleges deal with student attitudes, experiences, and groupings. They deal with faculty viewpoints and

course content, with public school problems and practices, with area living conditions, social agency and church programs. They are of the survey type, the questionnaire, attitude scale, projective test, student "log," and case study. They do not purport to show any changes in teachers, but merely to assemble data from which such changes in courses, campus life, etc., can be made.

EXPERIMENTAL STUDIES SUGGEST A BIG PAYOFF

Another type of study, in fact the most indisputable road to our basic goal, are experimental efforts to induce changes. These studies, while not as numerous as one might hope, are in sufficient number to suggest that here is a rich area for further work. It is rich from four standpoints. Students are provided meaningful experience in group processes. Group work per se can be made an object of study. The experimental effort in itself is a program change, a new way of educating for better intergroup relations. And finally, action research generates strong motivational goals on the part of participants.

In some college programs, experimentation involves laboratory school and college classrooms, for example use of group relations films or social fiction. Some studies deal with campus groupings, experimenting with say small-group discussion or associational technics. Some fall into the area of college uses of community, for example area visits, field trips, and agency services, and some in the area of planned community action, such as an effort to organize for the solution of some areawide problem in human relations. All these studies introduce some change producing factor and then, by use of pre and end-test data, attempt to infer the nature and effectiveness of this factor.

> SOCIAL TRAVEL
> As a technic in intergroup education. A 46 p. booklet by Edward G. Olsen, Hinds, Hayden & Eldredge, New York, 1947. Eight exciting cases but light on evaluation. Well written.

A third type of college program, not at all numerous in our schools, consists of what we shall call "group process" education. This is an effort, with or without experimental controls, to provide for prospective teachers what John Dewey would define as an "experience in" intergroup relations. For example, it may take the form of a sociodrama on some campus or community problem in which students are cast in relevant reality roles. Since we shall return to this type of work for special emphasis, we shall say no more about it here.

THEORY AND PRACTICE
PRACTICE AND THEORY

Finally, we regard college efforts to build a theory of intergroup relations as a fourth way of working on group relations problems. Where this has been tried, data have been drawn from three sources: studies college committees have made, observations and experiences in the college community, and the systematic writings of sociologists, anthropologists, and psychologists. The idea in this work has been to frame a philosophy of intergroup relations, their nature, causes and effects in child and adult life, which can then be used to judge the kind of work, and the amount of work, the college should do in this field. Where this has been done, as at Talladega College, Alabama, "theory can be made to guide practice, and practice, in turn, becomes the critical test of theory."

> KINGSBLOOD ROYAL
> A new novel by Sinclair Lewis (Random House), has caused a storm of discussion. Story of a white man who discovered a distant colored ancestor and turned Negro, facing almost every prejudice ever known.

Above, then, are the major ways the colleges in the College Study have conceived their task, worked toward the common goal. Have we been wise in the pathways we have followed, the means toward the ends we have pursued? One is reminded of a quote from Abraham Lincoln: "I do the very best I know how, the very best I can," and so have our colleges. For us, in the staff, the year has been most profitable, our learnings very great. We are, in sober truth, right proud of college achievements--happy, proud and grateful. Again, like our colleges, we have no desire to rest on our record. We know now, as do college committees, how to do better some things which need to be done, to put means and ends in tighter harness. This we hope to do in the year ahead.

III. ACTION RESEARCH, HOW AND WHY

A CASE STUDY IN ACTION RESEARCH

The scene is a junior high school, the time is noon, and the writer has come for a visit. In the gym, three white boys have teamed up against two Negro boys at basketball. Nothing strange about this, for the school is almost 50-50 white and colored. A Negro boy comes in and joins the Negro players. A white comes in, sides with the whites. Another white, and another. Now there is a five man white team, with a sub, standing the three man opposition.

Through an opened window, there come sounds of a fight. Seeking, again, the "feel" of this school, I made it out the window in record time. A colored janitor, also window hopping, had beat me there, separating the battlers, scattering the assembled crowd. What had happened, as bit by bit the story unfolded, was this. A white teacher came walking down the narrow cement walk to the gym and was met, head on, by an oversize colored girl.

"I ain't gonna let you by," said the girl. "Now, Mary," the teacher replied, "I'm in a hurry. I'll have to get by." Not budging any, Mary said "But, I ain't gonna let you by." With this, the white teacher tried to push past and was, forthwith, shoved off the walk. Stepping on the walk again, she slapped Mary, knocking off her glasses, and Mary, in turn, hit back, catching the teacher off balance and causing her to fall. At this point, the Negro janitor stopped the scrap.

Similar incidents that day need not be recounted. In short, the school was race ridden, tension filled, unable to do an educational job, unwilling to face its obvious problem. At the 3:35 P.M. faculty meeting, the talk was on the College Study and its efforts to help schools on human relations problems. Asked to name the No. 1 human relations problem of their school, the faculty was unable to do it. The principal appointed a committee to study the matter and report.

When the report came, two weeks later, it would have been unbelievable were one unacquainted with the total school. I asked if the committee had studied the situation, had help, etc., and all the answers were yes. What, then, was the No. 1 human relations problem in the school? It was, the committee chairman said, after detailing the study that had been made, THE CHEWING OF CHEWING GUM in the school! Bubble gum, the worst of all!

Here, then, was the problem for our concerted action, the "readiness" of this faculty for work in human relations. One wants to laugh, and well he may, but such does not educate. It does not sharpen sensitivities, deepen felt concerns, help any group to develop the power to change things of which the group is capable.

> THE CCI'S FIRST JOB
>
> It was Yom Kipper evening. Five high school boys came down the street, killing time. "Cripes," said one, "will ya listen to that guy bellowin'. Ain't that terrific? Like this.."
>
> "Naw," said a pal, "I can do it lots better, like this.."
>
> And so the game started, listening to the cantor, imitating him. Church members came out, asked the boys to leave which made it (for the boys) much better. Leave? H--l, no. Fun, ain't it?
>
> And then some Jewish boys came up, edging in, closer. "Look, you guys, you'd better shut up and go home." And so the fight started--kicking, shouting, punching, breaking up synagogue services.
>
> "And this," writes CCI's director, "was our first job," a long, involved action-research to effect changes in human relations in that area.
>
> ---From Report, Commission on Community Interrelations, New York, '45.

So, we went to work. What was to be done? Obviously, or so faculty spokesmen said, the need was "for a campaign to stop the chewing of gum." We planned it out on the spot, organized it, with a report on progress due in a week. And in fairness, some staff members really worked--homeroom talks, assembly program, etc. Again, we assembled for the report. Faces were glum, for the news was bad. STUDENTS WERE CHEWING GUM WHO HAVE NEVER CHEWED GUM BEFORE! We had scored a perfect flop!

Faced with our failure, we began to probe deeper. Maybe students were smarter than we had thought. Maybe they ran the school. Maybe, maybe.. Talk like this, of course, excited the faculty. Indifference began to give way, arguments to arise.

WORKING TOGETHER TO SOLVE PROBLEM

Why did students do as they did? Who controlled their behavior? As groupwide concern grew on the part of the faculty, we set off on a study of leaders in the school, the idea being to find out who they were, how they led, and if possible to lead through them. This study stretched over a month of time, the faculty sharing in every decision, growing stronger in its unity. When, once again, we faced the chewing gum problem, we had a good idea of what to do, how to tackle it.

Incomplete as the incident is, it illustrates a way of working on human relations problems. Starting with whatever "readiness" he may find, one moves along with a group. He helps them, as best he can, to SEE more clearly, FEEL more deeply, THINK more wisely, until at last, if luck holds, a full grasp of the problem will emerge. This is, in substance, what we want to define as ACTION RESEARCH.

> ACTION RESEARCH ON PREJUDICES
>
> The major assumption in action research is that individuals and groups can be guided to participate in a research role in discovering the facts about their own prejudices. There is evidence that this type of experience makes possible, psychologically, the acceptance of facts and their implications by the researchers for changes in their own attitudes and behaviors. In academic research, these "same" facts would be rejected or "not seen."
>
> --Ronald Lippitt and Marion Radke

Action research is, of course, not to be identified with some particular problem, for example work with a faculty group. It can be applied to an almost inexhaustable range of human situations--the classroom, extracurricular activities, community-wide organization to solve any kind of social problem. In comparison with academic research, the description of a situation or condition, action research has at least four great advantages.

Action research provides the maximum amount of student participation. Young people, who are going into teaching, will find here an opportunity to define their own interests in a problem, uncover elements of common concern, and organize a plan of study and action. Student participation is varied, continuous, and meaningful.

Secondly, we count the group process itself a great positive value. It is a means toward an end, the end being <u>to activate democratic behaviors</u>. In being together, thinking together, working together, students come, if they ever do, to see what people are like, to take their roles, to enter into the personal, subjective aspects of their life. Growth in self understanding seems inevitable, and when it does not occur, or seem to occur, the problem is one for study. No college study and action committee in the College Study seems to have probed as deeply into this as we would like, as deeply as we hope to do another year.

> HOW DOES ANYONE CHANGE ANYONE, EVER?
>
> The very heart of political democracy is adjudication of social differences by discussion and exchange of views. This method provides us a rough approximation to the method of effecting changes by means of experimental inquiry and test...
>
> The very foundation of the democratic procedure is dependence upon the experimental production of social change. Experimentation, directed by working principles that are tested, is in itself, a test of these principles in social action, a way of effecting change.
>
> --John Dewey

The above point is so critical, not only to the College Study, but to all social education, that it should be developed further. The most basic problem in all intergroup education <u>is how to get knowledge translated into action</u>. Data, in college reports, show many direct attacks on this inconsistency, and in almost every case, where information is given, the individual becomes defensive. He regards the evidence as biased or incomplete, or else a particular set of circumstances prevents trying out new ways of action. Even when educative efforts are less direct, the chances are against behavioral changes in line with what one knows to be true, or good, or decent. Guilt feelings

arise, anxieties develop, aggressions appear. But by the great horny toad, the old action patterns tend to persist!

Here, we believe, is the great dilemma in intergroup education, the impasse no college in the Study has solved as well as it could be solved. We are inclined to approach the problem in terms of a simple truth. Education is, in last analysis, self-education. It is a voluntary, self-motivated desire to change, to improve, to learn. One must, therefore, want to be different; and the problem is how this mindset can be created. Here group process education has its advantage. It is not only a laboratory for the practice of new social skills; it motivates toward these skills. As one enters deeper and deeper into groupness, as his sense of belonging increases, he will want to be like the group and be liked by it. In consequence, the group becomes the prime agent in the individual's self education. Change the group, help it clarify goals, build unity, etc., and you tend to change its participating members!

CHANGE THE GROUP AND YOU CHANGE THE INDIVIDUALS:OTHERWISE WHAT?

This was, incidently, the basic hypothesis in the chewing gum episode, already discussed. Chewing gum, bean shooting, wise cracking--any kind of student behavior would have done. What the faculty needed was to think in unity about any school behavioral problem; and in this integrative thinking, we took a chance that our best leadership would come to prevail, that we could, in concert and by study, understand and control the behaviors at issue. Help the faculty to educate itself, to see how things work, and you will change the school. Failing this, well, what can one do?

A third advantage in action research is that the action, the experimental undertaking, is in itself a program change. Time and again, college faculties have refused to face the improvements recommended by their own appointed study committees. There are many different ways to account for this, one being that the initial impulse to make changes has lost force with the passing of time. In action research, the program change, for example "the group process way of teaching," is in effect, here and now. Somebody is trying it out, gathering evidence, so that its good points can be made known, its weaknesses minimized or eliminated through better planning. It stands to reason that more program changes, and we hope better ones, are likely to be made, to persist beyond the period of experimental study.

EXPERIMENTATION IS AN INITIAL STAGE IN BASIC PROGRAM CHANGE

BY WHICH ENDS CAN ONE JUDGE THE WORTH OF MEANS
OR
WHAT IS GROUP EXPLOITATION?
***
Of the modes of persuasion by the spoken word, there are three kinds. The first depends upon the personal character of the speaker; the second on putting the audience into a certain frame of mind; the third on proof, or apparent proof, in the speech itself.
---Aristotle

Finally, we would point out that action research, especially of a group process type, generates strong motivational goals on the part of participants. Usually, as everyone knows, it is difficult to set up study goals which are taken, or can be taken, by college students, much less by towns people, as genuine. They do not make sense to participants, hence any sort of personal involvement is not evident. In group relations work, this is most unfortunate for, as our data show, the subjects' big learning in the experiment is that they do not want any part of it! From their point of view, the whole business is trivial, superficial, a waste of time.

This simply does not happen in well advised group action studies. Actors themselves initiate action; thus results count. One wants to know how it all will come out!

WHY, WHY, WHY
DON'T WE IN EDUCATION DO MORE
GROUP ACTION RESEARCH?
***
We give lip service to the fact that attitudes of importance are deeplaid in the fundamental needs of life as molded by group actions and then we proceed to experiment with the use of an opaque projector! Our experimental ingenuity can surely be expended along the lines of our most important hypotheses.
--Murphy, Murphy, and Newcomb

IV. COLLEGE STUDY EMPHASES 1947-48

This all too brief account of college work in intergroup relations, with emphasis on action research, has been given for two reasons. It will acquaint others with our efforts, and it will provide us a basis for remarshalling our forces, replanning our attack. To jump at once to the heart of the issue, Staff members believe that field data, as well as the logic of our present situation, indicate the need for a well-planned, concerted focus on our most difficult problem, the problem of developing attitudes in young people which will show carryovers into overt behaviors. Allied with this target are lesser targets, each important, each related, but behavioral changes should be the bull's eye for 1947-48!

WHERE NOW, IS THE TARGET AT WHICH WE SHOULD SHOOT

What is "the logic of our present situation"? Our Study did not begin work on college campuses until March, 1945. From March to June, these eight first year colleges could do little more than to explore local problems of race in child life, or religious creed, immigrant heritages, income or social-class levels, and rural-urban (or inmigrant, residential) cleavages. College enrolments were skyrocketing, faculty members were extremely busy, time pressed on us all and work was hurried. We got things started. We showed the need for study, the widespread interest of teacher educating institutions in a thorough, largescale study program.

With no apologies for that first year, with only praise for the colleges, we still faced in June, 1946, the need for an around-the-nation exploration of intergroup problems in relation to teacher education. With twenty institutions in our sample, we have made this exploration in the year now closing. We know now a great deal, which we shall shortly try to communicate in book form. We are at the end of a phase in the College Study. We are ready for a new, finer, even a more profitable "fix" on our general problem, effecting "changes in teaching practices and in teacher behaviors" in intergroup relations.

What we wish to propose now for 1947-48 is an all-out attack on the single, most important, most resistant problem in intergroup education, how to translate learning into day by day actions! We ask that our colleges, institutions continuing in the Study and those wishing to inquire into an affiliation with the Study, talk over this proposed focus. If the proposal makes sense, if within its broad sweep, each college committee can do whatever it thinks most important, we will organize forthwith to move the work along. If all the colleges in the Study decide to concentrate for the year on this problem, the total push effect, to use an army phrase, will be tremendous. We should, in sum, reap all the gains of a carefully planned concentrated effort.

WHAT IS KNOWN ABOUT PREJUDICE

****

1) Racial, religious, or other group prejudices, play an appreciable role in the life of 4 out of 5 Americans.
2) Prejudiced persons report very few school experiences favorable to minority groups.
3) Most prejudices develop during the years at school, notable ages 12 to 16, but in some cases as early as 6.
4) Casual contact with minority members does not diminish prejudices as does intimate equal-status contact.
5) Religious teaching does not reduce prejudice, unless it stresses realistic tolerance training and brotherhood.
6) Anti-Negro prejudice is lowest in Jews, in persons with no church affiliation, higher among Protestants, the highest of all among Roman Catholics.
7) College women tend to be less prejudiced than college men, though differences are nowise as great as between students from different parts of the nation.
8) Prejudiced persons are very often unaware, and usually underestimate, the extent of their prejudices.

---Gordon W. Allport and B. Kramer

Let us now consider strategies and tactics. Our line of thinking, cut to the essence, is about as follows. Knowledge is a way of effecting changes in behaviors. This is the fundamental assumption in all higher education, the chief reason why we read so many books. Experience is also a way of effecting behavioral changes; we learn, in Dewey's phrase, by "suffering and undergoing." Either without the other is incomplete, ineffective, so it would be pointless to choose between them. Hence the problem of ends is in a sense solved; we want both knowledge and experience

in a realistic program of intergroup education. How are these two ways of learning, i.e. reading books, factual surveys, and the intimate sharing of ideas and feelings, to be put together, to be structured into an effective educational whole?

TRY ONCE, TRY TWICE, TRY AGAIN
THE SMALL GROUP ACTION TECHNIC

Our tentative hypothesis, as already stated, is that action research via the small group technic will bring the greatest insight on how to educate for the kind of life every democratic person so earnestly wants for every child. Reasons for this viewpoint have been given. We would add here only that, to those factors already mentioned (knowledge, experience, small group technic), two more should be listed: personality structure and the community frame of life. Good thinking, like good juggling, demands that one keep the five balls in the air at the same time.

V. GROUP PROCESS WITH COLLEGE STUDENTS

PROMISING AREAS FOR EXPERIMENTAL
PROJECTS IN INTERGROUP RELATIONS

Since our principal concern is with students who are planning to become teachers, it is natural, in implementing the above hypothesis, to think of group process education in and about the college. Experimental areas are four in number: in college classrooms, workshops, seminars, etc.; in campus activities, clubs, and the like; in and about the public school; and in the community.

The study plan, in any of these four areas, is a concrete, rather personal, and tricky thing. Like golf clubs, fishing rods, and choice steaks, a wise man would say each man to his own tastes! Whatever the specific design, all plans will have some elements in common.

One specification of a good plan is that it be pointed toward an aspect of human relations of importance in the college teacher training program, that is, toward race, creed, income level, or the like. Another element is that the approach be indirect. That is, housing, not Negroes, be made the topic of study, although the real object is to teach that some Negroes are poor people, that poor people live under bad conditions, and the like. Thirdly, acquisition of new ideas (knowledge) must enter into the plan, and fourthly, the student's past experiences must be made educational content. That is, the student should be made aware of what he has learned, or thinks he has learned, from past living, the need to unlearn and relearn, etc. And finally, as in all research design, the plan will be no better than the scheme by which it is evaluated.

> DEEP DOWN INSIDE, WHAT IS AN UNPREJUDICED PERSON LIKE?
> Case # 28
>
> Subject is mature, optimistic, energetic, outgoing. His intimate family and social groups are of a liberal sort. Shielded, thusly, from acquiring prejudices, he now as a college student, reacts vigorously against them.
>
> He is well integrated, with high behavioral consistency. He has a wide acquaintance range, expending on others much positive feeling. He is not troubled with inferiority, or ego inflation, hence has no uncontrollable urge to proclaim himself as better or worse than others by reason of race, creed, or the like. He is a socially well adjusted individual.
>
> ---Eugene Hartley

We shall now select at random from reports of college work an example of "action research" in each of the above areas. No faculty member would claim that his work is perfect, or near perfect, that he could not under ideal conditions, have done better.

WHAT IS A GROUP, A GOOD
GROUP MEMBER, GROUP WORK

At Wayne University, a "group process" way of teaching has been tried out. In substance, a six weeks course on intergroup relations was divided into three two week periods: orientation, group work, class reports and evaluation. In the group work period, 50-odd graduate students distributed themselves into six study-action groupings in terms of their interests. These "aggregates" faced, most of all, the problem of group making, the building of group cohesion. Conflicting interests had to be resolved, a common goal established, a plan of work evolved, factual data and experiences brought together; in sum group became something, not

to talk about, but to be and do, an experience. Groups were mixed, as would be the case in any large urban student body. Students came to react to one another in terms of personal qualities, i.e. "a good worker," "worthless scamp," rather than in terms of color, accent, and the like. They began to show a loyalty to the group, a concern for its good name and progress, as has always been true of men under stress.

Group process teaching of this sort can be done in any college. No time? Meet at the class hour. No place? Students will find one. Too much bother? Yes, the lecture system is easier. But consider results. Both systems can get an approval rating from students. But did any lecturer ever find students en masse piling more and more work on themselves? Or talking so much, so animated? Or so obviously enacting roles into which they cast themselves? Or so conscious of their own growth processes? Or coming in to talk over personal problems? At times kind, at times so heartless, a group is a mirror for the reflection of personality, a testing ground of individual capacity to accept responsibility.

MEN UNDER STRESS
IN WAR

Although members of combat crews are thrown together only by chance, they rapidly become united by the strongest of bonds. The group becomes an object of extreme affection. Men are proud of their group, resent newcomers. Not what happens to the individual, but what happens to the team is the dominant concern.
--Grinker and Spiegel

Turning now to campus activities, we recall a most exciting evening with some Spanish-American students at Arizona State College, Tempe. In this club, the Conquistadores, talk drifted to status on the campus, experience with Anglos, and the like. In general, Spanish students felt well treated, a view supported by factual evidence.

CAN A LOOSELY UNITED MINORITY GROUP CONTROL ITS OWN MEMBERS

Were things, then, near perfect? No, not at all. There were some Anglo misconceptions, some overt discriminations. Were Spanish speaking students doing anything to keep alive these negative feelings? Yes, with examples. Take the cafeteria line. A student up front would be joined by his buddies. "We should stop line crashing," one club member said, only to be refuted by another. "Sure, I crash the line. I'll keep on crashing it, just as long as the Anglos do." A pro and con discussion, uncovering a few more rebels, but not many.

Another type of in-group problem appeared. It came from a girl under obvious tension. "I came here," she said, "two years ago. I listened to talk about how to treat Anglos, mix with them, etc. So, I did. I started dating a swell fellow. You know what this club here did to me? It pulled me right back inside. It started talk about me--who does she think she is? Too good for us, huh? What is she putting out? So, I stopped dating Anglos."

In the swirl of feeling, the club as a whole got hold of two ideas. Anglo attitudes should be changed and, also, something should be done by the club to control its own group members. These were not hard problems to fit into an experimental study design. The third problem was tougher. Were group ideals and member behaviors inconsistent, as with the girl who was talked about? Was there a need for group action here, a policy review? On test, this proved too hot to handle, too destructive of club unity.

The campus abounds in opportunities to teach good human relations within the context of everyday, real-life living. Were one to write his own ticket, he could set up no better experimental situations. Why do we ignore them? We miss so many big moments when the door is wide open to us, wide open for teaching.

In respect to schools, the experimentalist in group action faces a somewhat different problem. From kindergarten up, we have studied children's behaviors. However, in intergroup education, we are in waters viewed, and correctly, by school administrators as deep and dangerous. One reason is that children are born with parents. Parents have friends, friends have power, and any spark can start an almighty bitter and complex struggle. Here, if ever, good sense and good tactics are needed.

We shall skip illustration here until a later section.

Finally, there is the community. By this, we mean to include the full range of community-use experiences which can be provided in a teacher training program. We mean to include also whatever contact with "direct action" groups a professor feels should play a part in the education of the teacher. Merely requiring the student to put in time at some social agency, some boys' club or the like, falls short of what we believe possible and desirable.

Take two projects from the State College for Teachers, at Albany, New York. An English class wanted to participate in the college intergroup program. What was it to do? Sentiment was for a study of immigrant peoples, their heritages, adjustments, and so on. Why do it; of what use can it be to a Senior soon to start teaching? Ideas were many, broad, and vague.

Should an English teacher help pupils understand immigrant ways of living? Do Old World heritages figure in this? Here was an interest, strong and functional, but not an action research problem. Do native born people understand, and value, their foreign born neighbors? If the class were to study a single phase of immigrant culture, say folklore, each in his own hometown community, could English majors find ways in their own teaching to use these materials in educating for better intergroup relations? What data would be gathered, and how would they be used?

The second problem involved a field study by advanced sociology students of the then pending Ives-Quinn Bill. In the words of its director, Dr. T. G. Standing: "The study was predicated on the assumption that changes in attitudes are incidental products of direct experience, rather than of verbal preachment. Students were required to make a field study, but the class selected the problem. It was, simply, to find out and report the state of public opinion in Albany toward the much debated Ives-Quinn Bill, and no effort was to be made by the professor to modify student attitudes by direct oral instruction. A specially developed attitude indicator, given as a pre- and end test, plus freely written student papers, showed substantial attitudinal changes toward tolerance by the majority of students."

THE PROBLEM OF TEACHING SOCIAL PROBLEMS

***

The student's interest in social problems is an interest in what can be done about them. He wants to know how they can be solved, if solution is possible. But we rarely tell him that, much less let him experience it. We do not let him in on the fact that the heart of any current social problem health, housing, crime, race relations, is value clash, a conflict in which individuals and groups estimate their prospective gains and losses.

--Richard C. Fuller

VI. ACTION PROJECTS IN THE SCHOOLS

All our colleges have made studies in the schools--nursery, the grades, high school, laboratory and public. Studies are mostly of a descriptive sort--children's attitudes, associations, and experiences. These are valuable materials, for they will play a part, presumably, in program changes. But for next year, as several of our colleges have already proposed, we want to stress the type of action program which will try to secure behavioral changes.

Here are six teachers who want to work as a group on some group relations project in their respective schools. Two schools are in a congested slum area, one in Negro-white zone of transition, one in the same type Jewish-Gentile area, and the fifth is near a newly developed, low-cost housing project.

FROM INDIVIDUAL INTERESTS TO AN INCLUSIVE, COMMON PROBLEM

From the above, and whatever can be assumed, how is one to assist these teachers? While procedures will differ, all will show some common elements. First, what are these teachers really concerned about, ready to do some acting on? Talk takes the form of "my interest is..." or "I am concerned about.." Talk will, likely, be rather vague, value laden, and divisive. Thus, the group worker faces the first real test of his competence. What are the basic, under-

lying elements in all these problems? What is the real center of concern, not yours but their's, the teachers? What one big problem will include all these lesser problems? In this case, it seemed to be the integration of out-group and in-group members on a basis of personal worth. A generalization of this sort is always a hunch, a best guess, and it must be checked with care. This can be done by a why question: why do you (and you, and you) want to integrate children in your school? What good things will happen because of it?

> THESE AMERICANS
>
> ***
>
> They know, and are content that the world should know the worst as well as the best about them. They have an almost boundless faith in free inquiry and full discussion. They admit the possibility of any number of temporary errors and delusions.
>
> ---Lord Bryce

Time spent on the above problem will save time later, for the group is now building its common understandings, its unity for the pull ahead. Of all the evils that can befall one here, word traps are the worst, mostly assumptions that anyone much understands what you are trying to say. One way to escape is to force speakers into examples: for example... and even then misunderstandings will be inevitable. Communication is a most difficult art, a subtle and exciting one.

Step 2 can be initiated with a what question: by what means can integration be brought to happen? Here responses often repeat goals, or deal with forms, or if on the line at all, get too specific. What we want now is the theory of ameloriative change, the instrumentalities which may be of help to us. For instance, whole sentence phrasing is important,

A. Integration can be brought about through use of knowledge
B. Integration can be brought about through shared experience
C. Integration can be brought about through social pressure

For convenience, we call this "principle-application" thinking, for Step 3 is application. After listing as many principles as one can, the group worker might ask: how would this one work in your case? What use of knowledge (books, pamphlets, a speaker) would help parents understand the problem? And then, what shared experience (emotionalized, sociable), etc.

Assured that we, the group, have shared both knowledge and experience, we move on to Step 4, the actual launching of an action program. Of all the means that can be used to implement a given principle, which ones seem most practical in my own situation, most likely to succeed? In specific detail, how can I get the work started and, above all, what kinds of data must I plan to collect in order to show what the project has accomplished?

What is the common problem? Why is it important? How, in theory, can it be solved? Which technics seem most useful? What data will provide a basis for judging the effectiveness of our efforts? These are the questions we have followed in working with many kinds of groups on many kinds of problems.

VII. COMMUNITY STUDY AND ACTION

To some colleges in the Study, it has not made sense to educate for better human relations without, at the same time, doing something about the community. Prejudices, mistreatment, and the like, are structured deeply into the frame of living, so that the best of school work may come to naught.

Colleges have made various approaches to community problems, depending chiefly on their local situation. At Lynchburg, for instance, the research-action focus has been in part on the "symbol system," wherein Negroes and whites cannot associate on a basis of social equality. The technic has been a plan of intercollege visitation, with colored students visiting the Lynchburg campus and visa versa.

At Greeley, the College of Education, in cooperation with the public schools, city officials and social agencies, has spent the year in gathering facts on Anglo-

Spanish relations. An incident will throw light on the study, progress to date and the plans ahead.

Last spring, a public meeting was held on the campus, with three or four hundred persons in attendance. All working committees made brief reports on their investigations--health statistics, job openings, wage rates, juvenile offenses, school attendance, grade progress, adult social attitudes, etc. The Greeley Tribune carried a detailed summary of these facts as a front page article; in fact, it has from the outset given the study the most helpful kind of publicity.

AN ORGANIZED COMMUNITY APPROACH TO A LOCAL STUDY-ACTION PROGRAM

At the above meeting, we began an inquiry into the worth and meaning of all this voluntary sociocivic effort, the question asked many times by thoughtful civic leaders and agency heads. One use was very evident. Colorado State College of Education draws students from, and prepares them for teaching in, the entire Southwestern region, a vast area from the Mississippi River to the Pacific shoreline. Why not work into the college curriculum all of the materials we had gathered in the intergroup study? The proposal made sense to all persons.

> ONLY
> BY STARTING WITH
> THE COMMUNITY
> ***
> Only when we start from a given community as a fact in thought, so as to clarify and enhance its constituent elements, can we reach an idea of democracy which is not utopian.
> ---John Dewey

What about the conditions of life in the "Mexican colony," no running water, no electricity, no sanitary measures, a small, poorly equipped school, and so on? And too, discriminating practices in the community? We touched these matters lightly at that time, chiefly to find out how people were thinking, and what was found out indicated, of course, the tenacity of local mindsets, the resistance of status quo interests.

On a third point, we fared better. We have always counted on adults, regardless of age or sex or position, being concerned about children. They want all kids to have a chance, to get ahead, to amount to something. They are, almost without exception, responsive to this line of evidence, to this type of appeal. The depth of this conviction at Greeley, and thus a most promising field for action, is indicated in an editorial in the Greeley Tribune, following the public meeting.

In the editorial, the writer praises the action of the American Veterans in creating a $2000 scholarship in honor of Joe Martinez, a local boy of Spanish ancestry who lost his life at Attu and was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor. Editor Floyd Merrill reviews the impressive ceremonies at which the medal was presented and then continues:

ALL CAN ASSIST IN MEMORIAL TO HERO

***

> That was splendid. But at the time we said, and wish now to repeat, that the enduring monument to Joe Martinez, and to other Spanish-Americans with fine war records, would be equality of treatment of their people in everyday life in this community. All could assist in maintaining such a memorial without a penny's expense...
>
> Little has been done about this until recently. A solid foundation for improving intergroup relations is now being laid. The local college and community study... will slowly but surely get results... This survey here, in the three years it is to go, could well be dedicated to Joe Martinez.

And so, while no realist expects needed changes to make themselves, our start is solid and the outlook not unpromising. We have learned much of use in the tasks ahead, and we can move forward, as the situation permits, to further learnings.

The great problem in community work, as in all action research, is how to give people the opportunity to do what they believe should be done, to express in everyday life new behavioral forms. They must know, to be certain, better ways of treating people, and they must will to try them out, to make them work. This is motivation, and in it fact-finding studies will play a big part.

MOTIVATE, ORGANIZE
DELEGATE, EVALUATE

If impulse is to catch hold, to live on, it must be channelized. It must be structured into institutional forms, for instance an area council. Not only do such forms provide an instrument through which a community can work, a means to goal achievement, but they tend also to originate more impulses, to refine impulses and hook them up to objective targets. This is organization, an insightful skill-use job.

To organize is, in essence, to discover interests, to determine talents, and to assign roles. In this, the delegation of responsibility is basic, and a most critical test is the handling of power. Where power is kept within someone's hands, or within a top level clique, all the words about "democracy" make precious little sense. One must have power to act, power to make decisions, if, in turn, he is to be held accountable to the group for his success or failure, a simple lesson but hard to learn.

IMPULSE CREATES STRUCTURE
AND VICE VERSA
***
New arrangements breed new minds. The very act of participating with others in organized activity is educative. Organization provides training in responsibility, gives rise, in turn, to initiative. Moreover, people learn to know the feeling of security and satisfaction that comes from cooperative activity by experiencing that feeling.
---Alice Miel

Evaluation is the effort to find out how well we are doing, where we stand in relation to our goals. It is a study function, a group morale builder par excellence, a basis for in-process changes in program, and final appraisal and replanning. Whether we win, lose or draw, the group action process is exceedingly important, hence its evaluation should be planned from the very start.

In community action, it would be most unreal to ignore the buzz saw which lies in wait, the community power system. Many factors operate to perpetuate a cultural pattern, for instance human inertia. But the one factor we are least able to educate against, by all the evidence in the College Study, is the undemocratic use of power. Maybe this is why, in college and out, we sink back into wordy battles on "prejudice," the beliefs that people hold, when it is their actions, and our actions, which count for more. Put in other words, it is not what a community says, but what it does, its discriminatory practices, that teach children undemocratic behaviors.

THE LOCAL POWER SYSTEM

In the year ahead, we shall, for our part, regard no problem as of such urgent importance, not only to the College Study but to intergroup education at large, as the nature, use, and educability, of power interests, local and nonlocal. We hope by careful work to learn a great deal more about this than is now known. Whatever the specific view one may take, students going into teaching need this kind of learning.

VIII. SCIENCE, VALUES, AND REALITY

Any departure from a beaten path, in education or outside, raises questions as to its meaning, worth, and uses. Faculty members in the College Study have vigorously debated these issues, often without final agreement, all of which in itself is a most hopeful sign. "I know of no better way," a college president once said, "for truth to prevail, at long last, than to keep people talking. Right ideas, and true ones, have a way of winning out in competition, or so I have found in a lifetime at this work." This, too, is our faith, and to it, there is little to add, except some brief summary of what we believe to be the

DO YOU, DOES YOUR COLLEGE, HAVE ANY OVERALL THEORY AS TO WHAT INTERGROUP EDUCATION IS ABOUT, HOW IT WORKS, WHERE IT FITS INTO TEACHER EDUCATION, TODAY AND NOW?

viewpoint advanced in this Bulletin, the frame of reference accepted in principle by every college in the Study.

Affiliation with the Study commits one to a set of values. One value is a belief in the equal moral worth of all persons. Another is the use of intelligence in relating one's self to people, a reaction to them on the basis of evidence. In the thrid place, one is committed to cooperative action as a way of solving problems, as opposed say to authoritarianism. Fourthly, there is a faith in experimentalism as an educational philosophy, a "trial, retrial and reflection" on what things are, how they work. And lastly, we are of one mind in respect to the significance in the nation, hence in teacher education, of the effects in child and adult life of race, creed, immigrant heritages, income levels, and rural-urban differences. We want, as already stated, a fair break for every person, a competitive chance.

A FIVE PLANK PLATFORM

NEGATIVE VALUES ARE, NONE THE LESS, VALUES

The social scientists we have cited (Sumner, Park, Ogburn and others) could not have reached their negative views on planned and induced social change unless they were guided by a set of general assumptions in their selection and interpretation of empirical data. This implies that they have introduced valuations along with facts in deriving their conclusions as to what can be and should be the nature of man's practical efforts.

---Gunnar Myrdal

In all of this, the role of science is, with scientists, a disputed issue. We view it as inevitably linked with values, negative or positive, in respect say to the efficacy of planned social action. Our reasoning is as simple, perhaps too much so, as that of Robert Lynd. "Science does not pronounce judgments," he writes, "but scientists do." Scientists are people. They have values and they express them, not only in a search for truth, but for truths most worth searching for. If, as is argued, no one can avoid, or should avoid, value judgments, the questions are which values seem best to us and how we can keep them from distorting the data processing aspects of scientific study. On the latter point, we believe that value premises should be explicitly states, showing that we recognize our linkings with our data, and by so doing, put others on guard. They may, as is their right, hold opposite views.

Aside from valuing truth, we value most the use of science in helping people face their own values. From this standpoint, science would function in intergroup relations much as does "the reality principle" in personality adjustment. It would help a society understand its behaviors, to judge their worth. Whether or not individuals, en masse, can ever be led to face reality, and what would happen to them if they did, are still to be determined. On the answer to these questions, a great deal depends; in truth, one wonders if any factual inquiries can be as important.

IX. SOME NEWS AND NOTES

Raymond P. Harris has joined the College Study staff as associate director, replacing Paul K. Hatt, now on full time duty at Princeton University. Ray comes from the Basic College at Michigan State College, in Lansing, and took his doctoral work at Teachers College, Columbia University. His special interests are in functional and general education, in experimental studies, and in the guidance of small group discussion processes.

Paul Hatt has just concluded a workshop on intergroup relations at the State Teachers College, Duluth, in which he was director. His research work at Princeton, while more than enough to keep him busy, will not prevent him on occasion from giving us help on technical testing problems. It may be that he will have time to serve a day now and then as consultant to schools and colleges on their intergroup programs.

Editing college reports, and writing our own chapters, for the first major publication of the College Study, has kept us working overtime. In between times, we have taught an 18-hr per week schedule, tried to scheme through a plan for visiting all the colleges in the Study in September and early October, and withal, done a bit of fishing. Registration for the workshop on school and community problems (Aug. 4 to 15) is more than satisfactory, with half the students from outside the State.

PRESS COPY FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Following publication of attacks by the New York World Telegram, Oct. 1, 1947 and by the Brooklyn Tablet, Oct. 11, on a Board of Education inservice course in Intercultural Education and discrediting Professor Clyde Miller who lectured at the course, Professor Miller sent the letter given below to the Superintendent of Schools, to the Mayor, and to the President of Columbia University.

Teachers College
Columbia University
New York, New York

Dr. William Jansen
Superintendent of Schools
Board of Education
110 Livingston Street
Brooklyn, N. Y.

October 27, 1947

Dear Mr. Jansen:

In the New York World Telegram of October 10, in an article by Frederick Woltman, and in The Tablet, Catholic weekly of Brooklyn, issue of Saturday, October 11, 1947, are attacks on a course in intercultural education offered for alertness credit by the New York Board of Education.

Both the World Telegram and The Tablet denounced this inservice course as having "Reds for Teachers."

For a number of years I have, from time to time, been glad to participate as a public service and, of course, without compensation in these alertness courses of the Board of Education. My subject has been propaganda analysis. I indicated my willingness to participate again this year in the particular course now under attack.

In the Brooklyn Tablet story mentioned above, I note I am mentioned as "former director of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis cited by the House Committee (on Un-American Activities) as a Communist-front organization" and as connected with "a dozen or so other groups found by the Congressional investigators to be Communistic."

I cannot speak for the other persons who have signified their willingness to teach in this particular course or similar courses which may be under attack at the present moment, I can speak only for myself. As an educator and as a citizen of New York I sincerely hope those in charge of our public schools do not yield to these pressures represented by the World Telegram and the Brooklyn Tablet. I would consider such yielding certainly a gross injustice to myself in what it would be tantamount to accepting at face value the false charges of the Brooklyn Tablet.

I consider this matter of sufficient importance to send copies of this letter to Professor Alonzo Myers of New York University, chairman of the Committee for Defense of Democracy of the National Education Association, and to Dr. Richard B. Donnan, Secretary of that committee.

Irrespective of what action may be taken by Board of Education authorities with respect to this course I am inclined to suggest to the above mentioned committee that this particular attack itself be carefully investigated.

For many years I have been a student of public opinion as it involves public education. Out of this study it is plain to me, as it must be to many others, that the Brooklyn Tablet has consistently opposed the idea of American public education, and that the World Telegram, in recent years, by certain of its special writers, has followed fairly consistently the Brooklyn Tablet line.

I trust there will be no yielding by Board of Education authorities to these forces which are enemies of the American ideal of free public education.

Sincerely yours,

Clyde R. Miller
Associate Professor
of Education

17- Intercultural Education

RECEIVED
NOV 10 1947
Southern Regional Council

TEACHERS COLLEGE
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

November 4, 1947

Gentlemen:

For several years the New York Board of Education has given a course for teachers in intercultural relations and methodology. It has been sponsored and administered by: The New York Association of English Teachers, and The New York Association of Teachers of Social Studies, and The New York Biology Teachers Association.

Early in October this course was attacked by The Tablet of the Catholic diocese of Brooklyn and the New York World-Telegram. Since then the Superintendents of the New York school system have been carrying on an investigation of the course, of the coordinating committee of the teachers' associations which administer it, and of various speakers who were named in the newspaper attacks.

The executive committees of the sponsoring associations on October 27 adopted a resolution, addressed to the Superintendent of Schools, defending the course, and insisting upon the maintenance of academic freedom.

What will happen to this urgently needed course is not yet clear.

You may wish to express your opinion to Superintendent of Schools, William Jansen, Board of Education, New York, or to any of the following: President of the Board of Education; Andrew Clausen, Commissioner of Education, Maximilian Moss, and Mayor William O'Dwyer.

For your information the following enclosures:

a) the syllabus of the course and its list of speakers
b) the attacks printed in the Brooklyn Tablet and the World-Telegram
c) the resolution adopted by the executive committees of the sponsoring associations
d) the article printed in the Journal of the National Education Association and reprinted in American Unity to which the Tablet article alludes
e) a letter I, myself, have sent to Superintendent William Jansen with copies to Mayor O'Dwyer, Acting President Fackenthal of Columbia University, and others immediately concerned.

If these attacks move you to any action, I'd appreciate knowing about it.

Sincerely,

Clyde R. Miller

Associate Professor of Education

PLEASE POST

IN-SERVICE COURSE NO. 117 - ALERTNESS CREDIT GRANTED

BACKGROUND AND TECHNIQUES IN TEACHING INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

Wednesday at 4:15 -- October 1, 1947 - January 21, 1948
Central High School of Needle Trades, 225 West 24 Street, between 7 and 8 Avenues.

1. Oct. 1 - Registration - Introduction - the indirect approach to creating intercultural understanding.
Mr. Harold Nagler, Chairman, F. K. Lane H.S.
Film: "Brotherhood of Man"

2. Oct. 8 - Fighting prejudice through the motion picture film. Demonstration lesson to show the use of the film in intercultural education.
Mr. Louis Relin, Abraham Lincoln H.S.
Film: "Does it matter what you think?"

3. Oct. 15 - Intercultural education in the General Science curriculum. Demonstration lesson. Use of 'rumor' slide prepared by Dr. Gordon Allport of Harvard University; and use of the slide-film, "Forward, All To-gether".
Mr. Alfred B. Kirshner, W. H. Taft H.S.

4. Oct. 22 - Intercultural Education in the English Curriculum.
Panel: Mrs. Theresa Carlucci, Central H.S. of Needle Trades, Chairman; Miss Margaret Heaton, Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools; Dr. Lou LaBrant, New York University; Mr. Norman Rubinstein, Food Trades Vocational H.S.
Film: "Seeds of Destiny"

5. Oct. 29 - The Psychology of Prejudice. Dr. Kenneth Clark, Queens College
Film: "Man - One Family"

6. Nov. 5 - Intercultural Education in the Elementary School.
Panel: Mr. Morris Lipschitz, P.S. 253, Bklyn. and Mr. Irving Caesar.
Film-slides illustrating "Songs of Friendship"

7. Nov. 12 - A Social Studies Project in Intercultural Education in J.H.S. 165.
Dr. Rachel Davis DuBois, Director, Workshop for Intercultural Democracy.
Film: "House I Live In"

8. Nov. 19 - Applications of Intercultural Teaching to the Social Studies Curricula.
Panel: Mr. Louis Jaffee, S.J. Tilden H.S.; Dr. Howard Hurwitz, Grover Cleveland H.S.
Film: "Don't Be a Sucker"

9. Nov. 26 - The Negro and Intercultural Education. Dr. Lawrence D. Reddick, Schomberg Collection, N.Y. Public Library
This session will be given at the library-104 West 136 St. (Take 8 Ave. local to 135 St. or 7 Ave. Bronx Park Express to 135 St.)
Film: "The Negro Soldier"

10. Dec. 3 - The public relations of a community program to fight prejudice. Mr. Robert Norton, Secretary League for Fair Play
Film: "The Town"

11. Dec. 10 - Propaganda Analysis. Dr. Clyde Miller, Columbia University
Film: "Americans All" (March of Time-Springfield Plan)

12. Dec. 17 - Research in Prejudice. What prejudice does to people.
Dr. Marie Jahoda, Assistant Director, Department of Scientific Research, American Jewish Committee.
Film: "Color of a Man"

13. Jan. 7 - Intercultural Education in the Biology Syllabus, Demonstration lesson.
Mr. Harold Nagler, Chairman, F. K. Lane H. S.
Film: "A Way in the Wilderness"

14. Jan. 14 - The development of Prejudice.
Dr. Bernhard J. Stern, Columbia University.
Film: "The Cummington Story"

15. Jan. 21 - Moving Forward-This is our America-Organizations for unity
Panel: Mrs. Annette Smith Lawrence, Council Against Intolerance in America; Mrs. Elizabeth Brady, Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools; and representative of parent groups. Mr. Henry K. Craft, N.Y. State Com. Vs Discrimination
Film: "Whoever You Are"

Sponsored by: New York Association of Teachers of Biological Science
New York Association of Teachers of English
General Science Teachers Association
Association of Teachers of Social Studies

Committee: Miss Catherine Shinar, Chairman; Mrs. Theresa Carlucci, Mr. Rudolf Cooper; Mr. I.A. Herskowitz; Mr. Alfred B. Kirshner; Dr. Leonard Lashley; Mr. Louis Relin; Mr. Norman Rubinstein; Mr. James Taito.

Copied from: World Telegram, October 10 1947

3 COMMIE COURSE INSTRUCTORS HOLD CITY LECTURE JOBS

LISTED AS EXPERTS IN CLASSES LEADING TO TEACHER PAY RISES

by Frederick Woltman

One seasoned Communist and two members of the Communist party's Jefferson School faculty are featured in an in-service course offered to teachers in the city's school system by the Board of Superintendents, it was learned today.

By attending their lectures, public and high school teachers can help work off alertness credits required for their annual pay increments.

The seasoned Communist is Dr. Bernhard J. Stern of Columbia University, who formerly taught at the Communist Workers School and wrote pamphlets for the party under the name of Bennett Stevens. He will lecture on "The Development of Prejudice" in the Board-sponsored course on January 14.

OTHERS TEACH AT JEFFERSON

The two other lecturers teach in city schools as well as the Jefferson School, which is the party's training center for aspiring Marxist-revolutionaries.

They are Louis Rolin, of Abraham Lincoln High School, Coney Island, and Morris Lipschitz, of P.S.253, Brooklyn.

The course itself, called "Background and Techniques in Teaching Intercultural Education" is given every Wednesday afternoon at the Central High School of Needle Trades. Most of the 15 scheduled lecturers come from the school system or are outside authorities and have no Communist connections.

ALL CALLED EXPERTS

All 15, however, are termed experts in the Board of Superintendents printed booklet, "In-Service Courses For Teachers".

Dr. Stern's chief literary contribution to the cause of Communism was a pamphlet, "The Church and The Worker", which generally expounded Marxist atheism. He also edited Science and Society, Stalinist-Marxist magazine, and served on scores of Communist fronts.

With scores of other Communists, he signed a statement in 1938 defending the Moscow purge trials. It was given out in the name of "American progressives".

Mr. Lipschitz's subject for the in-service course is "Intercultural Education in the Elementary School" with "film slides illustrating 'Songs of Friendship'".

ROLE AT JEFFERSON SCHOOL

Jefferson School lists him as teaching "Current Problems of Jewish Life," one subdivision being "the role of British and American Imperialism."

Mr. Rolin's subject for the course is "Fighting Prejudice through the Motion Picture Film." At the Jefferson School, it's catalogued as "Fighting Prejudice through Movies and Music."

On its first anniversary last February, People's Songs listed "Lou Rolin" as sending birthday greetings. People's Songs is the Communist party's venture into the music field for promoting the class struggle here through ballad singing.

Meanwhile, the World-Telegram queried the Board of Education for its policy toward teachers who do outside work in Communist institutions such as the Jefferson School. A spokesman replied that the Board's hands are tied since there is no ban on it in the state education law.

Copied from THE TABLET
A CATHOLIC WEEKLY
BROOKLYN 17, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 11, 1947

CITY SPONSORS COURSES BY REDS FOR TEACHERS (Headline on Page 1)

ALERTNESS CREDIT GRANTED FOR PROGRAM CONDUCTED BY SEVERAL EXPOSED BY HOUSE COMMITTEE

There are certain words which, after years of respectability, suddenly fall into disrepute because of questionable association. The word "intercultural" is one of these. It has now generally come to be associated with propaganda of the Communist Party line.

An in-service course for teachers, given under the auspices of the Board of Education of the City of New York and entitled "Background and Techniques in Teaching Intercultural Education," is a case in point.

One unfamiliar with Communist propaganda would suppose that a course with the above title would deal with the customs, the mode of living, the literature, art, music, religion of the various nations from which Americans derive them, together with the best methods of presenting this subject matter sympathetically.

Here, however, are some of the titles of the lectures to be given: "Fighting Prejudice Through the Motion Picture Film," "The Psychology of Prejudice," "The Development of Prejudice", "Research in Prejudice", "Propaganda Analysis."

OVER-EMPHASIS NOTED

One lecture on the means of combatting prejudice might be expected in such a course - but six? This over-emphasis on prejudice is part of the party-line technique which seeks to divide and conquer by stirring up hate among minority groups, by making them feel more discriminated against than they actually are.

The list of subjects alone would arouse one's suspicions, but a perusal of the names of those who are to give the lectures confirms.

Dr. Bernhard J. Stern, of Columbia University, has the most glaring record of Communist Party affiliations, more than thirty all told. He is considered by the House Committee on Un-American Activities to have been one of the "leading members of the Communist Party."

He wrote under the name of Bennett Stevens for International Publishers a Communist publishing house. As recently as Sept. 2, 1947 the House Committee issued a report on the Civil Rights Congress as a Communist front organization. It was shown in this report that Bernhard J. Stern was affiliated with the organization.

CLYDE MILLER ON PROGRAM

Included among the speakers for the Board of Education in-service course for New York City's teachers is Clyde R. Miller, also of Columbia. He is best known as former director of the Institute of Propaganda Analysis, cited by the House Committee as a Communist front organization. His name has been connected with a dozen or so other groups found by the Congressional investigators to be communistic.

It may be recalled here that during the Rapp-Coudert investigation Dr. Miller was vigorous in his opposition to the Committee and became involved in a controversy with the New York "World-Telegram." In the course of the debate he stated over and over again that Communism was not a menace to the New York City school system.

(continued)

His inclusion as one of the lecturers in an in-service course is particularly an insult to every Catholic teacher in New York City school system because only last June, in an address at Colgate University he stated that "members of the Catholic Hierarchy in the United States are representatives of a foreign power" and he urged that the foreign agents Registration Act "should apply to agents of the Vatican State as much as it applies to those of the Kremlin."

"RUMOR" SLIDE A TOPIC

Although not present in person, Dr. Gordon Allport's influence will be felt through the use of his "rumor" slide. Dr. Allport, professor at Harvard, was cited five or more times by the House Committee for his pro-Communist activities.

The first lecture was to be given by a Louis Relin of Abraham Lincoln High School, who, as it was revealed by Frederick Woltman in the "World-Telegram" on October 1, is also a teacher in the Communist Party's Jefferson School of Social Science.

The final lecture of the course is to take the form of a panel discussion in which Mrs. Annette Lawrence is to be a participant. Mrs. Lawrence, member of the Council Against Intolerance, is co-editor with James Waterman Wise of its publication "American Unity". In the April, 1947, edition of "American Unity" appeared a slanderous article against Christian clergymen. Reprints of this article, by the way, were circulated among principals of the New York City schools.

Many questions come to mind.

Who initiated this course?

Who is responsible for the selection of the lecturers?

Why are these men willing to give of their time and energy without ostensible remuneration?

Why in an in-service course for teachers, given under the auspices of the Board of Education, are there so many whose pro-Communist leanings are a matter of record?

Were the members of the committee which approved this course ignorant of their affiliation?

Or was the committee cognizant of their background yet willing to permit them to promulgate their ideas among New York City school teachers because members of the committee also subscribe to them?

Or did members of the committee succumb to some pressure?

RELEASE FOR PRESS:

October 28, 1947

Dr. William Jansen
Superintendent of Schools
Board of Education
Brooklyn, 2, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

The executive boards of the English Teachers Association, Association of Teachers of Social Studies and the New York Association of Teachers of Biological Science met on October 27, 1947 with the joint committee of these associations which has been responsible for the planning and conducting of the in-service course "Background and Techniques for Teaching Intercultural Education." Our acquaintance with the personnel of the committee was renewed. The objectives and procedures of the course that they are conducting were reviewed.

The report of the committee convinced us that their work in organizing the course and in achieving the objectives stated deserves our continued sponsorship. We felt that the time was opportune for us to restate our confidence in the committee and our complete endorsement of their work. We believe that the committee in charge of the course has exercised its best judgement as to how such a course should be organized, and as to how the various topics should be presented.

We should like to point out that the speakers selected for this course were chosen on the basis of their competence for their respective assignments. The list of speakers as a whole was approved by the Board of Superintendents in Janu ary 1947 and again in June 1947.

Furthermore we have taken cognizance of the fact that the number of teachers who elect this course for credit has always been large and has increased considerably during the past year. This is indicative of the need for this type of course at the present time and a recognition of its value by the teachers who have participated in its program. The course of world events has placed upon all teachers in our democratic society the responsibility for spreading the message of unity and brotherhood, and of aiding their pupils to recognize and combat the forces of intolerance. The approval of this course for in-service credit by the Board of Superintendents has aided materially in bringing its valuable content to the many teachers who have attended. We look forward to your continued support and encouragement.

We offer our cooperation to you in considering further questions that may arise in connection with this course.

Although members of the executive board of the Association of Teachers of General Science were present, they did not constitute a quorum of their board and therefore did not vote on the motion to send this letter. The executive boards of the other three sponsoring associations voted affirmatively to do so, and have empowered me to send this letter in their name to you.

I. Alex Herskowitz
Member of Committee for in-service course "Background and Techniques for Teaching Intercultural Education"

Associations that have approved sending this letter:

1. The English Teachers Association
   Shirer Van Steenburgh, President

2. The Association of Teachers of Social Studies
   Bernard Greenberg, President

3. The New York Association of Teachers of Biological Science
   Elias Blechman, President

Marion Pease

Children are born without prejudice. No white baby dislikes any colored baby, and no colored baby knows what inferiority is

A Famous Novelist

and Humanitarian Asks—

Do You Want Your Children to Be Tolerant?

By Pearl S. Buck

CAN YOUR children be taught tolerance? Not unless you understand the difficulties in such teaching! Certainly tolerance cannot be taught by any easy, ready-made method.

Tolerance—an ugly word—is not even enough. When one is tolerant, it means that he can only endure. We have to teach something much more constructive than a passive acceptance of the existence of other creatures.

Tolerance implies lack of pleasure in such acceptance. All of us must learn to enjoy knowing as friends those whose looks and ways may be different from ours. Knowledge must lead to understanding, in order that enjoyment may be a pleasant fruit, enriching life for us all.

Where can you and your children learn such tolerance? Nowhere, as school and church and home now exist in our average communities.

To begin with, children learn no theories which they do not see practiced. Life in the community contradicts too often what the school teaches. This is eternal struggle between school and community.

Even the school's own practice often contradicts what it teaches. All the teaching the school can give a child will not teach him tolerance if colored children are not admitted to the classrooms. All that a teacher can say will not sell him on tolerance if that same teacher will not invite Negroes, however well educated and delightful, to her home.

But even if there *are* schools that practice what they teach, they still meet the obstacle of the home which clings to prejudice. Much of the conflict in the average American's life comes from the contrast between what he is taught at school and what he sees practiced outside. If your boy or girl is

(over)

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very intelligent, the school may win.

But the very intelligent child is not the average child. Moreover, the average American youngster, by some mystery which our educational specialists ought to discover, often dislikes school. Therefore, it is probable that he will absorb much of his real education from the home, rather than from the school. This puts an intolerable burden on the school.

I WISH it were possible for the overburdened school to know that it has the active cooperation at least of the church in this matter of tolerance. If church and school would work closely together in this most essential of all teaching, the prejudices in the home might be overcome.

But alas, the teachings of human equality, so beautifully expressed in the sacred scriptures of all peoples, are not fulfilled in practice in most American communities. Your child's observing and absorbent mind hears the preacher in the pulpit, but he does not see colored members in the congregation. He is taught in Sunday school to give pennies to the people of Africa and China, but no one suggests for him a connection between those peoples and the Negro and the Chinese in his own town.

What then? Are we to give up trying to teach tolerance until such a time as our community changes its pattern? No, for this pattern will never change unless we and our children change it. We must find new ways of teaching. We must utilize the handicaps instead of ignoring them.

LET us start with one blessed fact. *Children are born without prejudice.* No little white baby dislikes any colored baby, and no little colored baby knows what inferiority is. Somewhere along the way the tragically false teaching begins. Perhaps you begin it yourself, when you pull your toddler away from a little colored child passing by. The two are not allowed to clasp hands or to play together. By the time your child has reached school the lesson is learned thru many incidents, and the teacher has then to cope with the fact. If she herself practices prejudiced behavior, the lesson goes on.

And yet it is encouraging to see how the natural justice of the child persists. A Negro friend told me of two football teams in a Texas town. They were champion teams in their own race groups, but they wanted to play a match together. Their coaches forbade it, whereupon they agreed to play secretly. They had a fine game, by lucky chance a tie.

I am indebted to The New Yorker for an even better true story, one which took place in a certain city where race riots threatened. Children, black and white, playing on a street were observed to be playing "race riot." But the colored children were fewer than the white, so in order that the game could be perfectly fair, some of the white boys volunteered to be "colored."

What tragedy to warp and twist a child into hating those not like himself! Yet that is what adults do to their children everywhere in this land of ours.

BUT the very failures of the community can be used by the wise parent, teacher, and minister who wants to teach tolerance. Children understand so amazingly well the problems of life around them if they are given perspective. That is, if they know what the problem is and where they stand in regard to it. How shall we begin to teach?

In the first place, let us plant the child firmly in his whole world. He is not only the dweller in a town, in a state, in a nation; he lives also in the world.

If he is white, let him realize that the white people in the world are a minority—and rather a young one. The white people have much to be proud of, because, even tho they are so young, they have got hold of a wonderful thing called science, which has helped some people, altho a wrong use of it has killed more than it has helped. That is bad; let us acknowledge it. Let us teach the child that as a white person he can change it some day.

MEANWHILE, let him realize that the world is full mostly of colored people. These colored people are of many varieties and kinds. The oldest and finest civilizations belong to them. China and India are the mother civilizations. Their people understood even science long before we did. Let us help the child to investigate the sciences as they were in India and Egypt, and investigate the way China felt toward inventions that might be harmful to people. There is a legend, for example, that airplanes, invented a thousand years ago in China, were forbidden because the emperor foresaw that such machines might one day drop bombs on innocent people. Yes, the Chinese of that day even had bombs. Gunpowder, first made in China, was early diverted to making firecrackers instead of ammunition.

Those old civilizations went thru the warlike period in which we now are and rejected arms and wars because their wise men, teachers, and religious leaders, taught them it was foolish and wrong. A human attitude, rather than a political or militaristic one, developed out of those civilizations. India was an old and high civilization of *black people* when white barbarian tribes came invading from Europe.

LET your boy or girl be properly planted in our world and in its true history. It has been a strange fact—can it be conscious?—that our western educational emphasis has been placed upon the relatively short life of Greece and Rome, whose peoples were white, rather than upon the far more ancient, and in some ways the far more important and valuable, civilizations of peoples who are dark—and who still exist!

Your child can be helped to approach the colored people in his own community by learning first of their origins. He must understand how it is that 13 million Americans are Negro. Who brought them here and why? Whose is the injustice? Can white children compensate for the cruelties of their ancestors? Yes, by present justice. This is their duty and their privilege.

YOUR children ought to know that the Negroes who were wickedly seized and sold into slavery were not savages. Savages do not make good workers. The slaves were people of old and even of civilized tribes, who had their own ways of life and thought. They were the best of those tribes, the young and the handsome and the strong. How did our ancestors take part in such an evil trade?

He can be taught thru geography, too, to understand the colored peoples in his community. Africa is a magic continent, rich in every sort of life and resource. It has a history, a civilization, languages and arts, yesterday and today. Only its climate, the hot sun of ages, has made the people dark. Skin darkness is a mere physical protection against the powerful rays of the sun. So would we grow dark if we lived long enough in Africa. But inside we would be what we are, and the Africans inside are exactly the same as we—and the Africans are Negroes.

SCIENCE as well as history and geography must help the child to learn tolerance. Science must teach him that the human brain is the same brain, varying only in individuals. The Negro child is not mentally inferior. He merely lacks equal opportunity, and this is an injustice the white child can help to mend.

Such background the school should and must provide. But it has to be done by definite planning and cooperation with church and home. Tolerance must be taught thru everything that a child learns. It cannot be taught as a separate "subject" in the classroom. It has to pervade the school as an attitude, a lens thru which the child surveys the past and the present. It must pervade the community, thru church and home.

BUT suppose one of them—church, home, school—is backward? Suppose a parent refuses to practice tolerance? Suppose a minister considers it outside the field of religion? Suppose a principal will not think of it?

Then those few in the community who know that human equality is essential in our world must come together to plan for leadership and a program. Children can be enlisted to help in changing community practices. The community can be explained to them with all its backwardness, in terms of simple lack of primary knowledge and consequent understanding. To know all is to understand all. But older people have not had the opportunity to know all. New people, a new world, must produce new attitudes.

Can the adults of the community, too, be given this new education? They should be, if there is not to be estrangement. They can be taught best by the simple necessities of our present world. They can be taught that if we are not to go like sheep to the slaughter of final war, we must know what our world is and what is going on in it. The old indifference and local absorption cannot continue. If we relapse into our before-the-war attitudes and limitations, war will burst upon us as suddenly and as unexpectedly as the atomic bomb fell upon the people of Hiroshima—and we shall be as helpless.

EVERY American community must wake up and stay awake in the world of today. The sole protection that we have against this final war is to know other peoples well and to understand what they are thinking and feeling—to know them well enough to demand discussion and patience, to know them well enough to see justice in their claims as well as in our own, to know them well enough to act with justice when there is conviction on both sides.

A new education in tolerance, for young and old, is what we need and what we must have

But the materials for such education are not to be found within our communities as they now are. They must be gathered from all the world of peoples. The most valuable of all materials for education in tolerance are human beings, men and women from other countries, citizens of other civilizations. The best education in tolerance is to meet and know such individuals. Then the emotions of friendship are stirred to life. A cultivated and imaginative man from Africa, black as coal and with a sense of humor as vital as electricity, spent days with us this year, and in our little community prejudice melted away like mist before sun. Visitors from India and China, too, win interested glances from us, but no more intolerance.

THESE countries mean people to us now. One pleasant person from another land or race coming into a community as a visitor is worth a carload of books and a trainload of academic teaching. The human touch is the only way to cure prejudice and build tolerance.

But behind the education are the educators. The first step toward teaching our children tolerance is for the adults of the community, the ministers and priests and rabbis, the newspaper editors, the teachers, and parents, to come together and decide if they really do want their children to learn tolerance and to practice it. If they fear the consequences, it is better to make no pretenses of teaching a theory that's not to be put into use. There is too much of such teaching already showing its dangerous effects in split personalities, restlessness, discontents, and the extremes of apathy and violence.

Do you want your children to learn tolerance? Really?

Please answer that question honestly. Teaching is easy when practice goes with it.

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17 - Intercultural Educ

HOT COPY

By George Vick

The idea that crystallized last week with the formation of the Inter-Race Council was born in the minds of Sandie observers who visited Patten School, the negro high school, a few weeks ago. Astounded by the inadequate and super-crowded facilities these underdog negro scholars were obliged to use, the Sandie investigators decided to try to alleviate the situation.

They saw brilliant negro youths, hampered and held down by lack of facilities Sandies take for granted. They saw the senior class holding class in the corridor of the school.

These Sandie humanitarians talked with intelligent negro students, young men and women who will be fighting against overwhelming odds all their lives. They talked with one young man in particular who impressed them with his winning personality and his quick mind.

As they talked together, the Sandie visitors began to grasp just what a battle the negro student has today. They soon realized that these same youths they were talking with would soon be fighting to prove their worth against deep prejudice, violent hatred and ever-present contempt.

They began to see the many colleges that would close their doors against them, the many business firms that would send them away

(Continued on Page 8)

IS BASHFUL JACK

The Silent Type

After several futile attempts to gain recognition during a Civics discussion, Jack Fuqua's efforts were at last rewarded.

"What is your comment, Jack?" Miss Laura Roberts asked.

Following a moment's hesitation, Jack replied sheepily:

"I've waited so long that I've forgotten what I was going to say."

Quoth the Raven...

Since the removal of hall guards under the Honor System, never more will Sandies be halted as this unfortunate girl was. Rifles are no longer needed to restrain the vigorous plainsmen from Sandie land.

The Sandstorm

AMARILLO HIGH SCHOOL TEXAS

New Courses Convene Today

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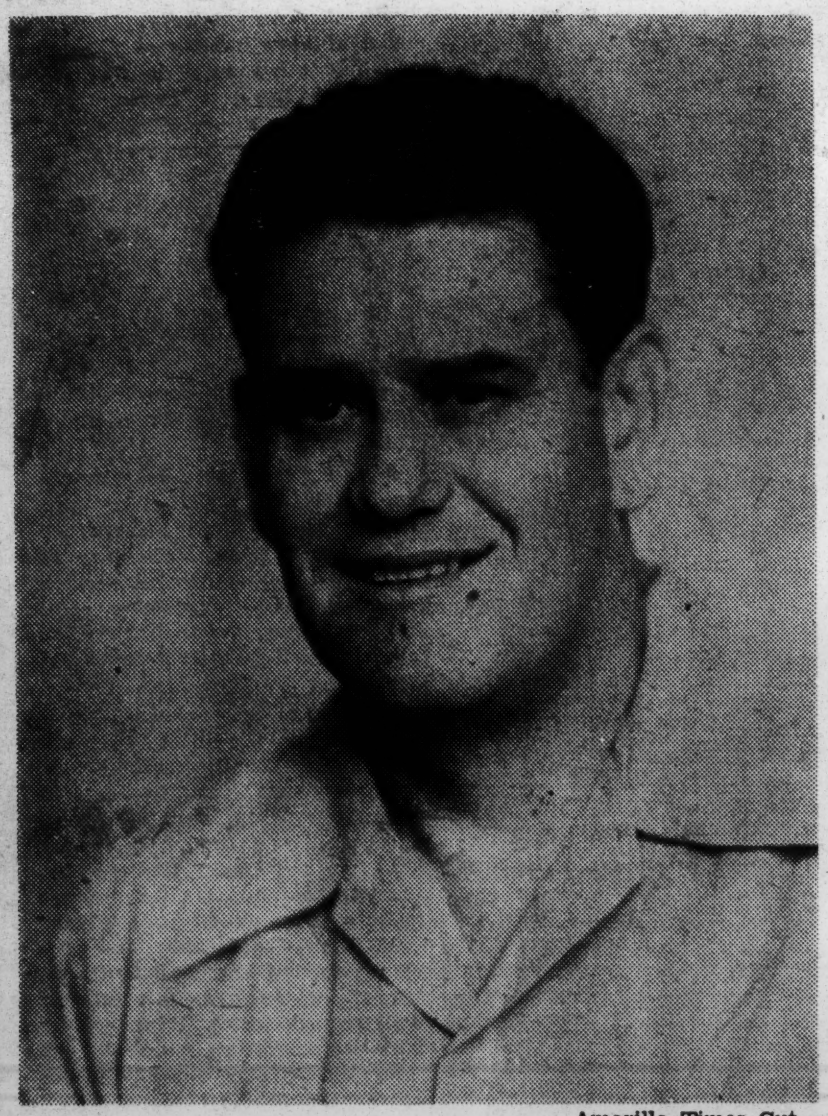
Vol. XXIII — Monday, January 26, 1948 — Number 9

Lynch Asks Confidence Vote of School Board



Amarillo Times Cut.

Board To Decide By Feb. 2 Meet

Whether the Golden Sandies will enter competition next fall under the tutelage of a new mentor or not is slated to be decided a week from tonight as the Board of Education gives its verdict on a vote of confidence called for by Head Coach Howard W. Lynch.

At its last meeting, the Board heard Coach Lynch ask them to affirm their belief in his proficiency as director of Sandie destinies.

During the 11-year period Mr. Lynch, affectionately known among his gridders and fans as "The Bull," has been responsible for the career of the Black and Gold, AHS has garnered one state championship, two bi-district and one quarter-final berths. They advanced to the semi-finals in 1942 and have hung up seven district banners among their trophies.

In the same 11 years, no school has won the coveted state trophy at a repeat performance, each season having found a new champion crowned.

Not only loved by his players, Coach Lynch stands high in the respect and admiration of the students in general as shown by the ovations he receives in pep rallies and by his being named to the Steering Committee of the Honor System.

New Courses Convene Today

Five new courses, all additions to the speech and commercial departments, will form the new curriculum for the second semester.

Radio and interpretation, corrective speech, business English and office practice are definitely on the schedule. A salesmanship course will be offered if enrollment is large enough.

Two classes, first and fourth periods, in radio and interpretation will be held under J. H. Flathers. The two objectives of the course are to improve the interest of the student in speech work and to improve his ability to do more visualized radio speech. Students will use the PA and a tape recorder in class and do some outside radio work.

In keeping with modern curriculum trends, corrective speech will be taught by Mr. Flathers at the fifth period for students having difficulty with stuttering, lisping or nasality.

One year's typing experience is required for enrollment in the fourth period office practice class under Miss Velma Shows. The course consists of training in filing and invoice writing.

Mrs. Corrah Braudt will teach business English third period. Though this subject includes grammar, its chief object is training in business correspondence and letter writing.

Salesmanship, given first period by Miss Icie B. Johnson, will adapt students to all types of sales work.

Another change in curriculum is the disbanding of all zero hour classes.

In line with the difficulties in modern education as voiced by the Prosser Resolution (See "60 Per Cent Leave School Unfit"), AHS's curriculum additions are all slanted toward practical training of students.

New courses offered teach facts and methods that can be used profitably by graduates after leaving AHS.

Students Attend Distributors Club Meet in Austin

Four members of the AHS chapter of the Distributors Club of Texas, will attend the annual convention at Austin, Thursday and Friday, February 5 and 6.

The quartet of Sandie representatives going are Bob Rice, Ann Rushmer, Harold Williams and Garrett Barker.

The club, a state wide organization of high school Distributive Education courses, meets in order to become better acquaitned with the work each group is doing.

FOR ONCE

She Heard Him

Mid-term review was taking place in Miss Louise Russell's fifth period class.

"David, when you answer a question, talk loud enough for everyone to ehar you," requested Miss Russell. "Now, let's do that again. What does 'irrefutable' mean?"

"I don't know," thundered David Boss.

Pointless Points

R. B. Norman

The recent epidemic of prowling and theft by boys of high school age in Amarillo has shocked many people. It certainly comes as no surprise to thinking adults who know about liberties parents are allowing their children.

It is not uncommon for many boys to roam or ride the streets nightly until late hours. There is something about night life conducive to unlawful and immoral conduct. In the first place, all legitimate business is closed by approximately 11 o'clock. Where could boys legally and properly go after 11 o'clock except to honky-tonks which, though legal, may be immoral. There is nothing left for youth to do after such hours, and since youth is going to do something, it is inevitable that they shall do the illegal or immoral.

The problem is one of parental control and supervision. Youngsters of high school age should stay at home nights most of the time to do their work, read, listen to the radio, and fraternize with the family. They should be permitted to go to school affairs, church affairs, and occasionally other social functions on school nights, provided their family know the nature of the function they are attending, and provided they can be depended upon to arrive home at a reasonable hour.

Some may censure the schools for not assigning home work. The truth of the matter is that plenty of home work is assigned. It is just that the pupils do not do it nor are their parents or teachers able to persuade or compel them to do it.

Blind

Several different people were astounded when a schoolteacher in Boston, Massachusetts, refused to read "The Japanese Twins," by Lucy Perkins, to her pupils.

All the children knew as well as adults that Japan was in the war. "The Dutch Twins," by the same author, was read instead.

"The Japanese Twins" was written long before the war, is both enjoyable and timely, and contains no war propaganda.

How is world peace ever going to be established if hatred and intolerance, such as this episode illustrates, are taught?

How can countries be coped with if people have no knowledge of the difference between nations and races, and do not learn that there is good as well as bad in all people.

Tolerance can never be learned by citizens unless they are taught that doing things differently is correct in some countries, and even by some people living in their own country.

Now, with inventions of certain war missiles that can be sent for undreamed of distances, people cannot be ignorant in the future of what any nations are doing or preparing to do.

Oceans are no longer barriers of importance. Space is no longer a hindrance.

Ignorance is no longer a defense.

Dabberwot

Tunce upon a wime, in a Kighty mingdom called AHS, there lived a pibe of treeple sown as Wandies.

Sow these Wandies were kambitious iddies, and although they had a sood gystem, they all se-didcd that a netter one was beeded.

So! They asopted an Honor Dystem. The kiddle lids were eft on

904 Students Now Enrolled In Commercial Training Classes

By J. B. Gardner

Boasting a record of outstanding service, AHS's commercial department celebrates its thirtieth birthday this year.

Originated in the year 1918 with R. F. Williams as its first head, the commercial department has experienced all the growing pains of early childhood and adolescence. Today it shows itself to be an efficient and fully grown organization.

Nine hundred and four students, almost one-half the enrollment of AHS, are attending at least one of the 25 commercial classes offered each day. Despite many beliefs to the contrary, girls hold only a slight margin in number over the boys.

Mr. Williams, who retired from teaching to become the executive secretary of the Local Teachers Credit Union, was succeeded by Miss Icie B. Johnson. Miss Johnson took over the commercial department in 1939 and is still at its helm.

Ten different courses are offered yearly when space and teachers are available. These courses are typewriting, shorthand, secretarial training, bookkeeping, business arithmetic, office practice, business law, commercial geography, business English and sales.

A staff of seven teachers, headed by Miss Johnson, instruct the commercial classes. They are Mrs. Corrah Lee Braudt, Miss Betty Bridges, Mrs. Margaret Josserand, Miss Adelle Shows, Miss Velma Shows and S. G. Anthony.

Typing Most Popular

Most popular subject with students is typing, which has a large edge in enrollment on the other commercial courses. Business arithmetic is second, followed by shorthand and bookkeeping. The typing rooms are equipped with 76 typewriters.

The speed-writers are Richard Archer, Bill Coffee, Clifford Bradley, Lynn Whitten, Basil Walker, H. K. Stanfield and Carl Johnson. Truman Kemper, the eighth boy, is in Miss Velma Shows' second period class.

Shortage Plagues

"There is much room for improvement of the commercial department," says Miss Johnson, "in meeting the demands of the students and of the public. We aren't meeting the demands of the public in that there are requests for more commercially educated people than we are turning out at this time. We aren't meeting the demands of the students in that we can't enroll all who ask for commercial courses because of the shortages of teachers, rooms and equipment.

"Three more machines are in use in the commercial department now than in 1938," Miss Johnson explains.

The ambitious side of the commercial department is brought out by the extensive plans for the future being made by Miss Johnson as head.

"In the future I would like the department equipped with a sufficient number of adding machines, calculators and duplicators for

do the illegal or immoral.

The problem is one of parental control and supervision. Youngsters of high school age should stay at home nights most of the time to do their work, read, listen to the radio, and fraternize with the family. They should be permitted to go to school affairs, church affairs, and occasionally other social functions on school nights, provided their family know the nature of the function they are attending, and provided they can be depended upon to arrive home at a reasonable hour.

Some may censure the schools for not assigning home work. The truth of the matter is that plenty of home work is assigned. It is just that the pupils do not do it nor are their parents or teachers able to persuade or compel them to do it.

One of the most important factors in this lack of control of youngsters by their parents lies in the frequency of broken homes, patched up homes, or homes where strained domestic relations exist.

In the future, there will likely be much greater emphasis in education upon the value of work experience on the part of the youth while still in high school. Many would like, no doubt, to know what advantages are claimed to the pupil from supervised work experience.

Here is a list for your study: (1) Improves the type of job youth finds; (2) provides a counseling service under a life situation; (3) encourages youth to remain in school; (4) tends to improve school attendance; (5) aids in school adjustment; (6) improves morale; (7) tends to develop an improved relationship between employer, employee, labor and the school; (8) improves wages and working conditions; (9) reveals the necessity for qualifying for life's work; (10) gives an opportunity for outlet of physical energy; (11) contributes to economic adjustment;

(12) affords an opportunity through school instruction to make meaningful such items as: (a) factors leading to success on the job; (b) significance of social security, taxes, labor organizations, child labor laws, health, blind alley jobs; (13) develops a more wholesome attitude toward work; (14) improves general scholarship; (15) enables youth to contribute to family budget; (16) reveals need for further education; (17) puts students on their own; (18) provides a sense of security and independence.

It is remarkable how many things we discover too late. Last week, while attending the mid-term senior banquet, we heard Jack Glasgow, the erstwhile football star and crooner, deliver a mighty after-dinner speech. His story of the unvarnished tale was especially clever.

People not generally known to the schools and whose lights are hidden under bushel measures are the principal's office girls. We picked these girls from the study halls on the basis of apparent intelligence, personality, and of course, did not hold it against them if they happened to be attractive looking.

If we had conducted a competitive examination for these, we doubt if we could have selected six girls possessing the requisite qualities in greater abundance than Henrietta Rumbaugh, Marian Schultz, Frances Miller, Pat Grimland, Carla English, and Reba Yocham.

Because of schedule changes, we regret losing our first, second and fourth period girls and will be receiving applications to fill these vacancies.

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Now there were two pinds of keeple in this trarge libe; soyal Landies and So-no-royal Landies. The royal lide pid everything in its dower to wake the plan mirk while the pass smortion that was left just kiddn't care.

One day the groo troops wot into a gar (fad a hight). And being that the grood goop was larger by win to tun, they pashed to a mulp every sisloyal Dandie and won with kying flullors; which just proes to groove that bood is stronger than gad and something that is bent to me will always wid a fay.

THE CASE OF THE

Duoble Pick-up

What boy was caught picking up a 'coon the night of January 12?

Dale Grantham, junior was on his way home from the Sportsman Club when he spied a 'coon wandering around near Seventh and Taylor. Getting off the bus, Dale ran over and started a chase.

A State Police car roared up to Dale just as he caught the 'coon. "What'cha doing, son?" they asked.

Dale said they took the racoon to the police station.

Birds can see a hundred times better than man.

One pound of onion seed can yield four tons of unions.

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An illustration of the practical value of commercial education in AHS is the fact that 60 per cent of the students of AHS who take business courses go straight to jobs in Amarillo after graduation. Approximately one fourth of the students enrolled in commercial courses at this time hold part-time jobs downtown. No credit is received for part-time jobs as it is in DE and DO classes.

Requests for students to work full-time downtown are numerous. Miss Johnson often finds it impossible to meet the demand. The requests for boy stenographers are turned down the most frequently. Only eight boys are enrolled in shorthand classes in AHS. Seven of the boys are in Miss Bridges' fifth

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The ambitious side of the commercial department is brought out by the extensive plans for the future being made by Miss Johnson as head.

"In the future I would like the department equipped with a sufficient number of adding machines, calculators and duplicators for training bookkeepers and clerical workers," plans Miss Johnson, "as well as rooms equipped for training secretaries and a sales institute."

Chamber of Commerce

The business department's club called the Chamber of Commerce Club, originated in 1941, acts as a public relations committee for the department. Lynn Whitten is president; John Evans, vice-president; and Marian Schultz, secretary of the 173-member organization.

The purpose of the club is to do commercial projects not connected with classroom activity. Immediate goal of the Chamber of Commerce Club is to become a member of the National Business Leaders, whose headquarters are in Washington, D. C. Miss Johnson, as sponsor, hopes to meet the requirements of the national organization this year.

League Contest Featured

Every spring the Texas Interscholastic League has typing and shorthand contests which are run off in a way similar to the football race. AHS's commercial department is a member of the league and therefore is eligible for competition in these contests.

Elimination inside AHS takes place in March. Only first year typists and first year shorthandists are eligible for the race. Students who have had typing or shorthand instruction before September of the previous year are not considered eligible by the Interscholastic League.

Winners of the contest within the school compete in district play, after which, the district winners journey to the regional scrap. Regional victors, three in typing and three in shorthand, win the right to make the trip to Austin for the final eliminations and the determining of a state champion in both events.

AHS produced only one state champion, but has consistently won two of the three places at the annual regional meet. Winner of the lone championship was Virginia Shannon. Virginia copped the honor for the business department in the 1946 shorthand tangle.

The Sandstorm

AMARILLO SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL

Room 106 **Tel. 25616**

Published Bi-Weekly

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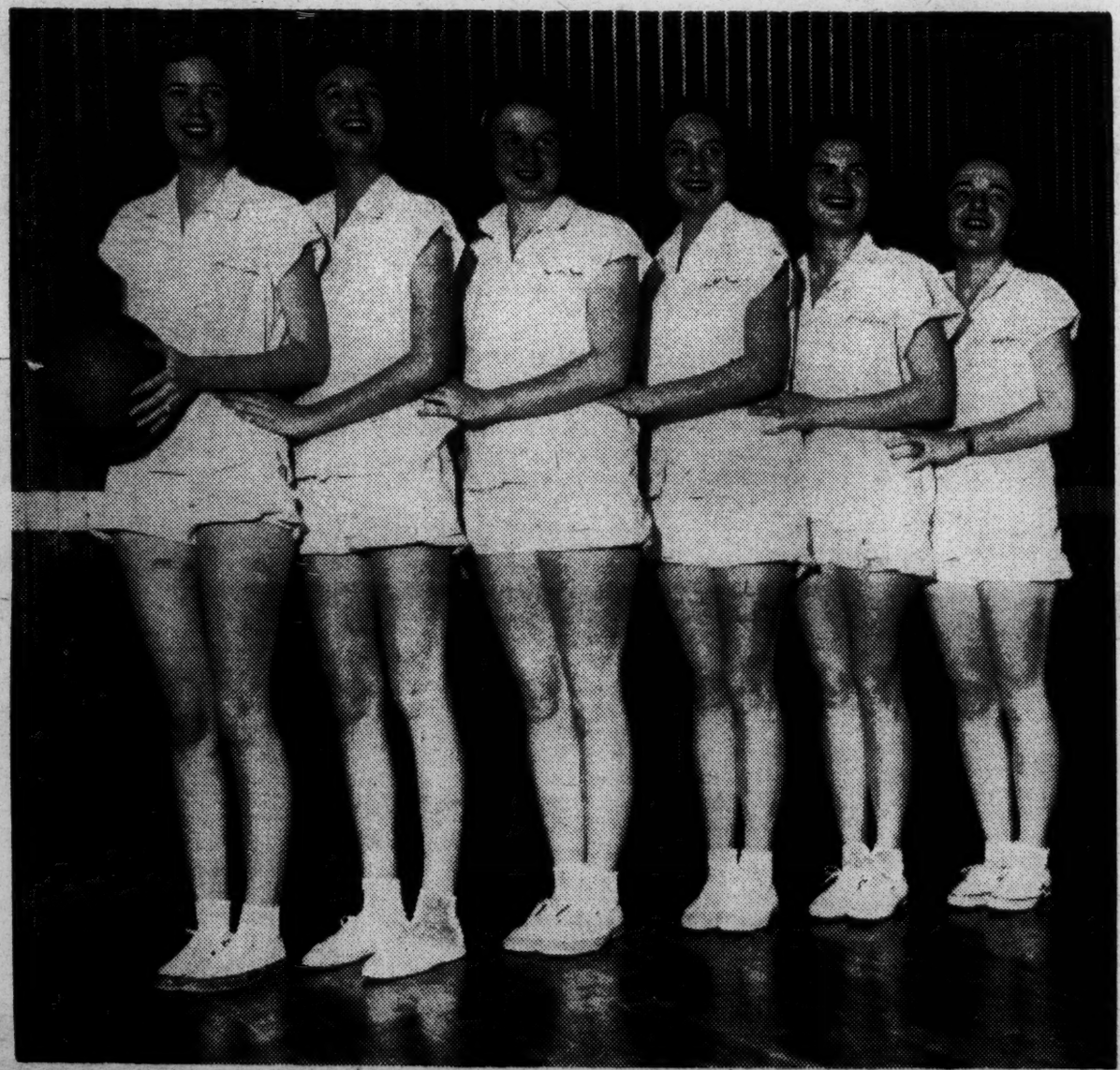
Sharpshooters Emerge Cage Champions



Left to right are: Nina Jones, Lou Lynn Rogers, Marcella Hall, Ernestine White, Louise

For the third straight year, the Sharpshooters, girls' basketball team, won the high school girls' intramural Junior-Senior championship, 30-27. In the title game this year they downed the Invincibles, consolation winners in the already concluded gym class tournament.

Sparking the winners on to victory in the feature attraction played Wednesday night in the Armory was pint-sized Nancy O'Brien, a forward, who dunked seven field goals and three free throws for 17 points.

Tied with her for high point honors was Nancy Fields, of the Invincibles, who had the same shot record. Marcella Hall, who dropped in four field shots before she fouled out, also leading the S'shooter offensive by driving in around the opposition to score.

Melba Henry was second in command of the Invincible scoring, with seven markers. Particularly outstanding on the defense for the losers was Nancy Puckett who controlled the backboards throughout most of the struggle.

That the Sharpshooters were the more experienced was more than evident to the 600 fans present, most of them girls, for they had much better luck with their passing and shooting. The Invincibles missed more than enough shots to win the tilt early in the game, and continually passed the ball out of bounds or to an opponent.

Both teams played hard all the way, never letting up for a minute. In fact, they exhausted themselves. There was only one casualty, however, a fainting case after the game.

Earlier in the evening, two sophomore teams, the Houseflys and the Lady Mars battled it out for the championship of that bracket. The Lady Mars won the game, pulling ahead late in the contest behind the accurate shooting of Barbara Gravestock. Barbara, who bucketed 22 points, and Rose Blasingame paced the winners' scoring. Blasingame marked 11 points.

The game was exciting all the way, right up until the final few minutes when the Lady Mars pulled decisively ahead. Until that time, it was anybody's ball game.

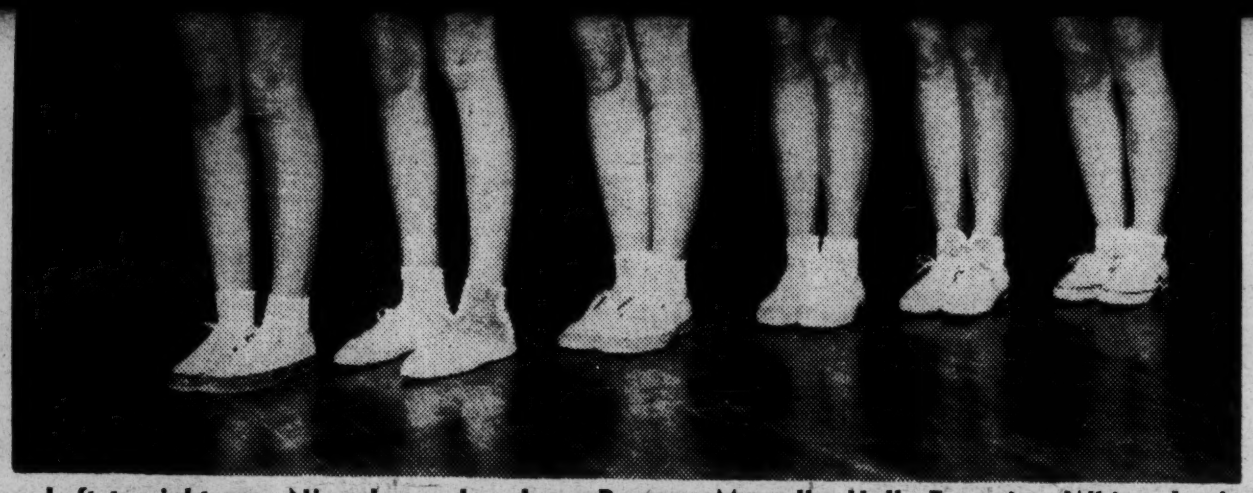
Betty O'Brien, younger sister of Nancy, was winner of high-point laurels for the losers. She dunked 15 points, leading her team offensively.

Hi-Y Eagles HQ Co. 37-36

Aided by an overtime, the Hi-Y hoopsters edged Headquarters Company of the ROTC 37-36, Monday, January 12, in the girls' gym.

Although at halftime the Hi-Y

Say Fellows, have you been in our store lately? If not "Hurry in" and let Pat Lynch show you those Packard Shoes.



Left to right are: Nina Jones, Lou Lynn Rogers, Marcella Hall, Ernestine White, Louise Irwin and Judy Price

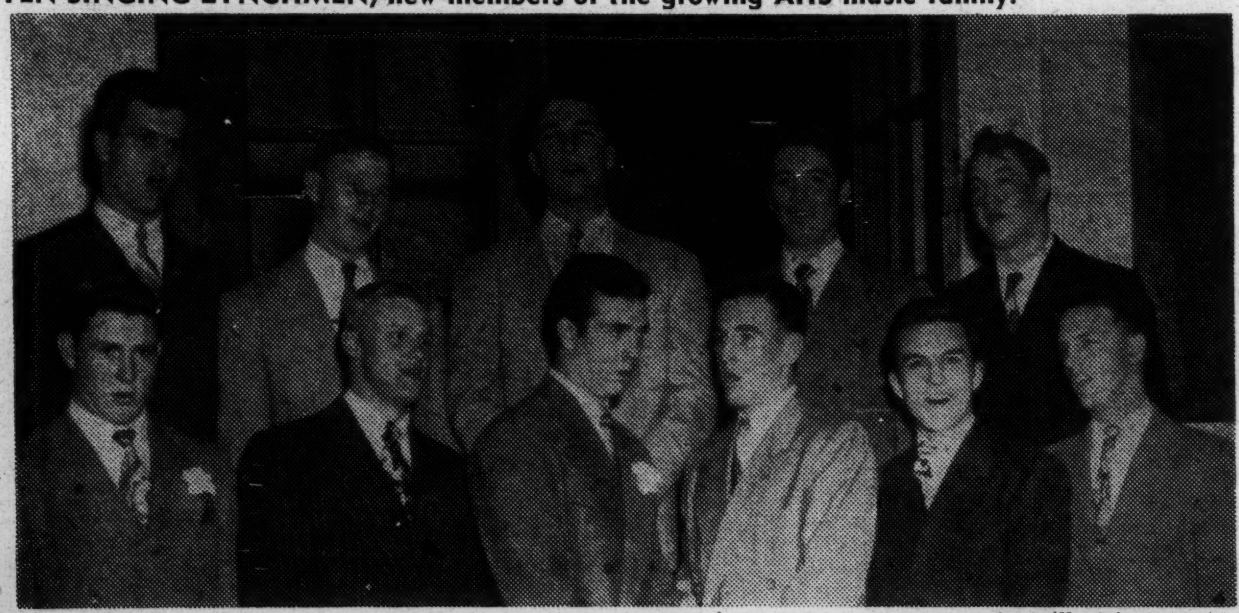
Major League Seeks Bob Henry

Major league baseball has discovered a Sandie diamond star, according to indications of a letter received by Supt. Chas. M. Rogers. Making inquiry about the whereabouts of Bob Henry, who graduated last year after making an enviable place for himself on the basketball team as well as on the baseball nine, the St. Louis Browns organization is seeking to contact the ex-Sandie.

Reporting that a souct of theirs had seen Henry in action and thought him a prospect of great promise, the vice-president of the St. Louis farm group will find his quarry currently starring on the hardwoods for an Abilene college.

Bob is a southpaw pitcher.

TEN SINGING LYNCHMEN, new members of the growing AHS music family.



Amarillo Times Cut.

AHS Athletes are Esthetes, too.

Proof of this is shown by the 10-voiced singing group recently formed by Mrs. Julia Dean Evans, choir director. The dextette is composed of members of the Golden Sandie football squad. All seniors, seven of the vocalists are first-stringers and three are second-string gridders.

The musically-minded athletes are Denny Willis, Jack Glasgow, Ed Hagan, Sam Attebury, Don Anthony, J. B. Gardner, Bobby Brown, Arthur Lamb, Bill Bailey and Gene Wright.

First appearance of the group was made at a Rotary Club meeting in the Herring Hotel Thursday, January 8, when members of the Sandie football team were guests of the club for luncheon. The singing Lynchmen next entertained for the annual Sandie Football Banquet Saturday, January 17, in the high school cafeteria.

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Betty O'Brien, younger sister of Nancy, was winner of high-point laurels for the losers. She dunked 15 points, leading her team offensively.

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Aided by an overtime, the Hi-Y hoopsters edged Headquarters Company of the ROTC 37-36, Monday, January 12, in the girls' gym.

Although at halftime, the Hi-Y held a 9-point lead, the ROTC boys came back to tie up the game at 33-all when the clock ran out.

In the overtime, the company gained three counters quickly, but field goals by Harold Henry and Stanley Manners cinched the game for the Hi-Y.

Though the Hi-Y boys were the victors, Dickey Anderson of Headquarters stole the show by flipping in several one-handed beauties from 20 to 30 feet out. Manners played an outstanding floor game for the Hi-Y.

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HOT COPY

(Continued from Page 1)

without jobs, no matter how well educated or how highly cultured the young negroes were. In many instances, undoubtedly, business firms would hire men of far less value just because of the color of their skin.

They saw that these negro young men and women after spending long years in training to do a job, would be forced by prejudice to curtail their abilities, and often to do menial labor.

They could see the social snubs, the indignant whites getting up and leaving their seats in theaters when these underdog students happened to want to sit down to see the show.

Naturally the first thing many honorable southerners (And I'm not being sarcastic—I regard myself as one) will think of upon reading this is that a young bunch of radicals is trying to break down all the Jim Crow boundaries that great statesmen like Huey Long and Tom Watson, Theodore Bilbo and John Rankin worked so hard to protect.

They see right off hand the intermingling of whites and negroes on equal social planes, their sitting side by side in public places. And they don't like it.

But the committee is not trying to bring about any social revolution. It wants to do nothing that would increase the tension between the two races.

It is simply a group of young people who have seen the rough plight of other young people their own age who will be branded by society because their skin is black. They have seen the senior class of Patten

'Off the Campus' Sandie News To Be on KVAI

"Off the Campus" will be the name and spirit of a new series of programs over Amarillo's Mutual Network Station KVAI, beginning tomorrow night at 9:15 o'clock.

In charge of the program will be AHS students: News Editor Glenn Hatfield, who is also makeup editor of THE SANDSTORM; News Commentator George Vick, who guides the school paper's destinies as executive editor of THE SANDSTORM; and Sports Editor Dick Brooks, who as sports editor of THE SANDSTORM is responsible for sports coverage in the student newspaper.

Trying to escape from the drier side of the news, the journalists will feature the human interest angle in their broadcasts. News will be timely and important, covering the events and issues of the hour. And news will be gathered from, concerned about and slanted to the Sandieland audience, both of today and of tomorrow.

These regular programs will be broadcast Tuesday and Thursday evenings at 9:15 o'clock, beginning January 27.

"Sandies wanting important events announced on the air should contact one of us three," comments Glenn Hatfield, news editor of the program.

with Mr. Matherly, to report just how well it was going. Mr. Matherly revealed that attendance was excellent, too. Detentions were at an all time low. It's impossible for us to be too proud of this.

The U. S. employs 12,150 people to look after the Indians, or one person for

60 per cent Leave School Unfit For Either College or Industry

By Don McCormick

During the nerve racking days of examinations, many people say, "I should rack my brains to learn all this junk, when I'll never have a chance to use it." (That's really not what they say, but it gets the general idea over, and it's printable.)

The sad part about this is that in many cases this statement is true. In our nation's high schools today, 60 per cent of the graduates are neither suited for college or for a vocation.

In our own school the average is much better. Fifty-five per cent of our graduates go to college, but only fifteen per cent are suited for a vocation.

Prosser Resolution

To alleviate this situation a resolution was made by Dr. Charles F. Prosser of Minneapolis. Dr. Prosser was the head of the committee appointed by the Vocational Division of the U. S. Office of Education in January, 1944, to study the condition of vocational education.

Another recommendation Dr. Prosser made was that at the earliest possible date, a conference of representatives of general and of vocational education meet to consider this problem, and take such steps as would be found advisable for its solution.

Norman Invited

The second regional conference was held at Cheyenne, Wyoming, September 25 and 26, 1946. Some 16 outstanding educators from the Mountain and Great Plains areas were invited to this meeting. Our own principal, R. B. Norman was one of the educators invited.

The purpose of this conference was to provide a forum for free discussion of the Prosser Resolution and secondary school program.

The regional phase of the plan was over by 1947, and late in January, 1947, invitations were sent to about 100 outstanding educators of the nation to come to a meeting in Chicago in May of that year.

Mr. Norman was chosen to represent Texas' secondary schools at this meeting. He was appointed head of the committee which was given the job of the promotion and sale of the Prosser Resolution.

When improvements come in education, and they will come, our school will be in on the ground floor, since Mr. Norman is one of the best informed men in the nation on this subject.

More information concerning this vital subject will be carried in the columns of THE SANDSTORM from time to time, as progress is made in solving the problem of the 60 per cent of high school graduates who are unprepared for work or college.

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WHY, MRS. CROSSETT

Your Slip Shows

During a discussion of the Civil War Period in Mrs. Lela Crossett's fourth period American History class, Mrs. Crossett was relating some good references on the subject.

"The best book I've ever read on the Civil War," she declared, "is 'The History Of Rome Hanks' The only thing is, it is the filthiest, dirtiest book I've ever read. But it's wonderful. . . ."

After the laughter had subsided, Mrs. Crossett managed to save face by adding "material" to her sentence.

Households in Topeka, Kansas can not include more than five cats, according to law.

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is that a young bunch of radicals is trying to break down all the Jim Crow boundaries that great statesmen like Huey Long and Tom Watson, Theodore Bilbo and John Rankin worked so hard to protect.

They see right off hand the intermingling of whites and negroes on equal social planes, their sitting side by side in public places. And they don't like it.

But the committee is not trying to bring about any social revolution. It wants to do nothing that would increase the tension between the two races.

It is simply a group of young people who have seen the rough plight of other young people their own age who will be branded by society because their skin is black. They have seen the senior class of Patten School (Yes all dozen or so of them) holding class in the hall.

Moved by compassion for these fellow humans, the Sandie observers decided to dedicate a great part of their time to spreading understanding among their own race, their own friends. They formed the Inter-Race Council, an organization of white and colored students.

At the initial meeting last week, Andrew Perkins, a negro, was chosen to head the group. Lavon Bagwell, a Sandie, was elected co-chairman. Elected secretary was Hylasue Yeager, a Sandie.

Some 34 students attended the meeting—14 negroes and 20 Sandies. Adults who came to the meeting were were Mrs. A. D. Foreman, Jr. and Mrs. Ardis Martin. Reverend E. W. Hinds was there. They met at Carver Hall.

Their last meeting, yesterday, was held in the First Christian Church. Unfortunately publication time prevented us from covering this meeting.

The Honor System Steering Committee deserves much praise for their efforts these past two weeks. They have shown that at the helm of the Honor System in AHS we have a capable group of leaders, who will work long and hard to put over the Honor System.

Thanks to the social committee of the Steering Committee for staging the successful Red River Dance. Another Honor System dividend.

Last week, I had occasion to observe the workings of the system in the halls at lunch hour. It was magnificent. The halls were quiet, everyone seemed to know just where he was going. He didn't tarry on the way. Confusion was at a minimum.

I dropped in to have a little chat with Mr. Matherly, to report just how well it was going. Mr. Matherly revealed that attendance was excellent, too. Detentions were at an all time low. It's impossible for us to be too proud of this.

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By George Vick

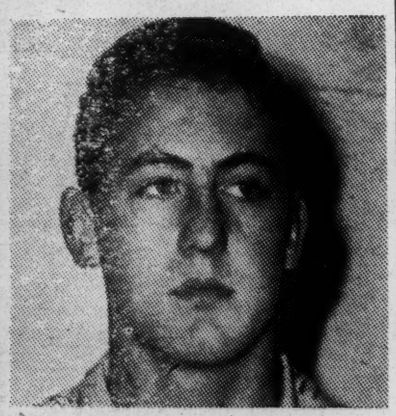
The words of Dick Brooks, Honor System Committeeman, on the H. S. in AHS seem particularly fitting—"As it is, the Honor System in AHS is just floating down the stream."

The pessimists say it's slowly sinking.

Defeatism has spread over the school. Nobody rises to say the system is working in top order. Day by day, the situation grows worse. No faith, either in themselves or in their fellow students, is had by students.

* * * *

BIG 5 SENIOR members of the H. S. Steering Committee are, from top to bottom, Dick Tharp, chairman; Shirley Neely, secretary; Dick Brooks, propaganda chief; Clifford Bradley and Sam Attebury.



Though the responsibility for getting the H. S. out of the doldrums rests with the entire student body, it is the job of the recently elected Steering Committee to make the student body aware of the situation.

Your columnist attended the first meeting of the committee last Friday morning, at which members elected Dick Tharp, chairman and Shirley Neely, secretary.

Although the general group was apathetic to say the least, the brunt of the burden will be carried by the few but able members who voiced the opinions. Or at least that is the way it looked Friday morning.

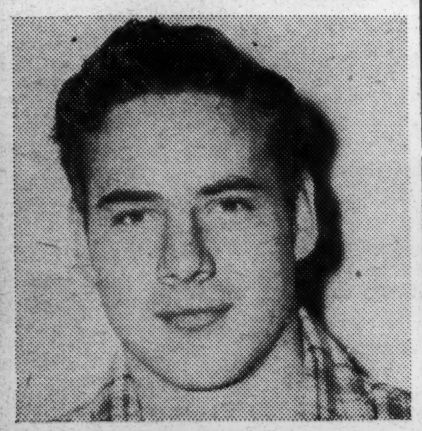
Clifford Bradley, Dick Brooks and Dick Tharp emerged as the idea men of the group.

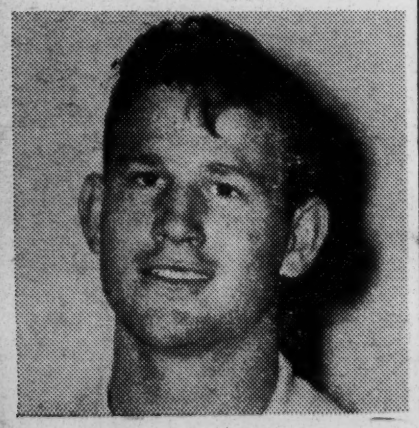
Controversy over whether the Steering Committee or Congress would carry the H. S. battle to the people stirred the air as Bradley suggested that the Committee merely should advise the congressmen as to the course of action they would follow.

Dick Brooks who afterwards was elected to head the vital propaganda

PICTURED ABOVE is the Colonel T. H. McDonald Award Trophy, which will be given the outstanding senior cadet of the ROTC of AHS at Federal Inspection next April. The winner will be selected by the vote of his fellow cadets on the basis of his leadership, character and reputation, and scholarship. Competition for the award will be keen, reveals Major Carl P. Matney, commandant. Shown holding the trophy are Cadet Sgts. Bob Galbraith and Bill Gunderson.

The Sandstorm





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Dick Brooks who afterwards was elected to head the vital propaganda committee, injected the idea that the Committee should win approval of Congress on actions, then move.

The meeting almost bogged down over the parliamentary proceedure they would use, over who could do what after who approved it. Which came first, the chicken or the egg?

The most important, the most crucial thing we need from the committee is action!

Every day students comment that the H. S. is a flop, is a failure, is a farce. The general tide of pessimism that has swept the school must be turned back, and the job of beginning that turning back is the Committee's.

Made up as it is of student elected leaders of every class group, the Steering Commitee is expected to produce action. This it can do. Already it has formed a publicity or propaganda staff to keep this most important subject before the people's eye.

Facilities of every group in school will be commandeered by the committee. Posters will be made and changed weekly, reports on the day's progress of the H. S. (suggested by Bradely) will be given to the student body.

Day by day, hour by hour, the idea of the very importance of the H. S. and what it can mean must be instilled into our school life, must be broadcast over the P. A., must be absorbed by every student.

Tomorrow, hall guards leave their posts — never to return. This vital step in the progress of the H. S. is a showing of faith that we are worthy of the system.

It is the beginning of the drive to make the H. S. work, to bring about in AHS the birth of a real spirit, of honor, of decency, of sportsmanship and of comradship. The Honor System will work when AHS is permeated with the spirit of the thing, and with the determination to make it work.

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The Sandstorm

Vol. XXIII | Monday, January 12, 1948 | Number 8

Mid-Term Commencement Highlights Examination Week

Why Be Honest?

Today, "Honesty In School Week" begins and it will last officially through Friday; however, under the Honor System this special week should run the entire semester.

Two main questions have been planned for home room consideration and discussion. These questinos are:

1. A boy wrote in to a well known magazine and asked the following question: "Why be honest? Eliminating the reason that it may help me get to heaven (if there is one), please give me several reasons for being honest. I have been told that if you are not honest three things will happen to you: (1) You will not succeed. (2) You will not have any friends. (3) You will suffer from a guilty conscience. But I know a man who made a fortune in the Black Market during the war. He was never

(Continued on Page 8)

Thrty-five mid-term graduates will inaugurate their graduation exercises with the baccalaureate service, Sunday evening, January 18, and close it at commencement Thursday, January 20.

Dr. A. D. Foreman, Jr., pastor of the First Baptist Congregation, will deliver the baccalaureate sermon in his church. The A Cappella Choir, conducted by Mrs. Julia Dean Evans, and John Josey, church organist, will provide musical selections on the program, which begins at 7:30 o'clock in the church, 1208 Tyler Street.

Denny Willis, president of the mid-term class, will preside at the graduation banquet, 7 o'clock Tuesday evening, January 20, at the Capitol Hotel. On the program, Jack Glasgow will make an after dinner address; Kathryn Stewart will deliver a reading; Glenn Vaught and Donnie Stevens will humorize the program with a stunt; and Henrietta Rumbaugh will read the class prophecy.

The Graduation will conclude with the commencement service, Thursday night, January 22, at 8 o'clock in the high school auditorium.

An overture and the processional by the AHS orchestra will begin the program. Denny Willis will preside, addressing the assemblage on the subject "A Task To Be Done." Salutatorian Basil Walker will give the invocation. Other speakers will be: Douglas Husband and Sue Proffitt, with Joann Malin, valedictorian, concluding the students' portion of the program.

Charles M. Rogers, superintendent, will present diplomas and other awards.

Wescoat Named Honorary Quiz Kid

Any student who wishes to have Einstein's Theory of Relativity explained should see Sara Wescoat for an appointment. Sara has the distinction of being an honorary Quiz Kid. She is the first AHS student to receive this title.

News Briefs:

On other pages you will find—

Sandies Plea for Race Justice Story on Page 8

ROTC Cops Honors
See Page 5 for Story

La Airosa Faces Crisis!
See Page 5 for Details

Pointless Points

R. B. Norman

Is the conduct of high school students off the campus a concern of the school? Perhaps this incident will answer the question. Within the past few days, a young couple moving from Rhode Island to California stopped over at Amarillo for a few days visit with relatives. Their car was burglarized and valuables taken from baggage. Instead of going to the Police Department, they came straight to the high school principal's office.

Dr. Carlton Palmer, Art Dealer, Atlanta, Georgia, recently left a collection of nine beautiful water colors by R. Bruce Horsfall as well as some original oils. He made the school a very attractive price on this collection. It would be a wonderful thing if the three classes would adopt a three-year program for the purchase of this collection. No doubt the seniors will continue the tradition of adding one painting to our collection this year. If juniors and sophomores would join the seniors in a three year project, a better bargain could be made.

We regret losing Mr. C. P. Parker from the faculty. Mr. Parker is resigning to accept a better paying position, of course, and we congratulate him and wish him well. He was proving to be a valuable addition to our school.

The compiled experience of our faculty during the Christmas vacation would constitute an interesting travelogue. Miss Icie B. Johnson was in St. Louis, Miss Bond in Florida, and Mrs. Atwood in Old Mexico. Several others were scattered thru-

Girl of the Week and Boy of the Week

He will be one and she will have one.

What?

A husband, of course.

And whom are we talking about?

The Husbands, of course—Barbara and Doug.

Although they are both seniors, Douglas is 19 years old while Barbara is 17. The difference in their ages probably accounts for a good number of the different interests of the two. Barbara plans to enter medicine while Doug hopes to be a cattleman. With ambition to be a nurse, Barbara plans to attend either Baylor or Oklahoma University. Doug's studies will take him to Oklahoma A. & M. His "ranch" has already begun with the purchasing of two horses. A far cry from today's hopes, Douglas's childhood ambition was to be an airplane pilot, while Barbara wanted to be a nurse.

Douglas's pet peeve is Barbara while, strangely enough, Barbara's pet peeve is Douglas.

Doug's favorite food is fried oysters, while Barbara thrives on macaroni and cheese and Spanish foods.

In fact, the only thing the two seem to agree on is that they are strong Democrats. Barbara's hope for the 1948 presidential election, by the way, is Harold Stassen, Republican, and Douglas's is Joe Martin, Republican. But mind you, they're staunch Democrats.

There follows a few inches of harmless patter about Barbara. When she was but a lowly, lowly sophomore, Barbara was elected Band Queen. She says that and being chosen Jim Frank Reynolds' ROTC sponsor have been her biggest thrills in high school. She thinks the most thrilling thing that has happened to AHS is winning district in basketball. But she also seems to have one other permanent thrillsome person by the name of Bobby Amason. It seems they are going steady.

In fact, "Amo" seems to be her favorite hobby, most interesting passtime, most enjoyable dish, happiest time of day, favorite radio program, favorite color, song, movie and recreation.

Strangely enough, the requirements for Barbara's ideal man seem to fit this "Amo" person to a T.

But this so-called "Amo" was not the only subject Barbara was enthusiastic about. She thinks that dear old AHS is just about the best school yet. Her hopes for 1948 are that we will have more and better dances and that the Honor System will succeed. She also hopes compulsory military training will be voted down. (No Men).

Five-feet three, brenette and "hasn't weighed before Christmas," Barbara can be described with one word, "friendly." Her one ambition for 1948 is to get past 30 words a minute in typing.

And now we'll have a little harmless patter about Douglas.

"Rugged's" likes include hot-rods, girls, french fries, travel, girls, swimming, fishing, girls, girls, mystery books, musicals, girls and Varga girl wall paper. (Courtesy of Barbara H.)

He, too, thinks AHS is "it."

"I think AHS has outstanding school spirit, especially the friendliness of the students," he remarked. "During 1948," he continued, "I want the Sandies to win state in basketball, track, football and go places in baseball. I think they can do it too."

Usually seen with Stan Hays, Bob Jones and Jackie Jacobson, Doug is a Sandie letterman in football and, according to our eminent sports editor, would have been a big wheel in the Sandie backfield if the interscholastic age ruling hadn't eliminated him.

Doug's favorite time of the school day is lunch hour and Barbara lives for the 3:35 bell.

They really seem to be an industrious pair, don't you think?

But don't be too hard on them. Remember—Husbands don't grow on trees.

A Plea for Humanity

Race prejudice in AHS is slowly being eliminated.

Mud'n Your Eye

three year project, a better bargain could be made.

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We are glad to have Miss Louise Dicken and Mrs. Shaller back after their unfortunate hospitalization during vacation.

Many of our boys are "missing the train" by their failure to take shorthand and secretarial training Every semester we have opportunities to place boys with companies who employ largely men only because of their possibilities as future executives. These jobs are very attractive for beginners.

We are glad to recognize the interest of Colonel T. H. McDonald, former commandant of cadets and assistant principal to AHS who has presented a beautiful trophy to the ROTC. This trophy is to encourage excellence in citizenship in both the Corps and the school. The name of the most outstanding member of the Corps will be engraved upon the trophy annually. It is the plan of Colonel McDonald to present this trophy today at battalion parade.

We should like to introduce Mrs. Twila James, attendance clerk, who has succeeded Mrs. Mary Cochran, resigned to join her husband in Dalton, Georgia.

Here is a sketch from Dana Burnet's "Hills" that affords a real example of loftiness and inspiration:

But I have walked a street with straining crowds,
With surging men who would no say their names;
They were no more than dust and dreams and shrouds,
And dress and gold and little passing fames.

And some there were who would not lift their eyes
From the dim, bitter highway where we trod,
But I was rich! Against the distant skies
I saw the hill that raised my world to God!

for the 1948 presidential election, by the way, is Harold Stassen, Republican, and Douglas's is Joe Martin, Republican. But mind you, they're staunch Democrats.

There follows a few inches of harmless patter about Barbara. When she was but a lowly, lowly sophomore, Barbara was elected Band Queen. She says that and being chosen Jim Frank Reynolds' ROTC sponsor have been her big-

in the Sandie backfield if the interscholastic age ruling hadn't eliminated him.

Doug's favorite time of the school day is lunch hour and Barbara lives for the 3:35 bell.

They really seem to be an industrious pair, don't you think?

But don't be too hard on them. Remember—Husbands don't grow on trees.

A Plea for Humanity

Race prejudice in AHS is slowly being eliminated.

Always a bad thing in any group, racial superiority or inferiority is especially ruinous in a school, the foundation for later beliefs and ideas. Citizens of Patten, the negro school of Amarillo, have an unequal chance to share in the benefits which we as members of the white school enjoy. They are hindered, held back, deprived of many of the finer things.

Students, if they were taken at an early age and placed with a mixed group containing children of every color and religion, would know no such divisions as we, children of today, know No barriers would be thrown up to thwart comradeship among people.

As the children of today, we have received a cross as great as any ever beheld. Beset from all sides with conflicting ideas and beliefs, we must face up to a problem more long-lived than any other. A problem which has been passed down through a century to remain the crucifix of generations.

A feeling of bitterness among the minorities has been in the building for more than 100 years. The whites have treated the negroes deplorably and retaliation has been quick and severe; yet there is still time to rectify the mistakes which our ancestors have committed.

It's up to us. Are we game?

The Sandstorm

AMARILLO SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL
Room 106 **Tel. 25616**
Published Bi-Weekly

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ASSOCIATE EDITOR ..... Billie Roberson

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Mud'n Your Eye

Wow! What a holiday season, dances, parties, hangovers and all the trimmin's. Tis going to be hard to keep this column from buzzing places but we'll try.

Boys were raving about that new formal Sue Johnson was wearing to the Deb-Ette New Year's dance . . . also about the trumpet playing of Lewis (Hot Lips) Jobe. During one of those 15-minutes-for-Petrillo breaks the band was taking, Louis and Slick. (Say he's a basketball player.) Ellis, who beat the drums, serenaded the guests with an assortment of duets for drums and trumpet.

Queen Ann Hulett has been supporting her share of the orchid corsages to the Christmas time dances. . . . Hmm.

Neil Hamilton tells wild tales about being stranded at the HH Ranch during the recent frost which made roads to the city impassible . . . seems there were no women within commuting distance.

Visitors during the holidays seemed very impressed with the elaborate Christmas formals. More power to the sororities.

Dot Vogel, so the story goes, hurt her leg at the Deb-Ette brawl and spent the evening looking for Cassanova Tommy Randall—on the arm of Jack Davis.

Our nomination for the most attractive couple at any of the dances would go to Middie Billy Lynch and his date, Dolly Lynch, who were presented at the Huddle dance at the Country Club.

To keep out of trouble with the other sororities we now mention the highlighting features of their dances. Theta Pi. . . . A swell dance with good music and a swell place to show off the new Christmas finery. Sub-Deb. . . . An excellent start to the holiday season with the tops **in decorations.**

An Aeolian Choir mixture of baritone and tenor envolves Tommy Gruver and Genele Prater.

As a result of an odd policy of THE SANDSTORM not to mention the names of staff members it is impossible to mention "Man Hater" Betty Burkhalter who had a date with "Lovey Boy" John Hunter. Nor can we mention such torrid romancers as "Woo-Woo" Donna Blair or "Involved" Ince or Ick Vick. Dull life.

Jack (Come with me to the Casbah) Heath now has a one and only. We'll let the interested parties—Virginia Rogers and Corinne Bowlin and all other unattached females—know who she is next issue.

This department is open to nominations for the cover girl of AHS.

A note to all: "Mud In Your Eye" is written by a columnist (?) who will try to please all. Optimistic, no?

Couples seen leaving the dances early and returning for the final dance or so—Fred Wells and Carol Robberson . . . Max Carver and Pat Thomas . . . Joe Whitehurst and Donna Manning. Wonder why?

Forming a nice quartet are: A Cappella Choir members Craig Ratliff and Ann Hulett and Aeolians Junior Palmer and Beverly Smith.

Our final thought for this issue—why is SMOE spelled SCHMOE in the newspapers?

A Better Manners Club was active in 1929. The purpose was to teach the student members better general manners. One of the lectures given during the year was "How to Eeat Soup Without Souping." Another was "How to Use Crackers Without Crumbling."

Sport Slants

By Dick Brooks

PENN STATE TIED S. M. U. 13-13 in the Cotton Bowl New Year's Day. Some people think one team or the other should have won. But be that as it may, there was a reference on that game that appeared in the Wichita Falls paper that might be of interest to students here.

It was written by the sports editor and it went something like the following:

"The first thing we noticed about the Penn State Line was its likeness to the line of the Amarillo Sandies. They were big, rough and tough, and able to handle anything that came along."

Those aren't the exact words, but the meaning is the same. Some compliment, no?

At least there is one sports writer that thinks we had a pretty fair football team.

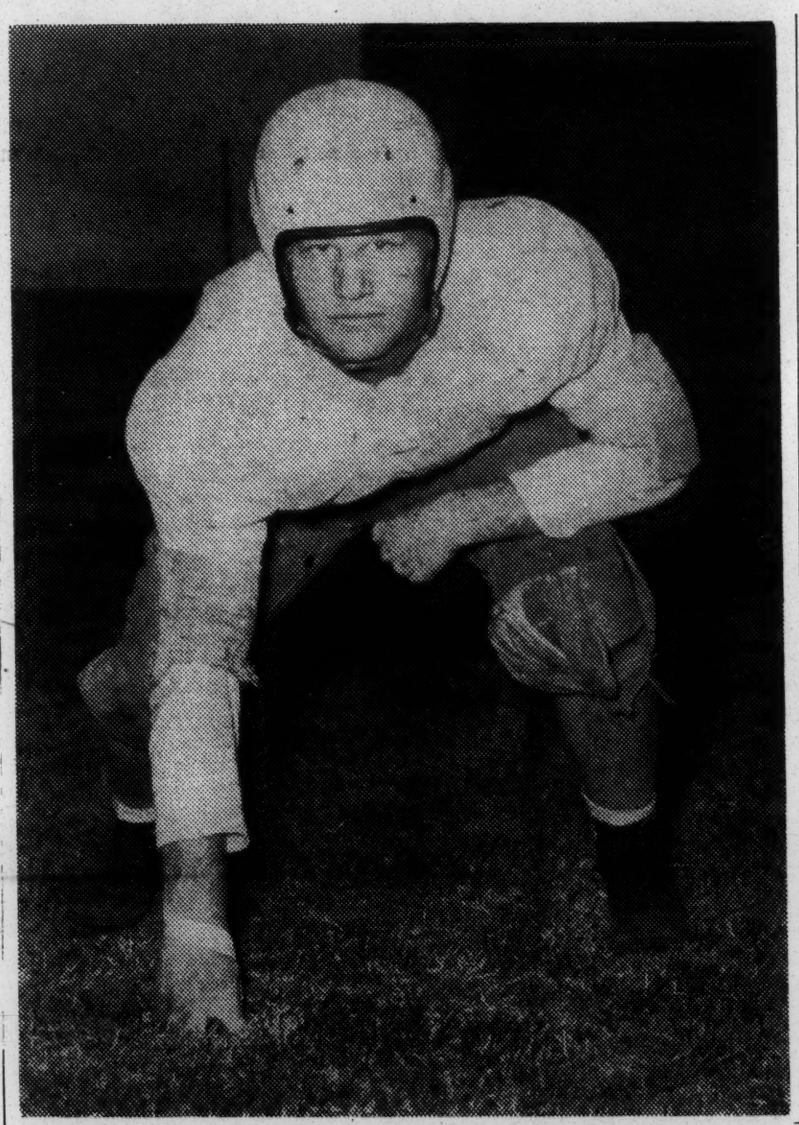
ON THE SPORT AT HAND. That of course would be basketball. The Sandies have been, and we hope will continue to be, a surprise to everyone.

So far, they have played 14 games and up to the time of this writing, have a record of 9 wins and 1 loss. Press dealines keep up from reporting on the four-game trip the Sandies took last week.

The lone blemish came at the hands of Ada, Oklahoma, the squad favored to be Oklahoma's state champions this season. The night before, the Black and Gold beat Ada 41-44.

THERE HAS BEEN A LOT OF talk lately about how weak the Sandies are this year, or rather not so much about how weak the Sandies are, but how unusually strong the other teams in District 1AA are this year.

Attebury Chosen on All-State Second Team



Receiving the highest award of any football player in District 1AA this past grid season, Sam Attebury, co-captain of the 1947 Sandies, was named guard on the All-State last week.

Sam is one of the smallest linemen from these parts ever to make that mythical eleven, chosen each year by the Texas Association of Sports Writers. He tips the scales at a mere 160 pounds.

A regular lineman in his junior year on the Black and Gold, Sam was one of the most dependable and steady of the Sandstorm's forward wall. He was known and feared througfhout the District for his determined play as wheelhorse of the line.

Like George Washington, Sam was to his teammates "first in the hearts of his countrymen." Downstate writers said of Sam after the Wichita Falls battle, that he was perhaps the most outstanding man on the field. They also consider him the sparkplug of the roughest, toughest line in the state.

Not only is Sam a leader on the gridiron, but in scholastic activities as well. He was president of his Sophomore Class and was class favorite that year. He was runner-up in his junior year. He is a member of the National Honor Society, National Athletic Honor Society, and is a member of the steering committee for AHS's Honor System.

Fem Gym

As the girls gym classes prepare for volleyball, the intramural basketball teams are winding up the play-offs.

Leading the junior-senior class in the basketball tournaments are the Invincibles and the Sharpshooters.

Still holding the lead in the sophomore class, the Lady Mars are closely followed by the Honey Bees and the Venus'.

"'These sophomore teams prove to be some of the best we've ever had," Miss Jane Williams, girls' gym teacher, said.

Sometime during the week of the 26, a night game will be held between the winning junior-senior team and the winning sophomore team. The game will be held in the armory and there will be a paid admission.

The trophy for the winning intramural girls' team of the year will be bought with the proceeds from this game, Miss Williams said.

The basketball intramurals will be completed during the semester examination week. With the completion of these games the girls' classes will begin volleyball.

By the middle of February the girls' out of town volleyball team will have been chosen.

An Englander Sees Baseball

By Bil Max Merry

See 'ere 'enry I truly don't understand these Americans. Last year when I was over in the States I witnessed the strangest exhibition. It seemed to be some kind of an athletic contest or the like.

There were nine blighters on some sort of a plowed lot with three bloomin' flour sacks spaced at in-

Hullmen Oppose Four Teams On Rugged Basketball Trip

Gamblin Begins Farm Club Team

Because of the overflow of pro-

have a record of 9 wins and 1 loss. Press dealines keep up from reporting on the four-game trip the Sandies took last week.

The lone blemish came at the hands of Ada, Oklahoma, the squad favored to be Oklahoma's state champions this season. The night before, the Black and Gold beat Ada 41-44.

THERE HAS BEEN A LOT OF talk lately about how weak the Sandies are this year, or rather not so much about how weak the Sandies are, but how unusually strong the other teams in District 1AA are this year.

Those other teams may be strong, but we here in the Sports department still favor the Black and Gold over everybody in the District, including Pampa and Lubbock.

Just see the Black and Gold play once and it won't be long before you will be impressed by their terrific hustle and their ability to play under pressure. They seem to have an uncanny knack for hitting a large per cent of the shots they attempt.

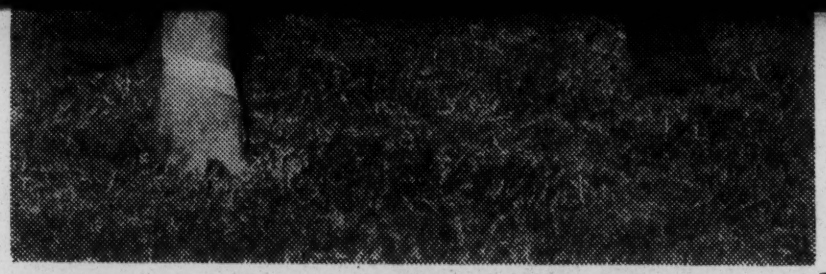
That's a characteristic of T. G. Hull-coached teams. It's been remarked over and over again by outsiders that ist amazingly high percentage of shots sunk makes the Sandies the winning team they are. We are inclined to agree with them.

ANOTHER REMARKABLE thing about the basketballers this year. None of the present five regulars played very much last year. The team was so good last season, and played so many other good teams, that these fellows just didn't get the opportunity. Doyle Watson probably played more than anyone else. They all lettered though, and that includes Bobby Farmer, who is the sixth man of the Sandies for this campaign. So far, Coach Hull has used all six men about equally, rotating them as he sees fit.

HERE'S AN INTERESTING LITtle sidelight. The Sandies have scored their highest total of the season and their lowest total of the season against the El Paso Tigers. That is, up to the just past road trip.

The two highest individual records for the Hullmen were made during the El Paso series. The first night it was Doyle Watson who was hot, scoring 20 points. That is high for any Sandie this season. On the night following it was Jim Sharp who bucketed 19 points.

Coach Clarence Jarvis' defending State Champions have an excellent ball team, even though these records were set up. His aggregation will give someone lots of trouble downstate.



Not only is Sam a leader on the gridiron, but in scholastic activities as well. He was president of his Sophomore Class and was class favorite that year. He was runner-up in his junior year. He is a member of the National Honor Society, National Athletic Honor Society, and is a member of the steering committee for AHS's Honor System.

Hullmen Oppose Four Teams On Rugged Basketball Trip

—"The bigger they come, the harder they fall!" So said Coach T. G. Hull and his boys as they embarked on the four-game trip last week.

One of the toughest journeys ever taken by the Sandie basketballers, the schedule included games with Carlsbad, New Mexico, El Paso High of El Paso, Bowie, and Austin High of El Paso.

Two of those four squads were state champions last year, the El Paso Tigers the champs of Texas, and Carlsbad the best team in New Mexico.

The Sandies already had met the El Paso Tigers in a two-game series in Amarillo, both of which were won by the Black and Gold. The Tigers are supposed to be the best of the three teams in El Paso, and will be double tough on their home court. Their season record to date is five wins and three losses.

The Carlsbad crew is a top-notch five again this year. That is proved by their 32-22 win over the Tigers from El Paso, and a season record of six wins and two defeats. One of those was lost to Austin of El Paso.

To date (this is being written Wednesday, January 7) the quintet from Bowie has a very good season's record. They have won 10 and lost 2, but the competition they have met up until they played the Sandies was not particularly outstanding.

Austin High of El Paso is slated to be a better-than-average five for this year. So far they have won 11 and lost only one. Their victories include a win over the fine Carlsbad team.

All this information serves to do nothing but confuse the neophyte prognosticator. But regardless of what else it shows, it certainly does prove that the Sandie road trip of last week was one of the toughest ever.

The public address system, over which comes opening exercises and routine announcements, was installed in October, 1938, at a cost of approximately $4,000.

Gamblin Begins Farm Club Team

Because of the overflow of prospective baseball talent, a "farm" club for sophomores and juniors is being planned by diamond Coach Rudy Gamblin, for the second semester.

Most of the "farm" team members will come from the varsity team after it is cut to 15 players who will represent AHS this spring in district play.

Plans for this team are to develop players for future Sandie nines. Under Coach Gamblin's able tutelage, the reserves should profit highly by this team, and insure AHS baseball success in years to come.

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will have been chosen.

An Englander Sees Baseball

By Bll Max Merry

See 'ere 'enry I truly don't understand these Americans. Last year when I was over in the States I witnessed the strangest exhibition. It seemed to be some kind of an athletic contest or the like.

There were nine blighters on some sort of a plowed lot with three bloomin' flour sacks spaced at intervals in a circle.

One beggar stood on a hill or something and after various contortions, 'e seemed to throw a bloomin' ball over a piece of rubber or the like.

There was considerable yelling and screaming of the most grotesque words one can imagine. One blighter sitting be'ind me seemed possessed with yelling weird noises one would make if one puckered his lips and blew with tremendous force. He called the players the Brooklyn Loafers or was it Beggars.

Another of these persons on this lot always yelled something everytime the blighter threw a ball. It sounded like "baaaaal," or rather "Stuuuuuke." Another person always waved his arms when a contestant ran to one of the sacks. And it always seemed if a beggar sitting on a sort of board on the side always jumped to his feet and yelled such terrible names at him that it seemed 'e was off 'is bloomin' nut.

Also the armwaver had this person ejected from the play with such terrible curses that I should be afraid to look.

By George, I shall never understand Americans.

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Sandie Uplifters To Fight for Tolerance

Inter - Race Group Plans Campaign

Perhaps the first forward step toward the abolishing of race prejudice and the opening of closed minds was taken by students of Amarillo and Patten (Negro) High Schools when they organized the first white-colored committee for the uplifting of the minority groups, Saturday, January 10, 1948.

This committee composed of three students from each high school is the foundation upon which better racial, religious and color understanding will grow. Through the committee contains only six members now, plans are being made to include members from other minorities groups to share in the solving of mutual problems. Principal immediate objective of the committee is to obtain backing from forward-thinking and social-minded clubs in Amarillo. Long range objectives are drawn up by the committee are:

First, to obtain a better understanding of problems facing the minority groups;

Second, to do away with race prejudice in Amarillo;

Third, to obtain educational and job equality for minority groups;

Fourth, to promote more good will among all races;

Fifth, adults and ourselves to live up to the old saying: "Peace on earth, good will to men."

The committee stresses the fact that it was not trying to repeal the written and unwritten laws of segregation, but was opportunity for and discrimination against minority groups.

Other projects the committee has planned include a speech in assembly by the foremost student of Patten, and a visit by negro students to AHS such as those American Problems students have made to Patten.

George Bob Vick, editor of THE SANDSTORM, is anxious for all letters giving private opinions on the subject All correspondence should be brought to THE SANDSTORM office, room 106.

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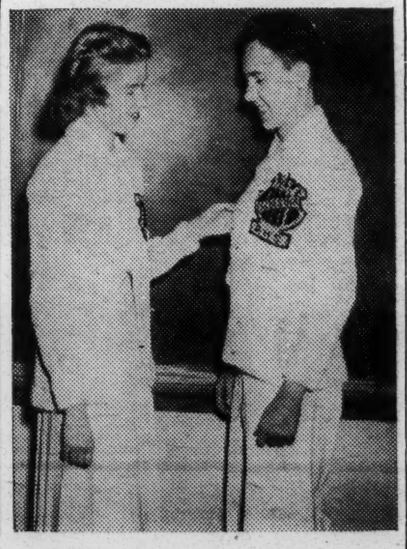
Music Makers Will Travel To State Meet



NANCY ODOM and Richard Kidwell discuss and admire new sweaters of AHS orchestra.

* * * *

Eight lucky AHS orchestra students will journey to the All State High School Orchestra meet in Waco, February 11, 12 and 13.

Selected were: Don Hayworth, cello; Richard Kidwell, bass violin; George Mallett, clarinet; Nancie Odom, flute; Donald O'Heim, violin; Carolyn Vermillion, violin; Joe

Why Be Honest?

(Continued from page 1)

caught. He has many friends. And nothing can make me believe that he is suffering from a guilty conscience; he seems completely happy. I repeat my question, 'Why be honest?'"

2. A girl complains to her friends, "Why be honest in doing your school work? I know some people who borrow work constantly, yet they have never been caught. They make good grades, and some of them have gotten into the scholastic organizations. Being dishonest seems to pay."

Giant Boilers Bring Warmth to AHS And Nixson High

Want a job?

A few years past a position was open to shovel coal . . . No! No! Here in AHS.

Two great boilers will occupy the boiler room in the southwest hall once thrived on many tons of coal fed them by human hands. Prior to coal the great cavities of the monster boilers were filled with cord upon cord of wood, again supplied by human power.

Today these massive organs burn 1,200,000 cubic feet of natural gas.

This great quantity of gas warms the 3,000 students of AHS and Nixon Junior High; thawing their frozen toes and fingers in frigid weather.

Through a pipe housed in a tunnel under the sidewalk between the schools, 180 pounds of pressure forces

19 Initiates To Enter NHS Wednesday

Newly nominated members of the AHS Chapter of the National Honor Society will be initiated at an impressive candlelight service Wednesday, January 14.

New members to be initiated were chosen on a basis of scholarship and service to the school. They are: Oliver Barfield, Gilbert Beistle, Virginia Carter, Mantie Deitiker, Rosemary Edwards, Eddie Hill, Ann Hulett.

Mary Alice King, Barbara McCullough, Carolyn Parker, Anne Rushmer, Bettye Singleton, Dick Tharp, Jim Tidwell, Joe Turpin, Elaine Willborn, Joanne Whittington, George Bob Vick and Helen Zweig.

Many Prefer Music To Gun Toting Or Athletics

Who says AHS isn't musically inclined?

A recent survey shows that approximately one third of AHS's students are enrolled in school musical organizations. Totaling 635 pupils, the music makers outnumber both the ROTC and the combined athletic teams of AHS.

The choirs of Mrs. Julia Dean

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Selected were: Don Hayworth, cello; Richard Kidwell, bass violin; George Mallett, clarinet; Nancie Odom, flute; Donald O'Heim, violin; Carolyn Vermillion, violin; Joe Whitehurst, trumpet; and Walter Wolfram, violin.

The Texas Music Education Clinic will put together a 100 piece orchestra made up of students from various high schools in Texas.

Conducted by Oran Dalley, director from Wichita, Kansas, the honorary orchestra will play a concert Friday night February 13 at Baylor University Auditorium.

Accompanying the students will be Miss Louise Dicken, AHS orchestra director. Miss Dicken is to conduct a forum on "'String Class Teaching in Public Schools."

Two great boilers will occupy the boiler room in the southwest hall once thrived on many tons of coal fed them by human hands. Prior to coal the great cavities of the monster boilers were filled with cord upon cord of wood, again supplied by human power.

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Through a pipe housed in a tunnel under the sidewalk between the schools, 180 pounds of pressure forces steam heat into the Nixson building. This same pressure drives warmth into the approximately 75 heaters of AHS.

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A recent survey shows that approximately one third of AHS's students are enrolled in school musical organizations. Totaling 635 pupils, the music makers outnumber both the ROTC and the combined athletic teams of AHS.

The choirs of Mrs. Julia Dean Evans and Miss Tennie Thompson overshadow all other organizations with a total of 440 songsters. The two Golden Sandie bands under the direction of Clyde A. Rowe are next, numbering 135, followed by the 60 piece orchestra conducted by Miss Louise Dicken.

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Supplementary Sheet No. 5
January 1948

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STUDY FORMS AND TECHNICS IN INTERGROUP RELATIONS

THE COLLEGE STUDY IN INTERGROUP RELATIONS*
Council on Cooperation in Teacher Education
American Council on Education
Lloyd Allen Cook, Director
Wayne University, 5272 Second Ave.,
Detroit 2, Michigan

Among the several ways in which the College Study seeks to be of help to workers in intergroup education is in devising, collecting, and distributing study forms, bibliographies, teaching aids, and the like. In the main, these materials have been prepared by the College Study Staff, or by colleges in the Study, although we are glad to receive from others any study form which in their opinion merits general use and test.

In general, our materials are related to College Study goals, with emphasis especially on race, creed, national heritages, rural-urban and social class differences, as suggested in the following statement:

College Study Goals

1. To discover and appraise the role in child and adult life of race, creed, national heritages, rural-urban and class level differences.
2. To provide college and school environments in which all peoples are viewed, valued and treated in terms of their personal worth.
3. To teach prospective teachers a better understanding of and a deeper concern for human relations, and to increase their work skills in this area.
4. To make basic and lasting improvements in teacher training programs in line with the above goals, and to diffuse these changes within the profession.
5. To work directly, and to cooperate actively, with local and nonlocal intergroup agencies for the increasing democratization of our common life.

Please order any item by its file number, including stamps up to $1 in your order. In amounts over $1, make checks payable to the College Study in Intergroup Relations. Charges cover costs to us, including postage.

Our function, as we now regard it, is to supply sample forms, at least for most of our listings, with the user reproducing the form in quantities for his own noncommercial use. Where forms are copyrighted, the right of use must of course be secured from the copyright holder.

Ask if you wish to have your name put on our regular mailing list for monthly Bulletins, reprints of articles, and other College Study materials sent free to professional workers.

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*Financed for a four year period by a grant to the Council on Cooperation in Teacher Education of the American Council on Education by the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

I. ANECDOTAL RECORDS

1. Anecdotal Record Sheet. Adapted from form by Professor Bertha Lawrence, State Teachers College, Trenton, N. J. Record Sheet, File #AR-3; Manual, File #AR-3A. Each, 6¢.

2. Student's Record of Group Behavior. Adapted from form by Mrs. Lois Griggs and an Intergroup Committee at Milwaukee State Teachers College. File #AR-5, 6¢.

3. Student's Weekly Log and Program Report. Adaptation of a weekly "log" used in directed teaching in the College of Education, Wayne University, Detroit. File #AR-7, 6¢.

II. ATTITUDE SCALES, OPINIONNAIRES

1. Race Attitudes and Contacts. General, composite inquiry, illustrating various kinds of testing. Of use in orienting a college class and as an endtest measure. Four pages, mimeo. File #AS-1, 6¢.

2. Attitudes Toward Negroes: Statement Form. Seventeen tested attitudinal statements, asking for one of five responses from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Score range of 17 to 85. File #AS-15, 6¢.

3. Attitudes Toward Negroes: Incident Form. Ten incidents, or short cases, asking subject to circle one of five attitudinal statements with which he most nearly agrees. Scale range of 10 to 50. File #AS-16, 6¢.

4. Attitudes Toward Jews: Statement Form. Same type as No. 2 above. File #AS-10,6¢.

5. Attitudes Toward Jews: Incident Form. Same type as No. 3 above. File #AS-11,6¢.

6. Attitudes Toward Social Classes: Statement Form. 32 items. File #AS-12, 6¢.

7. Attitudes Toward the Foreign-born: Statement Form. 15 items. File #AS-13, 6¢.

8. A Survey of Group Opinions. A composite 40-item test dealing with attitudes toward Jews, Negroes, the foreign-born, and lower classes. Each item selected from an original list of about 30 items. Five response categories from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Scale range of 40 to 200, with tentative norms on about 600 cases. Reliabilities high. Test, File #AS-20, 12¢; Manual, File #AS-20A, 15¢.

9. Attitudes Toward Races and Nationalities. By H. H. Grice, edited by H. H. Remmers, Purdue University. A 46-item form which can be filled in for one to five races and nationalities. File #AS-26, 6¢.

10. Living With Others. Developed by Dr. Dorothy A. Goetz, and the faculty of the Lanning Demonstration School, New Jersey State Teachers College, Trenton. An 8 page 32-item test for upper grade children. Attitudes toward Negroes, Jews, immigrant nationalities, and lower classes. Test, File #AS-32, 12¢; Manual, File #AS-32A, 6¢.

11. What People Are Like. A 20-item inventory of personal-social traits, to be filled in for any ethnic group or social class, with ratings in a 10-point positive-negative scale. Separate answer sheet. Adapted from a test by Dr. Eugene Hartley, City College, New York. File #AS-33, 6¢.

12. Paths of Life. Six "paths of life", each described in a paragraph, to which respondents are asked to indicate personal reactions by ratings of 1, very sympathetic, to 5, definitely opposed. Adapted from a test by Charles Morris, University of Chicago. File #AS-40, 6¢.

13. Social Distance Questionnaire. Adapted from scale by Dr. Theodore G. Standing, State College for Teachers, Albany, New York. Twelve types of relationships, ten ethnic groups. One page. File #AS-52, 6¢.

14. Social Attitudes of College Students. An 87-item, four part scale by Dr. Lycia O. Martin, New Jersey State Teachers College, Trenton. Test covers areas of social relations with ethnic groups, likes-dislikes, and attitudes. Scale range of 278 points, with total test reliability of .91. Order from author or from College Study as File #AS-55, 12¢; Manual, File #AS-55A, 6¢.

III. BIBLIOGRAPHIES

1. Intergroup Relations: A General Bibliography. Current fiction, sociological studies, child acculturation, school programs, group study and management technics, etc. Fourteen pages, mimeo. File #B-2, 12¢.

2. Rogers, Carl R., Bibliography on Nondirective Therapy. Mimeo., 70 titles, 1946. Order from Dr. Carl R. Rogers, Dept. of Psychology, University of Chicago (no price given) or from the College Study. File #B-3, 9¢.

3. Cook, Lloyd Allen, "Intergroup Education". Reprint of chapter in Review of Educational Research, 17, 266-78, 1947. 77-item biblio. File #TM-25, 15¢.

4. Bibliography on Action Research and Group Management. Four page bibliography covering recent researches and interpretations in the field of intergroup relations. File #B-7, 9¢.

5. Projective Tests: A Bibliography. Adapted from Hertz, Marguerite R.; Ellis, Albert; and Symonds, Percival M. "Rorschach Methods and Other Projective Technics." Review of Educational Research, 17, 73-100, 1947. File #B-5, 9¢.

6. Leadership: A Bibliography. Adapted from Leslie Day Zeleny, "Leadership", Encyclopedia of Educational Research, 1943 Revision. File #B-9, 9¢.

IV. COLLEGE STUDY BULLETINS*

1. The College Study in Intergroup Relations. General information regarding the Study for colleges interested in making an application for inclusion in the Study. File #SS-7, Five pages.

2. Our Colleges for 1946-47. Brief description of the programs of 20 participating colleges as of December, 1946. File #CCB-6, Twelve pages, 10¢.

3. Action, Action Research for 1947-48. Discussion of "action research" in reference to College Study program for the year. October 1947. File #AR-10, Fourteen pages, 10¢.

4. Group Work Technics in the College Study. A listing of the eleven kinds of "group work" approaches made by colleges in the Study, with cases and analyses of a few. February 1948. File #TM-32. Eleven pages, 20¢.

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*Only Bulletins in stock are listed, with listings changing as our supplies are exhausted.

5. Study Forms and Technics in Intergroup Relations. An inventory of study forms, teaching aids, etc., distributed by the College Study. January 1948. File #TS-16C.

V. COMMUNITY STUDY FORMS

1. Social Participation Scale, 1937. By F. Stuart Chapin, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis. Nature and extent of husband and wife participation in community organizations, tentative norms. Copyrighted. File #CS-31, 6¢.

2. Community Resources Inventory. By Lloyd Allen Cook. Three page inventory for collecting essential information on agencies of use in a school program. File #CS-35, 6¢.

3. Community Satisfaction Scale. By Vernon Davies, Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis. 20 scaled statements. File #CS-38, 3¢.

4. Minnesota Home Status Index. By Alice M. Leahy, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis. A scale for measuring the urban home environment of children. Copyrighted. Order from author. File #CS-3.

5. Occupational Rating Scale. A device to secure rated opinion as to the social worth of 90 common occupations. Adapted from scales by C. C. North and Paul Hatt. File #CS-43, 15¢. National norms, as determined by the National Opinion Research Center, are available from the College Study. File #CS-43A, 20¢.

6. What Would You Do? A 15 item three-choice test for high school ages on local community issues and problems. File #CS-6, 12¢.

7. A Study of Newspapers. A form for rating newspapers in respect to their treatment of minority groups. Six pages. File #CS-12, 12¢.

VI. EVALUATION FORMS

1. Evaluation of a Course in Intergroup Relations. Overall course rating by students, achievement of objectives, teacher personality, etc. Two pages, File #EF-1, 6¢.

2. Student Reaction to College Experiences. Adapted from form by Dr. Harold O. Soderquist and Wayne University Committee on Intergroup Relations. Student reactions to courses, campus and off-campus activities. Two pages, File #EF-5, 6¢.

3. Films and Film Strips in Intergroup Relations. By Robert LeAnderson and Robert Larsen. 15-page description and appraisal, plus list of national distributors. File #EF-8, 12¢.

4. Group Process Approach to Education. Systematic pre- and end-test appraisal form for any college course seeking to make a "group work" approach to teacher training problems. Objectives, procedures, problems. Four pages. File #EF-10, 9¢.

VII. EXPERIENCE INVENTORIES

1. Experiences With White People. By Dr. Grace Woodson, West Virginia State College, Institute, W. Va. Check list for Negro students. File #EI-2, 6¢.

2. Experiences With Negroes: Community Contacts. By Robert N. Ford, University of Alabama, University, Ala. Negro participation in community life as white respondents have seen it. Two pages, 12 tested items, five responses. Scale values of 12 to 60, with some known norms. File #EI-4, 9¢.

3. Experiences With Negroes: Personal Contacts. By Robert N. Ford. Same type scale as above. 14 items, scale value 14 to 70. File #EI-5, 6¢.
Note: For use of, and data on, these two scales, see Ford's article in American Sociological Review, 6, 9-23, February 1941.

VIII. GROUP STUDY FORMS

1. Observing A Youth Group. For use in sensitizing college students to group structure, processes, member roles, etc. Requires training in use. Three pages. File #GI-2, 12¢.

IX. INFORMATIONAL TESTS

1. American Ethnic Peoples. A 100-item factual test, multiple choice type. Items indicative of general knowledge; college level. File #IT-2, 15¢. Key, File #IT-2A, 3¢.

X. PROBLEM CHECK LISTS

1. Problem Check List. By Ross L. Mooney, Ohio State University, Columbus. Over 300 items classified in 11 categories, such as health, social relations, school progress, etc., regarded as problems by respondents. Copyrighted. Obtain from Bureau for Educational Research, Ohio State University. File #PCL-1 (Jr. H. S.), #PCL-2 (Sr. H. S.), #PCL-3 (College).

2. The Wishing Well. By Louis Raths. 160 items in eight "needs" categories. More projective than Mooney Problem Check List. Grades 4, 5 and 6. Obtain from Bureau for Educational Research, Ohio State University. File #PCL-6, 12¢

XI. PERSONALITY INVENTORIES, GENERAL

1. The Personal Audit. By C. R. Adams and W. A. Lepley, Psych-Educational Clinic, Penn. State College, State College, Pa. Percentile score profile in nine areas of personality. Copyrighted. Obtain from Science Research Association, 228 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago. File #PI-2.

2. The Personality Inventory. By Robert G. Bernreuter. Copyrighted. Obtain from Stanford University Press, Stanford University, Calif. File #PI-3.

3. Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory. By S. R. Hathaway and J. C. McKinley. Copyrighted. Obtain from Univ. Minn. Press, Minneapolis. File #PI-4.

XII. PROGRESS REPORTS, ARTICLES

1. The Study of Intergroup Relations. 24th Yearbook. American Association of Teachers Colleges, 1945, pp. 5-51. Papers by Ethel Alpenfels, Allison Davis, R. J. Havighurst, Frank Baker, Julius Warren, Lloyd Allen Cook. Order from Chas. W. Hunt, Secretary, American Association of Teachers Colleges, State Teachers College, Oneonta, New York. $1.00 File #PR-1.

2. Cook, Lloyd A. "Teaching Teachers Cooperative Action." 25th Yearbook, American Association of Teachers Colleges, 1946, 97-108. Reprint. File #PR-2, 15¢.

3. Cook, Lloyd A. "The College Study in Intergroup Relations: A Progress Report." Educational Record, October 1946, 452-465. Reprint. File #PR-3, 15¢.

4. Cook, Lloyd A. "Intergroup Education." Review of Educational Research, 17, 266-78, 1947. 77 title biblio. File #TM-25, 15¢.

5. In-Process Committee Report. Two page form used by the College Study for in-process reports by project committee chairmen. File #PR-17, 6¢.

XIII. PROJECTIVE TESTS

1. What Would You Do? An Interviewing Device. By Arnold Meier. Series of simple line drawings, showing child entering country, traveling to subject's home town, entering school, etc. Child (small doll, paper cutout, etc.) a little Negro boy, Jewish girl, and the like. Test used as interviewing device. Obtain from Detroit Citizenship Education Study, 436 Merrick St. File #PT-1.

2. Rosenzweig P-F Study. By Saul Rosenzweig, Western State Psychiatric Hospital, Pittsburgh, Pa. Four printed pages, four drawings to a page, with subject asked to write in responses to personally frustrating situations of a general sort. No group relations content. Order from author. File #PT-2.

3. The "Faces" Test. By Research Center for Group Dynamics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge. Panel of 16 tested photo faces about which "guess who" questions are asked. Now in experimental stage and available only from authors. File #PT-4.

4. Human Relations Test. Developed by the staff of the College Study. Ten printed drawings, each depicting an intergroup contact. Subjects asked to write a short story about each scene, telling what has happened, how it came about, and what will happen next. Can be used as individual test (cards) or group test (slides, opaque projector). Directions for obtaining and interpreting scores for guidance uses based on 260 cases. Test, File #PT-10, Set of 10 cards, $1.50; ten sets or more, $1.00 each. Manual, File #PT-10A, 25¢.

XIV. SCHOOL INQUIRY FORMS

1. The School Inventory. By Hugh M. Bell. Series of 70 or more questions about the school, reactions to teachers, etc. Copyrighted. Order from Stanford University Press. File #SIF-1.

2. How Do You Feel About Education for Better Human Relations? Bureau for Intercultural Education, 1697 Broadway, New York. Check-type test, wide range of items. Order from Bureau. File #SIF-3.

3. School Inventory: Intergroup Relations. Designed by the College Study as a survey for use in mixed schools. Pupil attitudes and behaviors, school practices, etc. File #SIF-5, 15¢.

XV. SOCIOGRAPHIC AND SOCIAL DISTANCE TESTS

1. Ohio Social Acceptance Scale: Form G-3. By Dr. Louis Raths, New York University. Six categories of personal friendliness. Can be adapted grades 4 to 12. Test, File #ST-3; manual, File #ST-3A; each 3¢.

2. Who's Who in My Group? Form G-4-B, Intermediate Grades. By Dr. Louis Raths. 18 "guess who" items indicative of pupil roles and prestige ratings. File #ST-4, 6¢.

3. The Culture Conflict Index. By Dr. Louis Raths. Middle to upper elementary grades. 18 kinds of intergroup attitudinal situations answered in terms of "how many people in your room" (or group) would react by liking, disliking. Separate answer sheet. Six pages. File #ST-5, 12¢.

4. Activity Inventory. Designed to secure positive and negative friend choices, but to focus attention on an array of activities, sports, hobbies, etc. High school level. Two pages. File #ST-20, 6¢.

5. How I Feel About Others. A 20 item check list for 3rd to 6th grades, seeking attitudes toward country children, small town and big city children. Two pages, File #ST-10, 6¢.

6. Where Should Children Be Reared? Seventeen attitudinal statements, asking for comparison of farm, town, city, etc., as the most desirable place in which to live. For grades 6 to 10. File #ST-11, 6¢.

7. Social Distance Questionnaire. Adapted from scale devised by Dr. Theodore G. Standing, State College for Teachers, Albany, N. Y. Twelve "distance" relationships toward ten ethnic groups. One page. File #AS-52, 6¢.

XVI. TEACHING MATERIALS: INTERGROUP RELATIONS

1. Intergroup Education: Course Outline. By Dr. W. W. D. Sones, University of Pittsburgh. Two page outline of study units. File #TM-1, 6¢.

2. Thaden, J. F., Farm People of Michigan by Ethnic Stocks: 1945. Sample ethnic map ($2\frac{1}{2}$ by 3 ft.). File #TM-2, 25¢.

3. Alpenfels, Ethel, Sense and Nonsense About Race. 47 p. 1946. File #TM-5, 25¢.

4. Improving Intergroup Relations in School and Community Life. By Committee on Inservice Education, North Central Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges. Cases, theory, study and action technics. 48 p. File #TM-15, 35¢; 10 copies or more, 25¢ each.

5. Redfield, Robert, Race and Religion in Selective Admission. 15 p. 1947. File #TM-8, 25¢.

6. From Sea to Shining Sea. Administrative viewpoints and practices. 64 p. 1947. Order from American Association of School Administrators, 1201 16th St., N. W., Washington, D. C. or from the College Study. File #TM-28, 50¢.

7. Gilchrist, Robert S., et al. Building Friendly Relations. Description of practices in Laboratory School, Ohio State University. 50 p. 1947. File #TM-10, 45¢.

8. Welling, Jane B., et al. What Can Teachers Do? Intergroup Relations in creative arts, college level. 31 p., illustrated. 1947. File #TM-20, 55¢. Over 25, 40¢ each.

9. Cook, Lloyd Allen, "Intergroup Education." Review of Educational Research, 17: 266-73, 1947. Reprint. File #TM-25, 15¢.

10. Cook, Lloyd Allen, "An Experimental Sociographic Study of A Stratified 10th Grade Class." American Sociological Review, 10: 250-61, 1945. Sociograms, case materials, biblio. Reprinted, 1947. File #TM-26, 25¢; 10 to 20, 20¢ each; over 20, 15¢.

11. Cook, Lloyd Allen, "Group Work Technics in the College Study." Social Education, February 1943. Group discussion technics, activity programs, group therapy, cultural informant, sociodrama, etc. Reprint. 12 p. File #TM-32, 20¢.

12. Preliminary Report of the First National Training Laboratory on Group Development. Order from National Education Association, 1201 16th St., N. W., Washington, D. C. $1.00

13. The Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. To Secure These Rights. New York: Simon and Schuster, $1.00 Available from the College Study in PM's reprints. File #TM-34, 10¢

14. Kilpatrick, William H. and Van Til, William, Editors. Intercultural Attitudes in the Making. Ninth Yearbook of the John Dewey Society. New York: Harper, $3.00

15. Williams, Robin M., Jr. The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions. A Survey of Research on Problems of Ethnic, Racial, and Religious Group Tensions. Obtain from Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York, 17, N. Y.

XVII. TEST SCORING METHODS AND MATERIALS

1. Cook, Lloyd Allen, Methods of Community Study. Adapted from article in W. C. Reavis (ed.), The School and the Urban Community, 1942, pp. 201-14. Emphasis on processing field data, building tables, etc. File #TSM-1, 15¢.

2. The McBee Keyport System. Five page description of an effective "ice pick" system of tabulating social data. File #TSM-4, 9¢.

3. Forsyth, Elaine and Katz, Leo, "A Matrix Scheme for Scoring Sociographic Data." Sociometry, 9, November 1946, 340-7. Reprint. File #TSM-14, 12¢.

4. Worksheet for Recording Sociographic Data. Sample sheet. One page. File #TSM-19, 6¢.

College Study in Intergroup Relations
5272 Second Ave., Detroit 2, Michigan.

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GROUP WORK TECHNICS IN THE COLLEGE STUDY*

Lloyd Allen Cook

In retrospect, it seems safe to say that the College Study in Intergroup Relations has never had the fumbling about period so characteristic of some largescale efforts to explore human relations. Within the Study's framework, colleges and universities, schools and communities, have had three interests: what ought to be done, how can it be done, and with what evidence of effective doing. So far staff writings have centered mostly on questions one and three. It is the present purpose to discuss some aspects of Question 2, the approaches made to inter- and intra-group problems, with emphasis on what we have called group work technics.

The College Study: A Perspective

The College Study is a four-year cooperative effort by selected colleges, schools and community agencies to improve teacher education as it relates to "inter- and intra-group relations," a field defined as including the nature, workings and effects, in child and adult life, of race, creed, national heritages, rural-urban and social class level differences. Agreed upon goals are five in number, all dating back to the Study's origin but redefined from time to time.

College Study Goals

1. To discover and appraise the role in child and adult life of race, creed, national heritages, rural-urban and class level differences.
2. To provide college and school environments in which all people are viewed, valued and treated in terms of their personal worth.
3. To teach prospective teachers a better understanding of and a deeper concern for human relations, and to increase their work skills in this area.
4. To make basic and lasting improvements in teacher training programs in line with the above goals, and to diffuse these changes within the profession.
5. To work directly, and to cooperate actively, with local and nonlocal intergroup agencies for the increasing democratization of our common life.

Participation in the College Study is for an academic year, subject to a request for renewal to the CTC executive committee,[1] with "old" and new college applications always in excess of resources to expand the Study. Starting with 8 teacher educating institutions in 1945, the number was increased to 20 in 1946-47, then reduced in the present year to 12 in order to do more intensive work. In 1948-49, the last year of the Study, the number may be expanded to 30 or more, depending on

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*Paper read at the annual meeting of the National Council for the Social Studies, St. Louis, November 27-29. The author is director of the College Study in Intergroup Relations of the Council on Cooperation in Teacher Education, and chairman of the Department of Educational Sociology, Wayne University, Detroit.

[1]Executive Committee of the Council on Cooperation in Teacher Education, a member of the American Council on Education. The College Study is financed by a grant of funds from the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

possible budget increases. From the first, the aim has been to secure a representative sample of the nation's teacher training institutions, selected from every part of the country.

Also from the start, colleges and schools have stressed the use of science as a method of solving inter- and intra-group problems. This is evident in day by day consultant work on college campuses, in annual reports, in frequent work conferences and summer workshops, and in numerous writings.[2] It is best seen, perhaps, in a "materials laboratory," the functions of which are to devise, collect and circulate study forms, teaching technics, bibliographies, and so on. Well received from the first, this service to colleges and schools within and outside the Study has taxed of late our resources to maintain it.[3]

Approaches to Intergroup Problems

The natural departure for the focus we have in mind is via a broader matter, the approaches made by our colleges and schools to racial, creedal, and other human relations problems. In truth, we know of no strictly logical way to classify these various approaches, each way showing a great deal of overlap.[4] For present purposes, a simple five-way division seems adequate.

Approaches by Colleges and Schools to Group Relations Problems

I. Intellectual Approach
Assumptions that ideas influence conduct, facts change values. Example, an average textbook oriented course.

II. Direct Participation Approach
Informal, at times intimate, participation. Example, school visits, field trips, agency experiences, activities programs.

III. Vicarious Experience Approach
Taking the role of another, usually an outgroup member, via imaginative projection. Example, fiction, movies, plays.

IV. Exhibits, Festivals, Pageants
Display of heritages, customs and contributions. Seeks to create outgroup approval and ingroup self respect.

V. The Group Process Approach
Use of the group as an instrument to influence the individual, for example the sociodrama.

Each of these approaches is a complex pattern, a bundle of many threads. Rather than to try brief comment on each one, we shall consider only the fifth category,

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[2]For example, "Teaching Teachers Cooperative Action," 25th Yrbk.; 5-51 (Oneonta, New York: American Association of Teachers Colleges, 1946); "The College Study: A Progress Report," Educ. Rec., XXVII; 452-65, 1946; and "The Frame of Reference in the College Study, Jour. Educ. Soc., XXI, 31-42, 1947.

[3]To inspect this list, request it as File No. TS-16, College Study Office, 5272 Second Ave., Detroit 2. Materials are sent at cost to colleges and schools not participating in the College Study.

[4]Others have had the same difficulty. See the writer's "Intergroup Education," Rev. Educ. Res., XVII, 266-78, 1947.

the group process approach to racial, creedal and other problems. Of the 250 odd concrete projects on which we have evidence, this approach has appeared to be the most promising in effecting attitudinal and behavioral changes. As this conclusion began to emerge from our data, we have renewed stress on this way of working with people.[5]

Group Work Technics

Everyday, in countless ways, in schools and outside, groups act upon their members. They motivate and inhibit, reward and punish. They release strains and build new ones in. They set patterns of conduct and stimulate to action. They have leadership, are obviously dependent upon it, and they can be led in directions assumed to be desirable. These are simple truths and yet they are the basis of group process education. Since College Study interest is in the teacher's role, we shall present case materials consistently from the leader angle.

Case 1 is meant only to illustrate the general concept of group work, group guidance or management. It is a commonplace example of using a group to influence the conduct of its members.

Using the Group to Influence the Individual

The time is noon, the place Corpus Christi. Among the 40 or more Spanish and Anglo children eating a hot lunch, one little rebel will not touch his spinach. He looked down at his plate and then up at his teacher, unmoved by her stern admonitions. And then the visitor was introduced, and maybe he would talk to the children. Yes, and he does, but mostly he has heard a new song which is fun to sing. It is about "Popeye, the Sailor Man," how strong he is, and good, and how he got that way. Easy to learn, too, so the group tried it.

As the verses were sung, the visitor moved up the line toward the little rebel. At the end of each verse, and each ended with some reference to Popeye eating his spinach, the visitor would look at some plate, exclaiming that the spinach was all gone, and feel the child's arm muscles. This would cause great excitement, craning of necks to see, much talk and laughter.

It was not until the visitor was three children distant from the boy that he began to focus. A companion whispered to him but he did not reply. Two children away, the youngster began to stare at his spinach, his hands toying with his plate. One child distant, with his turn next, he grabbed the plate with both hands and bolted down the spinach. The song over him was a pretty special affair. Why, the visitor could almost feel his muscles grow! The child's scowl disappeared; he looked around the room and grinned.

No inference should be drawn from the incident as to the field of group process education, for the use of the group as a control device is only one of its many uses. From reports and observations, there would appear to be at least eleven situations in which different group guidance technics are being used in College Study colleges, schools, social agency programs, and community meetings.

Group Work Situations and Guidance Technics

1. Campus Activity Programs
2. Small Group Discussion Technics

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[5] See College Study Bulletin AR-10, Action, Action Research for 1947-48. Free.

3. Large Class Organization
4. Self Directed Group Therapy
5. Therapeutic "Shock Tactics"
6. Focused Group Interview
7. Cultural Informant Technic
8. Participant Observer Studies
9. Sociodrama and Psychodrama
10. Mass Impression Tactics
11. Group Decision in Crisis Situations

Common elements run through all of these eleven situations, for example degree of worker insight, sensitivity to feelings, group integration skills, calculation of risks, etc. Space does not permit us to deal with the entire list so that we are forced to select a few illustrative examples. This does not indicate any rating of technics as to rank order importance; in fact, that would be impossible.

Campus Activity Programs

The prime interest of college students in intergroup problems is how to solve them. In class and outside, in campus groupings and activities, the average student is concerned to know what can be done to improve the conditions of life for all people. He values more than does his professor direct, experiential contacts, yet his basic beliefs change slowly. His very impatience with dry as dust book learning, plus a naive faith in direct action, may lead him to campaign vigorously for some needed reform. His dominant thought pattern, reenforced by years of schooling, points him strongly toward individualistic, competitive action. Divisive thinking does not yield to integrative thinking without marked resistance, and with notable slips backward. One may readily overestimate the depths and permanence of any sudden behavioral change.

Case 2 bears in part on the above items. It reveals a major emphasis in the intergroup program of a state teachers college in a large midwestern city.

Moving Toward Intercreedal Understandings

It was registration day and a double line of students was passing an outer desk where each was handed a card. Curious about this card, a professor found it contained a jagged, bloody picture of "the head of Christ," plus an invitation to attend a meeting of "the Fundamentalists."

At this meeting, the professor was impressed with the group's faith in their fundamentalist creed, in their attacks on Catholics and Jews, in their announced aim "to clean up the campus and the town," and in their urgent bid for student converts.

Presently, the professor had an invitation to address this group. Instead of a speech, he proposed a "talk session." What were some of their beliefs? Did they believe in one God? Did they believe in life after death? Did they believe in the Ten Commandments? Were good thoughts best expressed in good deeds? Had they ever visited a Jewish synagogue or a Catholic church? Were any of their good friends Jews or Catholics? Disturbed by what he found out, he decided to talk to his Intergroup Committee.

Within a short time, a call was issued to student religious leaders to meet in the dean's office. They were not invited to represent their or-

ganizations, nor was anything said about religion. The college, it seemed, was interested in student services to the community. Since there was no service organization of this sort, could some kind of club or council, with a speakers' bureau, be set up and run by the students?

The idea took hold and, for the first time, these particular students were united by a serious common cause. As personal contacts increased, friendships developed, and presently, as was inevitable, students began to swap creedal points of view. Meantime, needing a sponsor, they invited the above professor to fill this office. By the end of the year, they had greatly expended their community services and, more to the point, they were discussing in their meetings the closer unity of all religious faiths on the campus.

In work of this sort, guidance technics take pretty routine forms. Groups must be helped to organize, to clarify values and deepen convictions. They must be saved from inaction, even from ill-considered action, yet leadership dare not be taken out of student hands. One must guide on the group's readiness for action, best sensed in its changing feeling tones. It is amazing to see how students, if really excited about a cause, will work for it--their initiative, good logic and persistence. At Albany, New York, state teachers college students hold an annual statewide conference on intergroup relations, with audiences at times of a thousand or more persons. All of this is done with little or no help from the faculty, a compliment to the faculty as we judge values.

Self Directive Group Therapy

Individuals get tied in knots which they cannot, somehow, readily unkink, and so do groups. They are "sick," dis-eased or ill-adjusted, hence should not be regarded as average or normal. Here group guidance takes a somewhat different turn from the usual campus group work situation. Case 3 reveals a demoralized junior high school faculty in a race ridden, urban "slum area" school.

The Function of Leadership Is to Lead

In the gym at noon, three white boys have teamed up against two Negro boys at basketball. Nothing strange, for the school is evenly divided along racial lines. A Negro boy comes in and joins the Negro team. Two white boys come along, making a five man white team playing a three man colored team. Another white comes in, so that the whites now have a sub.

Through a ground level window come sounds of a fight. Seeking, again, the "feel" of this school, I climbed out the window in record time. A Negro janitor had beat me there, separating the battlers and scattering the assembling crowd. What had happened had been seen and heard by several witnesses, so that the story quickly took shape.

A white teacher, walking down the narrow cement walk to the gym, was met head on by a large Negro girl. "I ain't gonna let you by," said the girl. "Now, Mary," the teacher replied, "I'm in a hurry." Not budging any, Mary said "But I ain't gonna let you by." Trying to push past, the teacher was shoved off the walk. Stepping up again, she slapped the girl, and Mary hit back, causing the teacher to fall. It was here that the colored janitor stopped the fight.

At the faculty meeting in the late afternoon, the talk was along the lines of College Study work and the school's participation as a unit in the local college intergroup program. Asked to name the school's No. 1 human relations problem, the faculty was unable to do so, nor could further questioning bring an answer. A committee was appointed to study the matter and to report to the faculty.

The report was made at a meeting two weeks later. Sensing the turn it would likely take, I asked the committee chairman if his group had studied the matter, had the help it needed, etc., and all the replies were affirmative. What, then, had the committee found? What was the No. 1 human relations problem in the school? It was, the chairman said, "the chewing of chewing gum in the school," with bubble gum the worst of all!

In such situations, one wants, in truth, to do everything but what he knows he must do. Here is the group's readiness to act, so the problem was to get them to act, to start working. Planning was not easy, for it had to avoid internal tensions, be directed outward. Bit by bit, we developed a campaign--homeroom talks, posters, etc., with a progress report due in a month.

A month later we met to hear the committee report. The news was definitely bad. Apparently, we had made no progress. Worst still, it was said that students were chewing gum who had never chewed before. But the group atmosphere had changed; its tenseness was gone. Some staff members could joke about our failure.

Faced with this failure, we began to probe deeper. Maybe the kids were smarter, or tougher, than we had thought. Maybe they ran the school. Maybe... No faculty can stand even a tempered needling of this sort, for the ego is involved. True, too, the "enemy" is in sight, and talk ran on the line of "getting together on this thing."

As faculty morale built up, we shifted our thought accordingly. Why were the students so resistant? Who were their leaders, the boys and girls on whom others patterned? How did communication go on, what groupings existed? We mapped, not one, but several study jobs, forgetting for the moment the chewing gum fiasco.

Incomplete though the case is, it will show a definite theory of how to work with people. Attention need be called to only a single point. The function of leadership in such situations is not to do nothing, to wait for "time," to engage in juvenile inanities, to make big words about little problems, to spread a screen for undercover manipulations. The function of leadership is to lead. The group must be helped out of its jam; it must be pointed toward action wherever action is possible. And as the group acts, always under its own greatest consensus, it will grow stronger in its unity, until perhaps it can face its internal cleavages and unrealities. Too much inner probing early in the guidance process will break the group into countless pieces.

Therapeutic Shock Tactics

If one is to work with people, he must have the opportunity. What if he is given no opportunity? Well, the world is free, and it is big, and he can move along. But what happens if he decides that the situation is not one from which he can or should walk away? Every experienced group worker, every responsible group leader,[6]

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[6] See M. T. Copeland and A. R. Towl, The Board of Directors and Business Management, VII Some Unpleasant Tasks (Boston: Harvard University, 1947).

will say that such situations do arise. If circumstances permit, the technics described in Case 3 can be effective. If these technics fail, or if time does not allow their use, there is little room for choice. About all that is left is recourse to "shock tactics," the aim of which is to explode the group, to induce an emotional catharis.

So far, we have used children, college students, and a school faculty in our illustrations. We shall draw now upon another file. Case 4 and 5 involve college faculties. In retrospect, each case is no more than a passing incident in the life of these ongoing intergroup programs, yet at the moment each case seemed critical.

Stress Test: A Last Resort Technic

By traveling 1000 miles off schedule, the consultant was able to make a college planning meeting, preparatory to a full day's work on the next day with project groups. At three o'clock, meeting time, three staff members were present; at 3:30, another came in. At 4:00 P.M., the consultant prepared to take leave, touching casually on how busy everyone was.

At his own initiative, the committee chairman stepped across the hall to where the president and dean were in conference. He returned with them, and with word that a secretary was phoning other committee members. With this, we took our places, and the chairman began on some routine business. Thinking this would be the time to talk over "some basic problems," the consultant made this proposal.

The past year's work history was pretty spotty.. Little use and poor use had been made of consultant time. Were overburdened professors trying to shoulder too many duties? Was College Study work really worth its time and costs? Twig after twig was laid on the fire, until it burst into flame.

In a spot like this, any man who is a man will talk. Professors began to talk, so did administration. Each described some bloc to his own action, rid himself of some grievance, made sharp accusations. A group worker must, of course, accept any darts flung his way, for he has invited them by his own considered action. He wants aggressions out, and out of the way. He must take upon himself the essential "blame" for failure, which in truth is not hard to do if one but reflects on his own shortcomings.

If participant interest is genuine, if there is hope, one must presently try to redirect the group process. One procedure is to recall the expression of some positive view, restate it, build it up into a group agreement, then another and another, as the group moves toward a new integration. In this case, the above procedure was all we needed. All of us wanted to get matters settled, get on with an intergroup program.

Case 5, like the one above, is also very infrequent, and yet it is crucial enough to merit serious thinking. In this type of situation, the consultant's role is that of a catalytic agent.

Working Groups Must Have Freedom to Work

In the long history of this college, project groups had dragged along, work products were less than average, interest was low, no one had any time. With potentials for national leadership in the group relations field, the record of this college was not what it should have been. In starting the

new year, three meetings had been held, yet no general chairman had accepted office, and of course no program had been worked out.

At the fourth meeting, with the consultant present, the college administrator began to write down the areas where work should be done, names of project-group chairmen, and the like. He moved along in dead silence, with no reaction from the group, until he named a certain professor. She spoke, and with deep feeling. She refused point blank to accept the assignment and she criticized the administrator's undemocratic methods.

At this point, the consultant asked who was committee chairman, stating the reasons for his uncertainty. The administrator named a professor, who in turn said nothing. When the consultant asked if she had accepted the appointment, her reply was: "I didn't say I would, and I didn't say I wouldn't." We laughed at this, breaking a bit our increasing tension.

The laugh, above, was probably the turning point in the meeting. One committee member supported the outspoken professor. Another voiced a similar protest, and the administrator became defensive. How else could the work be gotten done? He was, he said in all honesty, doing the best he knew how. With this, he left for another meeting, and we began to pick up the pieces, see where we really stood.

Was the chairman going to accept appointment? Invited to do so by a chorus of voices, she accepted. What about a work program? Was everyone too busy, should we forget it all? Again, an affirmative answer, weakly so, but with a complete reorganization of committees. People were more articulate now and we could move forward into planning.

This case spotlights a very basic problem, the relation of "top" and "bottom" in an institutional structure. If an interest is to diffuse and, in reasonable time, involve a total campus, <u>one must start at the top</u>, for this is the center of communication and motivation. At the same time, a lasting program can be built only <u>from the bottom up</u>, or so it has seemed from College Study and other experience. The impasse in the above case was the tightening of top level control to the point of dominance, as in some bureaucratic systems,[7] instead of freeing these working groups for autonomous action. Of course, the administration might have been right. Maybe the "push way" is the only way to get a high work output, an hypothesis we now have under test in a number of situations.

Focused Group Interview

The focused or guided interview, in contrast to "reaction" and "depth" interviewing, is designed to reveal the responses of persons to critical issues when they are exposed to a situation which the group worker has already analyzed. For example, a school class has seen a film, heard a broadcast, or read a book. By previous analysis, the teacher knows important points in the narrative. He can introduce very explicit verbal cues, even re-present incidents, thus causing a flow of ideas and feelings. He can summate group reaction, inquire further into a particular view, record unanticipated responses, and give guidance as he desires.

Where focused interviews have been used in College Study work, procedures have been of two kinds: direct and indirect. This can be illustrated in reference to RKO's current movie, <u>Crossfire</u>, a murder mystery in which hatred for Jews is pic-

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[7] For example, Reinhard Bendix, "Bureaucracy," <u>Amer. Soc. Rev.</u>, XII, 493-507, 1947.

tured as the cause of an unprovoked, brutal murder of a Jew. On the assumption that an audience will want to talk after seeing the film, in fact will feel a compulsion to talk, one can inquire directly into feeling states. On the contrary assumption that even then persons will not disclose their true feelings, or will report attitudes as more liberal than they are, an indirect approach can be made.

Any indirect approach used in paper and pencil testing can be adapted to a focused interview situation. For instance, on the above film, children were asked a number of questions as to "their best guess about the opinions of young people whom you know."[8] Such approaches can be justified on either of two grounds. It may be held that, under such disguise, subjects will reveal their deeper feelings before and after seeing the film. Or it can be held that subjects will tend to hold the same views as their friends hold, thus under disguise, giving evidence on themselves.

Guidance technics in this type of work include a range of skills, for example centering group attention, exploring individual logics, checking the use of symbols, probing anxieties and conflicts, interpreting ambivalent values, widening the area of common agreement.[9] In intergroup relations, where words are so important and so misleading, we spend too little time in gauging the effects of mass impression media. The focused interview is adaptable to a number of very practical school needs.

Cultural Informant and Sociodrama

There is no necessary relation between these two technics. In elementary schools in the College Study where parents are chiefly of foreign birth, use of the cultural informant technic is patterned on DuBois' examples.[10] For instance mothers, who are invited to a school party, are asked how old they are (i.e. same age as their child), what foods they liked at that age, how they dressed, and the like, while children listen with rapt attention. The technic has many values, the chief one being as a device for the interchange of cultural backgrounds. The moral is in a word, perhaps, <u>we are all Americans but Americans are all different</u>.

The sociodrama has had an increasing use in College Study work at every educational level. By it we mean simply a form of group discussion the essence of which is role playing. At times role content is defined, at other times it is left unstructured, depending on the experiences of participants, their imagination, and the demands of a given situation. At any time, a session may be broken to secure audience reactions to the roles depicted. Is this person's behavior in line with the way you would play the part? Does that character's reactions carry conviction? What would a fair minded individual really do in such a situation?

Uses of the sociodrama are innumerable.[11] Our chief uses are four: to depict the group process itself, the kinds of characters which appear and reappear; to reenact problematic classroom and campus situations; to focus on critical learning experiences in the student's childhood; and to present community viewpoints and conduct patterns.

Case 6 is directed toward a school and community conflict situation. The principal in a large, urban white school, had been sent a well qualified Negro girl as a

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[8]Confidential report by Louis E. Raths and Frank N. Trager.

[9]For technic and theory, see R. K. Merton and P. L. Kendall, "The Focused Interview," <u>Amer. Jour. Soc.</u>, LI, 541-47, 1946.

[10]Rachel Davis DuBois, <u>Get Together Americans</u> (New York: Harper, 1943) and <u>Build Together Americans</u> (New York: Hinds, Hayden & Eldrege, 1945).

[11]See entire issue of <u>Sociatry</u>, Vol. 1, June 1947. Beacon Hill, New York.

substitute "math" teacher.[12] Most pupils liked her and so did the teachers. One youngster told his father about her and the latter called upon the principal, demanding that the colored teacher be discharged. When the school official defended the girl as a highly competent person, the irate parent appealed to the school board. The board has called a public meeting to air the matter.

One can cast a dozen revealing situations from this incident. Let us review a very brief excerpt from the "public meeting." The college class simulating the meeting is a class of graduate students, each a teacher or school administrator. The scene is the school auditorium, well filled with people. On the platform are representatives of "all interested parties," with the board president in charge. Students have volunteered for all the roles enacted in the demonstration.

A College Class
Articulates Community Views and Values

Brd. Pres.: Ladies and Gentlemen. We have met as friends and neighbors to review a matter of grave importance.. Our community is a wonderful place to live.. As president of your schoolboard, I have lived here man and boy for 50 years and I have always served the Northside. That is why I am a candidate right now for City Council on the Repub..

CIO Reprs.: Mr. Chairman, MISTER Chairman. We are not interested in your campaign for office. We are here to tell you and all the schoolboard members exactly what we think. Miss Smith (the teacher) is a qualified person. Your own principal says that. I ask that anyone here wanting her fired bring his charges out in the open.

Parent: Well, we've never had Negro teachers and we don't want them teaching our children.

Brd. Pres.: I would like to hear from Mr. Miller. Foster P. Miller is, as you know, one of our oldest and most respected citizens.

Mr. Miller: I represent the business man's point of view, and also the Property Owners. We didn't have colored teachers in our schools when I was a child and we do not need them. Can't the principal find a white teacher?

Principal: Yes, I suppose that could be done. But you know we were not thinking about that. We were thinking about the best teacher we could get. We were thinking, too, about what the world is like, the many kinds of good people in our city..

2nd Parent: That is what I say, too. We are either a democracy here or we are not, and we have to make up our minds on that. I say what are the charges against this teacher?

One cannot, of course, depict the mood swings of a sociodrama in any brief excerpts, the twists and turns of argument, the breaks in which roles are analyzed and re-enacted. It was about here in the above session when an oldtime rabble rouser arose in the audience, wholly at his own initiative, and threw the panel completely off balance by the vehemance of his feelings. He had, he explained later, been through an experience of the kind we were depicting. If the whole performance seems a bit bizzare, it must be remembered that this was a graduate class of schoolwise persons, wanting to find out what the world was like. Some had, in the past, been on the receiving end of an interracial or intercreedal conflict; others anticipate the occurrence of such conflict.

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[12] Incident taken from a questionnaire, The Group Process Approach to Education, designed to be used a pre- and endtest measure of learnings in a college level educational sociology course. Request File # EF-10.

In our opinion, the sociodrama should not be introduced with mysticism, or mechanics, or dramatics. It is, as we have said, one form of group discussion, and as such it requires a number of group work skills. Use of this instrument can be readily learned and, as part of a group process education, role playing can contribute materially to fundamental attitudinal and behavioral changes in individuals.[13] It gives skill training to participants, the like of which can be found in no other group work method.

In Conclusion

If we have given to the mind any thoughts to hold, to walk away with and live with as they gather meaning, the substance might be this. Group process education is very old, very poorly done, and very promising. It is poorly done because few of us can or do make it the object of systematic study. Group work is, for most educators, a simple thing of "breaking a big group up into little groups, each with its own problem." While this is good, it is nowise good enough. It gives one very little to write about, to communicate to the profession. Articles take the tone of: "Look! I have done it too! It works! It is wonderful!"

Our discussion of group work technics can have little real meaning unless it is viewed in light of the problems we face in modernizing education. If there ever was a time when we should cure ourselves, if that is possible, of every form of blindness in dealing with people, every booby trap which prevents us from acting with others in a common cause, that time is now. The need to make human relations central in school programs is very great, and changes are in process . The lag is not in fine ideals but in effective methods, ways of working with people.

Here and there, in the College Study and outside, busy people can find time to work on methods. The procedures we have discussed are, by no means, the only ones of importance, perhaps not even the best ones. But they are technical tools, not formulas, hence their use requires practice and training. They are sharp cutting tools, double edged, dangerous, thus subject to misuse and misunderstanding. Not all of them will be acceptable to the educational sentimentalist. On the other hand, they will be criticized by "pure scientists" who, in their own classrooms, are pretty much traditionalists. But that is the way we make progress, namely, in the full and free interchange of ideas and experiences.

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[13]For exacting experimentation, see the writer's "An Experimental Sociographic Study of A 10th Grade Class," Amer. Soc. Rev., X, 250-61, 1945. Reprint, File #AR-1, 20¢.

COLLEGE STUDY IN INTERGROUP RELATIONS

THE COUNCIL ON COOPERATION IN TEACHER EDUCATION

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February 6, 1948

Mrs. Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Simpson:

Thank you very much for your letter of inquiry. I note, by our files, that the Southern Regional Council has been on our mailing list for materials for the past two years. We are enclosing a listing of our publications, and if we can be of any further service please let us know.

Respectfully yours,

LAC

Lloyd Allen Cook
Director, College Study
in Intergroup Relations

LAC:EJ

COUNCIL ON COOPERATION MEMBER ORGANIZATIONS

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS • AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF TEACHERS COLLEGES • ASSOCIATION FOR CHILDHOOD EDUCATION • ASSOCIATION FOR STUDENT TEACHING • ASSOCIATION FOR SUPERVISION AND CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT • ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN COLLEGES • DEPARTMENT OF CLASSROOM TEACHERS OF THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION • DEPARTMENT OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS OF THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION • EASTERN STATES ASSOCIATION OF PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS FOR TEACHERS • NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGES AND DEPARTMENTS OF EDUCATION • NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SECONDARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS • NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF STATE DIRECTORS OF TEACHER EDUCATION AND CERTIFICATION • NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TEACHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS IN METROPOLITAN DISTRICTS • NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHIEF STATE SCHOOL OFFICERS • NATIONAL INSTITUTIONAL TEACHER PLACEMENT ASSOCIATION • NATIONAL LEAGUE OF TEACHERS ASSOCIATIONS • NATIONAL SOCIETY OF COLLEGE TEACHERS OF EDUCATION • TEACHERS COLLEGE PERSONNEL ASSOCIATION.

17 International Org.

Office of Public Affairs
Department of State

February 14, 1948

A SUMMARY OF THE CHARTER FOR THE PROPOSED INTERNATIONAL TRADE ORGANIZATION

The Charter establishes an agreed code of principles for the conduct of international trade and an organization to assist in implementing them.

The organization would be a specialized agency of the United Nations and its establishment would be a carrying out of the policy laid down by the Congress in the concluding paragraph of the Bretton Woods Agreements Act in which the Congress accepted membership in the Bretton Woods organizations.

The Charter principles deal with commercial policy (i.e., tariffs, preferences, nondiscrimination with regard to imported goods in internal taxation and regulations, the use of quotas, subsidies, simplification of customs duties), international action for the limitation of harmful activities of international cartels, rules governing the formation of intergovernmental commodity agreements, principles affecting foreign investment, and provisions dealing with the international aspects of employment and economic development.

In general, the Charter seeks:

1. To establish the principle of nondiscrimination in international trade with the minimum of exceptions necessary to deal with current economic difficulties.

2. To establish agreement to work for the reduction of tariffs and the elimination of tariff preferences.

3. To establish principles with respect to the operation of state trading enterprises which will subject them as nearly as possible to the same standards as those governing private enterprise.

4. To achieve simplification of customs regulations and formalities.

5. To establish principles and a machinery to limit the harmful effects of private international cartels.

(over)

6. To establish the conditions under which international commodity agreements may be entered into.

7. To establish conditions for foreign investment which will be fair both for the investor and the country in which the investment is made.

8. To provide the conditions most favorable for economic development in backward areas.

9. To recognize the importance of a high level of productive employment and to seek to achieve this through measures appropriate to each member's domestic laws.

10. To establish an organization through which consultation between members on the foregoing problems and combined action in appropriate cases could take place.

RECEIVED
Southern Regional Counc

DO YOU KNOW YOUR

From coast to coast women are finding exciting adventure in meeting their neighbors—all their neighbors—for the first time.

Here's the first national report of a widespread spontaneous movement

BY HELENA HUNTINGTON SMITH

HATE makes headlines. You read about race riots, lynchings, the wanderings of homeless people against whom every national door is barred. You seldom read about Americans of varying races, colors and creeds getting together with quiet determination to rub out the pattern of hate in American life. Yet they *have* been getting together—in so many cities and towns of the United States that it is almost a national movement.

All over the country, in hundreds of big and little communities, people have been deciding that discrimination is unjust and vicious and that they don't want any more of it where they live. It is worth while noting that the people coming to this conclusion—in a homely and human and home-town way—are not necessarily professional liberals or theorists in human relations. On the contrary, again and again, they are plain John and Jane Citizen—housewives, postmasters, schoolteachers, insurance men and just anybody.

In a modest pleasant residential district of San Francisco two Filipino families and a Chinese family were threatened with eviction because they weren't white. One of the Filipino men had served twenty-seven years in the United States Navy and was a veteran of two world wars, the Chinese was also a veteran and the second Filipino had worked in a navy yard all through the last war—but it didn't make any difference. There was a restrictive covenant which said that "only members of the white race are allowed to reside in this district, except as servants," and some white neighbors proposed to start enforcing it.

But other white neighbors flew to arms under the banner of fair play and freedom for all; the San Francisco Council for Civic Unity jumped into the race; newspapers aired it; and the would-be evictors received such a barrage of indignant letters and phone calls from fair-minded citizens of San Francisco that they backed down and withdrew their suit.

This is far from being an isolated instance. It was practically duplicated only a few weeks ago in a suburban area outside of Washington, D. C. There a similar attempt to evict a Jewish family brought an equally angry response from non-Jewish neighbors. And again the case was dropped.

In Ohio some young men at a YMCA were talking about race relations in their discussion group. "We can't discuss these things right unless we have fuller representation," they decided, so they invited two or three Negro youths from one of the local churches to join them. In an Indiana city some clubwomen of top financial and social rank were planning to discuss Sinclair Lewis' best-selling novel, Kingsblood Royal, which pulls no punches in dealing with the race question. They plunged in and decided to set what was a world-shaking precedent in their community by inviting two Negro women leaders to discuss it with them.

Furthermore—a bit naïvely breathless at their own daring—they made a point of holding the meetings during daylight hours so the whole neighborhood could see the Negro ladies drive in!

Since the Detroit race riots taught this country a bitter lesson four years ago a score of cities have formed mayors' committees on civic unity. School heads are studying the Springfield plan for instilling a spirit of brotherhood into the schools. National organizations such as the Bureau for Intercultural Education and the American Council on Race Relations are providing leadership and funds. But most significant are the hundreds and hundreds of spontaneous neighborhood movements and grass-root projects springing up all over the United States, bringing people of different races together simply as people to attack their mutual problems. These groups are meeting, not formally in halls, but as friends in one another's homes.

I have visited half a dozen such projects and talked with the leaders of many more. They all agree that prejudice starts melting when people get to know one another. About a year ago some clubwomen in a Pennsylvania steel town decided they wanted to know their neighbors better, so they got up a list of leaders in all the different local racial, religious and national groups and invited them to a get-together. Afterward some of the guests remarked on the charm and ability of a Jewish woman who had taken part, saying, "Why haven't we met her before?"

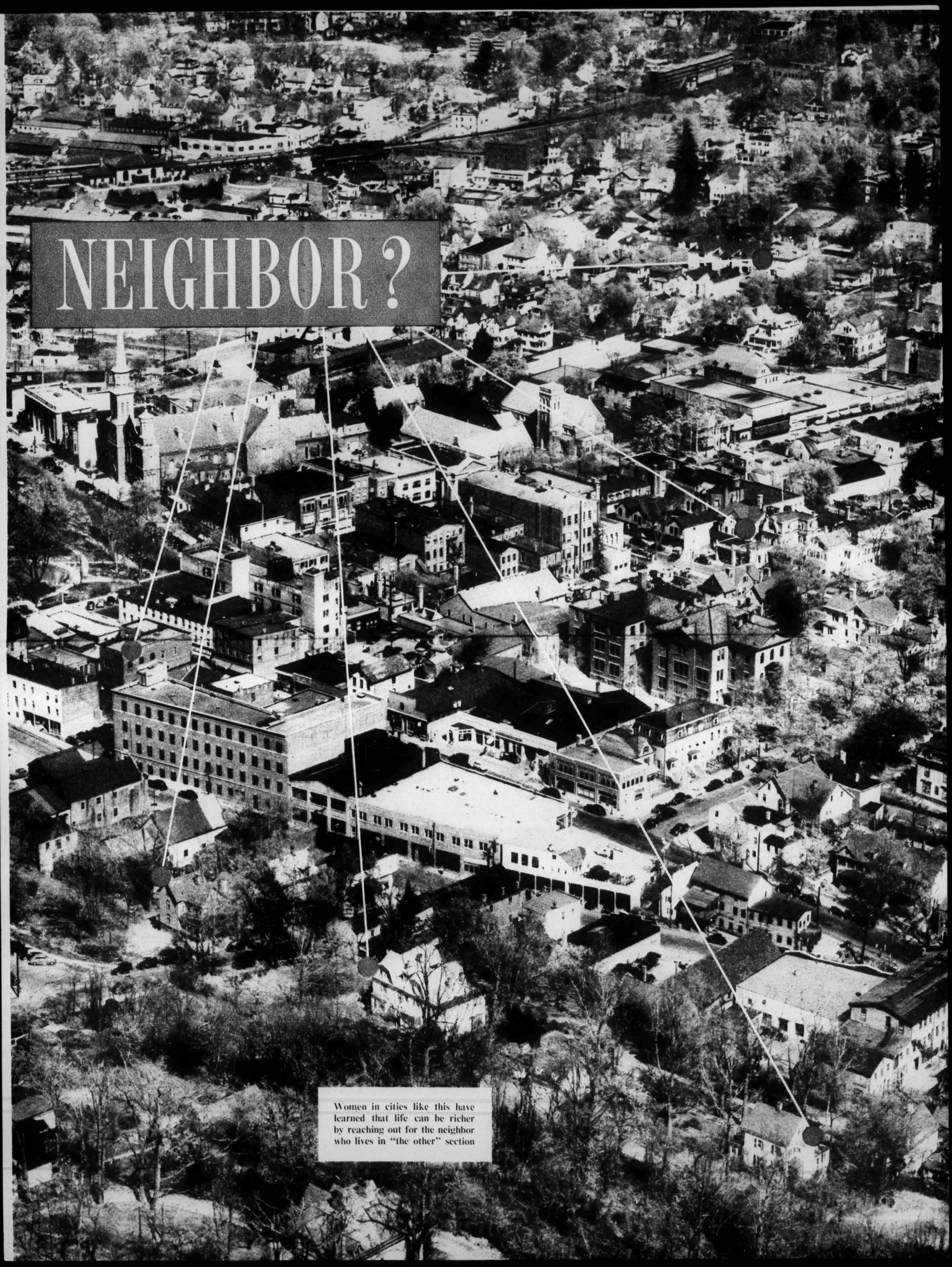
They learned that she had been treated so coldly in their town and her children had been the victims of such unpleasant anti-Semitic experiences that the family was thinking of moving away. They said: "Well, we can't afford to lose such a person from our community. We'll have to do something about that." And they did.

One of the best devices for getting acquainted—it was used by the Pennsylvania clubwomen—is the home festival method taught by Dr. Rachel Davis DuBois through her Workshop for Cultural Democracy. Dr. DuBois is a Friend who became interested in minorities twenty years back when she was a high school teacher and principal in southern New Jersey, where she was born. There she noticed what happened to the personalities of children of minority groups who were not accepted by the other children. Sensitive to childish unhappiness, she began using the school assembly periods to dramatize the cultural contributions of minorities to American life. After three years she felt she had hit upon a good method for interesting children in one another but she felt she needed to know more about people's emotions and prejudices. So she took a leave of absence from the school and went to New York to study social psychology. She never went back. Instead she kept studying and at the same time teaching teachers the art of improving group relations. One thing they kept saying stuck in her mind: "Classroom approaches are good as far as they go but how can we reach the parents and improve their feeling toward other groups?" So she thought of home festivals.

This means that you get together a group of people representing different cultures and creeds in your community—the more varied their backgrounds the better—and you start comparing childhood memories. We all have certain memories in common—of Christmastime (nearly every religion has its winter festivals), of spring or autumn or something like our Fourth of July (nearly every country has its freedom holiday), or of the kind of bread your mother baked or the first money you ever earned. This stirs emotion and breaks the ice. After that anything can happen.

I visited some PTA leaders of a public school on New York's upper west side who've tried it. Two years ago their neighborhood was disunited. A great number of Puerto Rican parents newly come to this country took no part in anything, held back by language barrier or poor economic status. To the well-to-do Jewish mothers active in the Parent-Teachers' Association this seemed wrong. They heard of the home festival and engaged Dr. DuBois to show them how it is done. Groups of seventh-grade youngsters were taken to visit homes representing different cultural heritages. Fourth-generation American ladies trotted out their pewter and more recent arrivals displayed their shawls; childhood memories of a farm in Minnesota were matched against those of a sugar plantation in Puerto Rico. One fascinated lad returned to his class and wrote, "We learned that people are not very different [*continued on page* 123]

PHOTOGRAPHS BY FAIRCHILD AERIAL SURVEYS



Women in cities like this have learned that life can be richer by reaching out for the neighbor who lives in "the other" section

seeds of death to her sons, a father may pass them along to his daughters.

This mechanism had been employed by research men to produce all-male and all-female lines of fruit flies. The lethal gene is established naturally by means of selections, or artificially by means of X-ray. Once it is established in the chromosome, litters of but one sex can be born. In the case of all-male lines, the females perish while still in an embryonic state, thus never come close to birth.

So much space has been devoted to lethal genes for one, and only one, reason. It is the first time in history that the research man has proved his ability to predetermine sex with any species. And in this case he has done his job with one hundred per cent accuracy. Such a plan is, of course, entirely unfeasible with human beings. Lethal genes couldn't be bred into a line: and no one would willingly consent to X-ray tampering.

A possibly workable plan of controlling sex has been proposed by Dr. E. Newton Harvey, Princeton biologist. He reasons that approximately half of male sperm contains girl-producing X chromosomes, the other half boy-producing Y chromosomes. Between the two there is a slight difference in weight. The X chromosome contains slightly more chromatin, a cell material, and is, therefore, slightly heavier.

Why not, Dr. Harvey suggests, use the centrifuge to separate the two? Modern ultracentrifuges whirl at incredible speeds—over a million revolutions per minute. At such speeds, a one-ounce weight exerts a centrifugal pull of two hundred thirty-seven tons—the weight of a large locomotive! Under such terrific stresses separation of two substances with only minute differences in weight may be achieved. Thus, it appears possible that the male and female components of sperm might be separated. Once this were done, it would be simple enough to implant the wanted fraction in the cervical canal of the wife—with an excellent chance of producing the kind of child desired.

Such a plan would be particularly adaptable in cases of artificial insemination. Clinics which provide this service today try to match physical characteristics of the donor father with those of the husband involved. If the husband is tall and blond, a tall blond donor is sought—usually among medical students. If Dr. Harvey's theories prove valid, such prospective parents may have their choice of a boy or a girl.

As yet, this idea exists in theory only. First trials, almost certainly, will be made on animals. If successful here, the way will be open for human work. Then an ancient dream may be realized: that of balancing families as we choose.

But whether, as a race, we would benefit or not, is a serious question. [THE END]

Do You Know Your Neighbor?

from page 34

and that what differences these are, are nice."

As a result of these homey get-togethers, now a regular extracurricular activity, shy Puerto Rican mothers warmed up—and got elected to offices in the PTA; one or two Japanese-American mothers came out of their shells and began to shine and their little boys became buddies with little Jewish boys; a young Negro whose father was janitor of an apartment house was invited to parties and gave a party in return. Now the whole neighborhood is changed for the better. Ask anyone who lives in it.

After getting acquainted most groups start saying: "What next?" In my travels I heard of neighborhood groups that attacked common problems ranging from smoke control to garbage collection, from grade crossings to juvenile delinquency. More intellectual groups are hashing over Palestine, poll taxes, China and the local candidates for mayor. (One such group I know of is made up of miners who started by arguing over the day's headlines in the bus going to work.)

The New Haven Neighborhood Project, which is rapidly becoming famous, gets together on the greatest of all common interests —children. Last year thirty-five children, representing all racial, religious and national groups in a certain neighborhood, attended a nursery school in the home of Mrs. Gertrude Hart Day, whose husband is an eye surgeon. This year five intercultural nursery schools are going full blast in as many areas of the city.

"It's an experience in democracy for the children," Mrs. Day says. "And when the parents see their children playing with children of other groups it educates them as well."

As simple as that.

It all started in 1942 when Doctor Harry Luther Day became a captain in the Army Air Forces, and the Days faced the problem of many families in wartime: "Are we going to stay together or am I to go my way for the duration while you and the children remain at home?"

They decided to stay together as long as they could and piled their three little girls—seven, five and four—in the back of the car. They lived in fourteen states in twenty-two months.

"For the first time in my life I knew what discrimination meant," Mrs. Day recalls, "as landlord after landlord refused us because of our children." In an all-Negro neighborhood in Baltimore they paid $125 a month for two rooms in a cellar with a dirt floor and dripping pipes. The toilet was located in the middle of the so-called front room on a sort of raised throne, enclosed in flimsy wallboard.

"It was a dreadful place. But the worst thing about it was knowing we could go back home and be comfortable after it was over, while our neighbors—people like ourselves—had to stay in such places the rest of their lives."

In 1944 Doctor Day went overseas and Mrs. Day went home. A trained social worker before her marriage, she now became a round-table leader for the National Conference of Christians and Jews. She made speeches and conducted meetings on brotherhood in New Haven. After each meeting somebody—the Jewish delicatessen store proprietor or the Italian grocer's wife—would say: "Mrs. Day, the meeting was wonderful, but what can we *do?* We want to do something!"

She remembered her children playing with colored children in Baltimore. "Children are color-blind and religion-blind. It's adults who give them prejudices." She started a nursery school. Then in June, 1946, she obtained the support of the National Conference of Christians and Jews for a full-fledged neighborhood project.

THE thirty members of New Haven's Neighborhood Council are all leaders of their own groups. They represent civic clubs, church clubs, schools, libraries, labor unions. Among them are the wives of a Jewish lawyer and a white Protestant pastor, a Negro Protestant pastor, a Negro physician, the former president of the New Haven Junior League and the Catholic head of the PTA. There are various activities to keep bringing the people together—book groups, music groups and a program called, Taste What's Cooking in Your Neighbor's Kitchen. But the core of the whole scheme is the nursery school.

It's no secret that the project's fine nursery school—which charges the small sum of $3.30 a week per child—and its new summer play group for five-to-twelve-year-olds—is bait. A mother may be lukewarm for brotherhood but to get her child into either group she has to attend meetings and do her share of committee work; so she is educated willy-nilly. The first eye opener is discovering that members of minority groups can be just as charming, well dressed, well educated and of as good heart as herself. Other results follow. As one by-product of the school's first year, a father who was dubious at the start became the first businessman in his part of the city

[*continued on page* 124]

"I ran it over the living room rug just once, and you ought to see the difference—it's amazing! Actually I had forgotten how lovely the original colors looked —but there they are again—all fresh and bright and like new. And—so easy to use too! I just know my Air-Way will save me hours of cleaning time."

•

And that's by no means the whole story about the remarkable post-war Air-Way vacuum cleaner. With a few versatile, specially designed attachments, it easily, quickly, thoroughly cleans everything from floor to ceiling! So light . . . so powerful . . . so quiet—Air-Way keeps *you* clean while cleaning, too!

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Air-Way

French's

makes hamburgers

taste heavenly!

TRY MY FRENCHWISE HAMBURGER!

1½ lb. ground chuck beef
1½ teasp. salt
2 tbsp. minced onion
2 tbsp. French's Mustard
1 egg; ¼ teasp. pepper
Knead all ingredients together thoroughly—pat into cakes and pan fry. Serves 6.

HOT DAN THE MUSTARD MAN

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New recipe book, "Mealtime Magic," illustrated in full color. Send name and address to The R. T. French Co., 1433 Mustard St., Rochester 9, N.Y., for free copy.

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Do You Know Your Neighbor?

from page 123

to employ a colored girl as a stenographer!

The neighborhood project idea is spreading all over New Haven. Neighborhood councils for other areas have formed or are in process of formation; plans are under way for a central supercouncil and a network of ten local councils eventually, perhaps, covering the city. With two or three hundred unity-loving council members, each active in some other organization, you can figure out the possibilities for yourself.

When a stone like that is thrown into a pond there is no knowing where the ripples will stop.

Good will is a mighty power, far stronger than its opposite. In San Francisco a few months ago the question of racial discrimination came up in a neighborhood of large and well-kept homes. A racially restrictive housing covenant was proposed. The Civic Unity Council was alerted and started canvassing families in the area. In three days fifty out of three hundred had agreed to have nothing to do with such a covenant—and that killed it.

Said a leader in the field of interracial relations: "There are plenty of fair-minded people in any American community who will stand up against discrimination if the facts are put before them. Once they get together they can stop restrictive housing covenants almost anywhere."

In nearly every community practical aid to minorities is needed:

In housing.

In obtaining employment.

In police courts and jails, where members of the most conspicuous minority group (Negroes, Mexicans or Nisei, depending on the part of the country) are frequent victims of police brutality or discrimination.

In the schools where youngsters of different cultural backgrounds may suffer lifelong scars from being kept out.

In simple everyday matters of living in the community—a member of a minority may or may not be able to get a decent meal in a restaurant, go to the theater or sit in a church and worship with other Christians whose skin happens to be a different color from his own.

And you don't need to lie awake nights worrying over the possibility of intermarriage between races. All that concerns sensible people is decent living standards and fair play for all Americans.

A RECENT survey shows that on the local level there are at least three hundred community get-together organizations of one sort or another, including more than a few in the south, where interracial committees are raising determined heads. Near Pittsburgh I saw one of them at work.

McKeesport, Pennsylvania, some twenty miles outside of Pittsburgh, is a town of fifty-five thousand where nearly everybody works in the big steel mills. A few years ago Dr. Dubois came there and introduced some of the people to home festivals—the YWCA secretary, some schoolteachers, social workers, ministers and some leaders of minority groups. After several meetings they all agreed that just getting to know one another was valuable, but like many another budding good-will organization they didn't quite know where to go from there. They decided to form an intercultural council.

They were helped and advised by the American Service Institute, a Pittsburgh organization which specializes in group relations—Pittsburgh having taken a shuddering glance at the Detroit riots and resolved never to let it happen to them. One of the first things tackled by the McKeesport people was a ticklish situation in the high school. Seeing the local lack of opportunity for Negro youth, well-meaning vocational councilors had been trying to turn them away from higher education. This hurt more than they knew.

In the home of a member of the Intercultural Council the high school women met leaders of the Negro community who told them how the youngsters felt. They said: "Don't discourage our young people from trying. It is better for them to try and fail than not to try. Our people will never go up in the world unless we keep trying."

Next the YWCA secretary noticed that her young colored assistant had to drive miles to her home for lunch every day because no local restaurant would serve her, and public health nurses and college-trained social workers in the Department of Public Assistance had the same problem. Courageously, though tactfully, the Intercultural Council moved in on the restaurant situation, and while it hasn't yet accomplished anything visible, feels that it may have planted a few seeds. All in all, the Council has done quite a lot for unity—placed one of its members in an advisory branch of the city government, stirred up local support for the local Fair Employment Practices Commission, and made quite a change for the better in the municipal hospital where patients were formerly segregated according to their color rather than according to their medical condition, which might not be too good for the patient.

They'll Help You Know Your Neighbor

National organizations

Bureau for Intercultural Education, 1697 Broadway, New York City

American Council on Race Relations, 32 West Randolph Street, Chicago, Illinois

National Conference of Christians and Jews, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York City

In the south

Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia

Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, Standard Building, Atlanta, Georgia

For advice on forming neighborhood organizations

American Service Institute, 907 Columbia Building, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Council for Civic Unity, 101 Post Street, San Francisco, California

Mrs. Gertrude Hart Day, 1076 Forest Road, New Haven, Connecticut

For advice on forming discussion groups

National Institute of Social Relations, 1029 Seventeenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Neighborhood festivals

Dubois Workshop for Cultural Democracy, 204 East Eighteenth Street, New York City

It is generally agreed that for practical results in improving neighborly relations the dominant group has to take the initiative. The minority can't lead; the majority must. But if you belong to a minority, what can you do?

You can help organize your people, build up their pride in themselves and in their contribution to American life so that when the bridge is thrown over from the majority side there'll be a firm foundation for it.

Perhaps the least organized and most discouraged of our minority groups are the Spanish-American agricultural workers in our west. Yet they have great possibilities and much to be proud of. From Bataan and Corregidor on they fought outstandingly well and won medals for bravery far out of proportion to their numbers. Now in some of their *colonias* in the hot sun-baked towns of California's central valley Unity Leagues are springing up, with and without the help of national organizations like the American Council on Race Relations. Leaders are priests, teachers and veterans.

Chino, east of Los Angeles, is a town of nine thousand where almost half of the population is of Mexican descent, yet the school board of four has never had a Spanish-speaking member. Last year the Spanish group, spurred on by its Unity League, decided at the last minute to run one of its members for a place on the board. She was a former school teacher, remarkably well qualified. Some Anglo-American believers in equal opportunity helped canvass the town, with fairness and equal representation as their battle cry. The teacher failed to win but the fairness appeal won her such a big vote among the Anglos that it was a shot in the arm to the whole Mexican community.

HERE is another story that shows what happens when a minority starts lifting itself by its bootstraps. The people of Pittsburgh's unsavory Hill District decided to attack their miserable housing conditions. The soft-spoken middle-aged chairman of their social action committee, with a hundred volunteers, got a total of eight thousand names on a petition to the city. With a good deal of shyness a delegation called on the mayor and city council to present their demands for housing law enforcement.

Thereupon the downtown churches heard about the situation, sent committees up the Hill to shake their heads over stopped-up toilets and broken staircases. Young people's church clubs also made inspections, got more names on petitions. Congregations wrote to Congress in support of the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill for better housing for the nation. The newspapers printed stories and pictures. Local big shots got into the fray. And a few of the worst houses were actually repaired. It was a triumph.

In your community or near it there are one or more organizations for unity at work. They may be thriving and effective, or weak and in need of support. How do you get in touch with them? Write to any of the national organizations listed here. Or make inquiries of churches, teachers' organizations, the YWCA, social welfare bureaus or agencies including the public welfare department of your city, or civic groups like the League of Women Voters or the American Association of University Women. Or probably best, and certainly simplest of all, ask your pastor.

Here are some practical hints for starting a new group and making it effective:

1 Meet in homes, especially at first. It gives warmth and genuineness to the whole experience. Serve refreshments—it's a human gesture.

2 As soon as you are acquainted find a program of action. Or better, start right in with one.

3 Get trained help if you can. There are any number of professional workers in intercultural relations; national organizations will give you a hand with this as with everything else.

4 Remember that members of minority groups have suffered a long history of snubs and hurts and need constant assurance that you really want them. I met several community leaders who felt let down because their neighborhood project was drooping—minority members seemed to be losing interest. In at least one case it turned out that routine mailed invitations to a meeting simply didn't work but a few friendly phone calls fixed everything up.

One thing I noticed was that the dominant group members seem to be getting at least as much out of all this activity as anybody else. Again and again as I talked with them I felt their sense of personal satisfaction in having built their share of a bridge, perhaps even conquering a prejudice in doing it. "This is the most wonderful experience I have ever had," I heard many say. But perhaps the most expressive comment was a woman's remark: "You just feel the whole thing is *right*."

[THE END]

Reprinted from NEA JOURNAL, February, 1948

Intercultural Educ.

RECEIVED
JUL 10 1948
Southern Regional Council

PROMISING PRACTICES in INTERGROUP EDUCATION

The eleven approaches to intergroup education outlined here are based upon a pamphlet entitled *Promising Practices in Intergroup Education* by Marion Edman, former Detroit, Michigan, teacher now engaged in re-education work in Germany, and Laurentine B. Collins, director of community relations, Detroit Public Schools. This pamphlet is based upon reports of activities in 152 Detroit schools. It may be obtained from the Bureau for Intercultural Education, 1697 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y. for 20¢.

Promising Practices in Intergroup Education emphasizes that, to be effective, intercultural education must consist of a sustained rather than a spasmodic approach.

Dr. Leo Shapiro, director, Department of Education, Anti-Defamation League, and Benjamin Goldenberg, Bureau for Intercultural Education, present a summary of the approaches treated in the pamphlet. Acknowledgment is due Ann Finkenberg of the Anti-Defamation League for invaluable assistance.

In the chart below, the left-hand column under each approach indicates the estimated merits of the approach, while the right- hand colur

Drawings by Elizabeth Miller for NEA JOURNAL

1. The contributions approach—[a] *"Great men," outstanding members of minority groups;* [b] *folk contribution, ethnic or religious customs.*

Reinforces concepts of cultural pluralism and intergroup democracy. Encourages individual in identification with his minority group. Appealing to children. Much material available. Fits easily into curriculum. Familiarizes children with use of community as resource.

Basically factual, with the limitations inherent therein. Tends to lead to faulty generalizations about groups. Much of the information false, stereotyped, or outdated. May overemphasize differences. Tends to avoid the fact of intergroup conflict.

2. The people-are-alike approach—*Emphasizes the basic characteristics common to all men, that difference as such does not constitute inferiority.*

Counteracts racial myths and other erroneous notions. Inculcates objectivity and the scientific attitude. Adaptable to all age levels and most subject-matter.

Entirely factual. Information still inadequate and requires interpretation and integration for which many teachers do not have the time or training.

3. The study-of-prejudice approach—*Investigates the reasons for stereotyped thinking and the effects of prejudice and discrimination on personality and social structure.*

Investigates cause-and-effect relationships. Realistic attack on contemporary problems, giving insight into the structure and function of society today. Stimulates self-analysis of attitudes and thinking.

May hurt sensitive minority-group members, unless carefully handled. Material not adapted to elementary schools, where it is most needed. Not easily adaptable to usual subjectmatter.

hand column indicates possible weaknesses to guard against. Teachers are encouraged to experiment with all these approaches.

4. The precept approach—*Investigates what "the American way of life" really means; analyzes democratic ideals.*

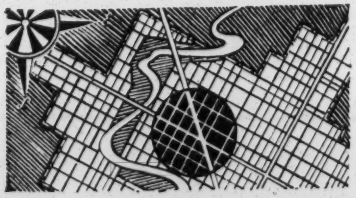
Clarifies democratic principles as bases for intercultural education. Stimulates the individual to develop standards of democracy to apply to specific acts and thoughts.

Emphasizes superficial verbal facility and uncritical prestige factors, without directly affecting everyday behavior in personal relations.

5. The democratic-procedures approach—*Affords practice in democratic living thru classroom routines and student government.*

The learn-by-doing approach.

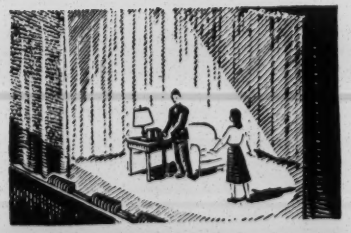
Background of democratic principles is necessary.



6. The ideals-vs.-practice approach—*"The American dilemma"; what America stands for contrasted with actual practices.*

Gives honest, realistic picture of the community. Motivates children's thinking about social problems. Makes children aware of community as a resource.

Care must be taken to emphasize that bad conditions are due to malfunctioning of democratic processes rather than to defects in individuals or groups. Approach may be disillusioning and puzzling to children.



7. The vicarious-experiences approach—*Attacks stereotyped thinking thru use of books and dramatics.*

Affords opportunity for children to identify themselves emotionally with members of minority groups. Emphasizes common humanity of all people.

Many books still give false or sentimentalized pictures of minority groups and do not present them as elements of American culture. Little effect on children who do not learn from words unrelated to activities.

8. The school-activities approach—*Attempts to inculcate cooperation and mutual respect in all aspects of school life for all the children.*

Fosters democratic principles of living and working together for mutually desired goals, with each person appraised according to his individual qualities.

Requires absolute impartiality and democratic procedures by the teacher, who must also multiply opportunities for cooperative activity and provide guidance in choices.

---

9. The guidance approach—*Aims to make children feel secure in school relationships.*

Increases feelings of security and thus fosters better human relations. Makes children feel that someone is taking a personal interest in them. Recognizes children's need for status.

Demands much time and energy of teacher. Requires extremely sympathetic and careful handling.

---

10. The personal-contacts approach—*Fosters pleasant experiences with members of other groups.*

Experiences and positive contacts can counteract prejudices.

Contacts must be meaningful and on a basis of equality, not staged or condescending. Persons contacted must be regarded as individuals with some interesting skill or knowledge, not as "representatives" of their group.

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11. The community-participation approach—*Use of the community as a resource and relation of the school to the community.*

Erases artificial barrier between school and "real life." Enriches the school program. Facilitates progress in intergroup relations.

Needs careful and cooperative planning so that community participation will help rather than hinder the school program.

For Additional Copies Write To:
BUREAU FOR INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION
157 West 13th Street, New York 11, N. Y.

AUGUST • 1948

the CHILD

Lawrence League for the Practice of Democracy

BULLETIN

Vol. 2 September, 1948 No. 4

RECEIVED OCT 8 1948 Southern Regional Council

21 Enrolled in Nursery Group

The Lawrence Mothers Cooperative Nursery is beginning its second season in the First Baptist Church annex, with 21 children enrolled and six on the waiting list.

The project was started last April by a group of mothers who studied child development and pre-school play under Mrs. Robert G. Foster, of Kansas University extension division. Mothers who have not taken the course may join the cooperative by reading and reporting on two child care books selected by members.

Children from two to five years old are admitted. A fairly even ratio between ages and sexes is maintained. Cost for each child is one morning a week of the mother's time and a dollar to pay for rent and orange juice. Neighbors share transportation. Once a month the mothers meet to repair toys, scrub and wax the floors, and discuss business.

The mothers and youngsters are grateful to all who have donated and loaned supplies. One father made a slide from old packing material. Little tables, chairs, and a sand pile were donated. The mothers painted two-by-four scraps for blocks and made orange-crate cupboards. Some of the borrowed items now have to be returned to the owners, so the mothers are working on the problem of replacements. The purchase of a new record player is anticipated.

It's an interesting place to visit—the Lawrence Mothers Cooperative Nursery. Everyone is busy and happy at the cottage south of the church on 8th and Kentucky. Look in some week-day morning and see!

William J. Argersinger, Jr., LLPD treasurer, reports the following:

Balance on hand, June 14, 1948	$232.20
Receipts to Sept. 13	51.91
Total	$284.11
Expenditures June 14 to Sept. 13	175.72
Balance Sept. 13, 1948	$108.39

Fall Program Opens; Board Meets

The LLPD board met Monday evening, September 13, at the call of the president, Mrs. L. M. Wallace. Mr. and Mrs. Russell Barrett, 18 D Sunnyside, were host and hostess.

It was with much regret that the board learned that Mrs. Wallace will be unable to serve as president this year. Her resignation was reluctantly accepted, and the board's appreciation of her excellent work was expressed. The board met Monday, Sept. 27, with Rev. and Mrs. G. E. E. Lindquist at which time Calvin VanderWerf was selected as nominee for the office of president, to be voted by the LLPD membership at our next open meeting.

A full report of these board meetings will be presented at the LLPD business meeting.

Walter Starnes Speaks at 9th Street Baptist Church October 7th

The next meeting of the Lawrence League for the Practice of Democracy will have a three-fold purpose.

First, we are privileged to have as speaker Walter Starnes, of the Winter General Hospital staff. His reputation as an interesting speaker equals his record of achievement. Opportunity will be given for discussion following the address.

Next will be a period of relaxation, opportunity to visit and enjoy refreshments.

Then there will be a short business meeting. The executive board will bring a report of recent meetings, and there are other important matters to discuss.

Come to the 9th St. Baptist Church, Thursday evening, Oct. 7, at 8:00 o'clock!

Mrs. Morris Teplitz helps in the cooperative nursery

THE BULLETIN

Lawrence League for Practice of Democracy

Editorial Committee

Marie Smith
Alamada Barrett
George Brown, Jr.
Barbara Duree
Evelyn Harris
Rosalie Wahl

Bulletin published quarterly. Items for inclusion must be mailed to Box 519, Lawrence, Kans.

Officers of L.L.P.D.

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Vice Pres. ..... C. L. Williams
Treasurer ..... W. J. Argersinger
Secretary ..... Mrs. Eldon Fields

There is no more vicious enemy of peace, either domestic or international, than interracial or interreligious prejudice or bigotry . . .

—Judson J. McKim
from an address delivered on WKRC's Radio Forum, Cincinnati, Ohio.

EDITORIALS

We need an antidote for credulity. Credulity is belief or readiness to believe on slight or uncertain evidence. Credulity borders on superstition, an attitude of mind based on ignorance or unreasoned fear. We point with superior pride to the superstitions and taboos of backward peoples when there is credulity all about us. Astrology has been developed into a multi-million dollar racket due to our credulity. Belief in lucky and unlucky numbers, walking under ladders, having one's path crossed by a black cat, breaking mirrors, etc., etc., are superstitions thousands of years old and still going strong.

Now this credulity might be innocent enough. But when we let our credulity run unrestrained in regard to fellow men of different race and color, it becomes a dangerous affair. Hitler worked on that credulity and ran it into a world war. Racial myths and superstitions are still a plague in this land of ours, causing tensions and frictions.

The true antidote for credulity is faith. Credulity is the expectation of getting something for nothing: faith calls us to act. Superstition is cheap: faith is costly. Superstition promises short cuts: faith may be the long way around. Superstition undertakes to change the world for us: faith summons us to change ourselves. Credulity and superstition cling to man-created estimates and prejudices about fellow-man: faith sees man as God sees him, a being of infinite worth, a brother or sister to be esteemed and to help, and to live and cooperate with.

The world's need is for faith to combat foolish, costly, dangerous credulity.

—Theodore H. Aszman
(from a sermon preached at the First Presbyterian Church, Lawrence, Kansas)

The Blessed Years

These have been the blessed years.
I have learned—Oh, I have learned!
I found you:
You of the thousand faces and the manifold hearts and brains,
My people.
You are not in this small town alone.
I have seen you in the teeming cities;
Seen the courage of your shoulders, the dejection of your shoulders, the defiance of your shoulders.
I have seen you in the country lanes;
Seen the frightened probing of your eyes, seen the accepting calm of your eyes, seen the fierce searchings of your eyes.
You have spoken to me in accents midwest, eastern, southern.
I have read your heart in tongues foreign.
We bend with one accord our heads
To worship the same Father, whatever His name may be.
Our hearts sing together with the grand old masters.
Our eyes weep together in our impotence before death and poverty.
We know the same hatreds and the same loves.
We know the same searing fears, that melt and disappear before knowledge.
You are my people and I am your voice.
You are in me and I am of you.
I know you and I love you.
These have been the blessed years.

—Ellafern Austin

Intelligent Citizenship

Recently issued by Forces United for Intelligent Citizenship is a pamphlet assembled under the direction of Judge Robert V. Bolger, Philadelphia Orphans Court. The booklet contains a discussion of the Principles of Freedom, based on the "Bill of Rights" and the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States. The objects in publishing this series of discussions is presented in the introduction:

"Knowledge of the Bill of Rights is indispensable to an understanding and proper evaluation of government in the same sense that knowledge of the Ten Commandments is essential to religion. . . Since duties are correlative with rights, knowledge of our rights is essential to an awareness of responsibilities. . . The purpose of our government is found in the Bill of Rights, which, in a large sense, is the source of all our law. It is a list of the principles of liberty and justice which makes us citizens, as distinguished from subjects, and constitutes the bulwark protecting the individual and the minority against all forms of tyranny and despotisms of the majority—political, economic or social. . . The Bill of Rights is a statement of principles adaptable to changing political, economic and social conditions in the same manner as the Ten Commandments have been applicable to all peoples in all ages and in all places. . . That we, as a people, constantly violate the principles is no reason for questioning their soundness, any more than our everyday sinning against the Ten Commandments should be regarded by God as reason for re-evaluating that instrument."

Topics discussed are: Freedom of Religion, Freedom of Speech and Press, The Right to Vote, Freedom of Enterprise, Labor Relations Due Process of Law Trial by Jury, and Other Rights of Accused Persons. A question-and-answer section follows each discussion. Following are some examples:

"Let us assume that Mr. John Doe conscientiously believes it is his religious duty not to obey red traffic lights. Is it an infringement of his religious liberties to convict him in a traffic court? . . . No. The public interest in safety on the highways over-balances Mr. Doe's qualified right to act in accordance with his religious dictates."

"May a state prevent the raising of funds by a religious organization unless the organization has been approved as a religious one by the state? . . . No. This procedure would amount to state censorship of religion, and freedom of worship is here superior to the state's police power."

"The State of Alabama enacted a statute which made picketing unlawful. The validity of this statute was questioned in a case before he United States Supreme Court. It was argued, on the one hand, that the statute by preventing picketing, amounted to a denial of the freedom of speech and was therefore unconstitutional. It was argued on the other hand that the statute was a valid exercise of the State's police power and was necessary to protect business. Which side was right? . . . The Court held that strikers have the right to tell the public their troubles and to induce the public not to deal with the employer. No limitation can be placed on peaceful and truthful discussions of matters of public interest. Since the statute prevented the employees from peacefully stating their position it was a violation of their right of free speech. It was pointed out that the statute did not deal with mass picketing, which could have destroyed the employer's property or business. The Pennsylvania Superior Court held in the Westinghouse, in 1946, that when pickets deny an owner access to his property, the picketing is unlawful. The First Amendment, therefore, does not guarantee strikers to do what is known as 'mass picketing."

"Is a state statute constitutional which requires voters to be able to read and write the Constitution, but exempts persons entitled to vote on January 1, 1866, and their lineal descendants? . . Standing alone, the literacy test would be perfectly valid, but when combined with the exclusion statute is unconstitutional since in 1866 no Negro could vote."

"Does a state law which provides minimum wages for women and children deprive the employer of his liberty to contract in violation of the Constitution? . . . No. The Constitution prohibits the deprivation of liberty without due process of law. But the liberty safeguarded is liberty in a social organization which requires the protection of laws against the evils which menace the health, safety, morals and welfare of the people. The protection of women is a legitimate end of the exercise of state power and the requirement of a minimum wage is a means to this end."

"Russian immigrants living in a certain state, raised and educated their children in the native tongue. The state legislaure considered passing a law which would have forbidden teaching in any language except English until the children had completed the first eight grades of school. Do you think such a statute would be constitutional? . . The statute would not be constitutional. The state may go far to improve the mental and physical status of its citizens, but the individual has certain fundamental rights that must be respected. It might be more convenient if all citizens spoke the same language, but this can't be forced by means that are unconstitutional. The state might require that English be taught in the schools but the contemplated statute would have interfered with citizens' liberty by excluding a subject of study. 'Liberty' includes the right to acquire knowledge and to bring up children according to the dictates of the individual's conscience. Justice Holmes and Sutherland dissented on the ground that it might be dangerous to this country to have children inculcated with ideas and sentiments of a foreign power and to think in terms of the foreign language."

"Where the defendant produces no defense, does the judge violate defendant's right to trial by jury by instructing them that they must bring in a verdict for the plaintiff in (a) civil cases and (b) criminal cases? . . . One of the judge's functions is to determine whether the plaintiff has made out a case which entitles him to go to the jury but he may not direct a verdict for the plaintiff unless the defendant admits the facts which fasten liability upon him. In criminal cases the law presumes that the accused is innocent until he is proven guilty. Consequently, jury's verdict may not be directed against defendant. The jury's verdict is final and inviolate even though inconsistent with the merits of the case."

THE L.L.P.D. BOOK PAGE FEATURE

Wasn't It Fun!

The idea of the LLPD picnic July 15 in Clinton park was that everyone should have fun. And everyone did have fun—over a hundred members and friends enjoyed the games and the visiting and the food. The weatherman had made a very special effort and produced the very nicest day possible. In the absence of Mrs. E. M. Wallace, LLPD president, who was vacationing in Colorado, vice president Cal VanderWerf acted as chairman during the brief business meeting for the election of officers.

Oscar White gave the report of the nominating committee. The names presented by this committee were unanimously voted as LLPD officers for 1948-49. They are:

President ..... Mayzelma Wallace
Vice President ... Rev. C. L. Williams
2nd Vice President .....
..... Rev. Edwin Price
Treasurer ..... W. J. Argersinger
Secretary ..... Mrs. Eldon Fields

Members of the Boys League of Lawrence were special guests at the picnic, with their leader, Tal Hiebert Following an exhibition ball game which the boys played, they gathered to be introduced to the picnic crowd, and to receive their new white polo shirts printed in blue with the words, "Boys League of Lawrence." When we see a lad wearing one of these shirts about town we can feel a real thrill of pride that here is one of "our" boys.

An especially happy feature of the picnic was the fact that several out-of-town LLPD members were present. Mrs. Oscar Bonny, daughter of Reverend and Mrs. G. E. E. Lindquist, was here from Anthony, Kansas, with her two children. Mr. Bonny is the minister of the Congregational church at Anthony. Miss Alberta White, on vacation from school teaching at Greensboro, North Carolina, came with the rest of the White family. Morton Davis, executive secretary of the LLPD before his departure, had just returned from an expedition to the Dominican Republic, where he was assisting in gathering material and making films for an illustrated lecture series. Mort had an interesting story to tell of his experiences, and we were sorry that he could stay so short a time in Lawrence before he started out again on further travels. The picnic was the final LLPD gathering to be attended as a local member by the Reverend C. Fosberg Hughes. Mr. Hughes has resigned the pastorate of Plymouth Church to lead in the establishment of a new church in Prairie Village, Johnson County, Kansas, which is close enough to home that we can still expect to see him occasionally even though it is too far for him to continue to serve on the LLPD Board. Another person we were delighted to meet at the picnic is a newcomer, Mrs. Tal Hiebert. "Toni" came from Denver very recently to become Tal's bride, and we are happy to welcome her.

"Wasn't it a swell picnic?" That's what everyone agreed as the day ended.

Events Across the Country

At the biennial convention of the American Nurses Association held in Chicago, it was voted by the House of Delegates that Negro nurses throughout the country be admitted to the ANA. Previously approximately 300 qualified nurses from 8 states had been denied membership by district association bans.

In July the magazine **School Life,** publication of the U. S. Office of Education, posed a question: "What Are Good Teachers Like?" and gave an answer: Clifford J. Campbell, director of Dunbar Trade School on Chicago's South Side. Cliff Campbell, from Washington, D. C., was once a Pullman porter. He turned from architecture to school teaching, and as dean of boys at Wendell Phillips High School was called "an artist in human relations." In six years he has seen enrollment at Dunbar increase from 125 to 1,650. 400 are Negro war veterans. A faculty of 74, white and Negro, replaced the original 16. Many of these teachers have refused better paying jobs in order to help Campbell build the bigger and better Dunbar high school. A new building is promised within three years; meantime more than four times as many students as the school was built to accommodate are being taken care of in temporary wooden buildings and by running three shifts. Campbell has begged and borrowed $2,000,000 worth of machines and equipment, and set up 23 vocational courses. Students are first taught employable skill, then academic courses and arts. Last year a Dunbar student won the state oratorical contest, and 105 of the 118 graduates demonstrated the effectiveness of the school's training by getting good jobs.

Prejudice and discrimination against persons because of race or color or religion, involuntary unemployment and bad housing are among the foremost causes of social neuroses, says Dr. William C. Menninger, famed psychiatrist of Topeka, Kans. Dr. Menninger told the America Psychiatric Association, "As a group of scientific experts who are interested in and concerned with the way men think and feel and behave, it is only logical to assume that these social ills might be among our very special concerns."

A Negro girl, Edith Mae Irby, has been admitted to the medical school of the University of Arkansas, without segregation.

You say the little efforts that I make
will do no good;
They never will prevail
To tip the hovering scale
When justice hangs in balance.
I don't think I ever thought they
would.
But I am prejudiced beyond debate
In favor of my right to choose which
side
Shall feel the stubborn ounces of
my weight.

—Bonaro Overstreet
St. Mark's Rubric

Boys League

The Boys League of Lawrence continues its growth numerically and in scope of activities. Membership now numbers over fifty. Several of the boys spent a week at Camp Wood, and a larger group had a week-end camp at Lone Star Lake. All of the boys found employment through the summer, and LLPD members who phoned Tal Hiebert to arrange to hire workers had to wait their turn until the boys were free from previous jobs. All job offers were finally utilized, however, and the boys appreciated the opportunities given them. Membership in the League is open to all boys in the community between the ages of 8 and 18. Send your name and address on a postcard to Box 519, Lawrence, if you are interested in joining.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL OFFICE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

OF B'NAI B'RITH

11 PRYOR STREET, S. W.—SUITE 305 ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

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Director Southern Regional Office

October 25, 1948

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Dear Friend:

The enclosed brochure describes Freedom Pamphlets, a new and important series of booklets dealing with a great problem---the relations of men with their fellow men.

Written by outstanding authorities such as Dr. Allport of Harvard, Dr. Kilpatrick of Columbia, and Dr. Lund of the University of Oklahoma, Freedom Pamphlets are published by the Anti-Defamation League, in cooperation with the American Education Fellowship. The series provides excellent material in the field of human relationships and should prove to be an excellent teaching tool. The first two of the pamphlets---"The Responsibility is Ours" by Bonaro Overstreet and "Danger in Discord" by Dr. Oscar and Mary Handlin---are now off the press and available for distribution. Future units are scheduled for publication at the rate of a new pamphlet every two months.

Should you desire to subscribe, the cost is 20¢ for each pamphlet. As soon as you inform us of your wish to receive the pamphlets, we shall send you the two issues now available and future pamphlets as they are published.

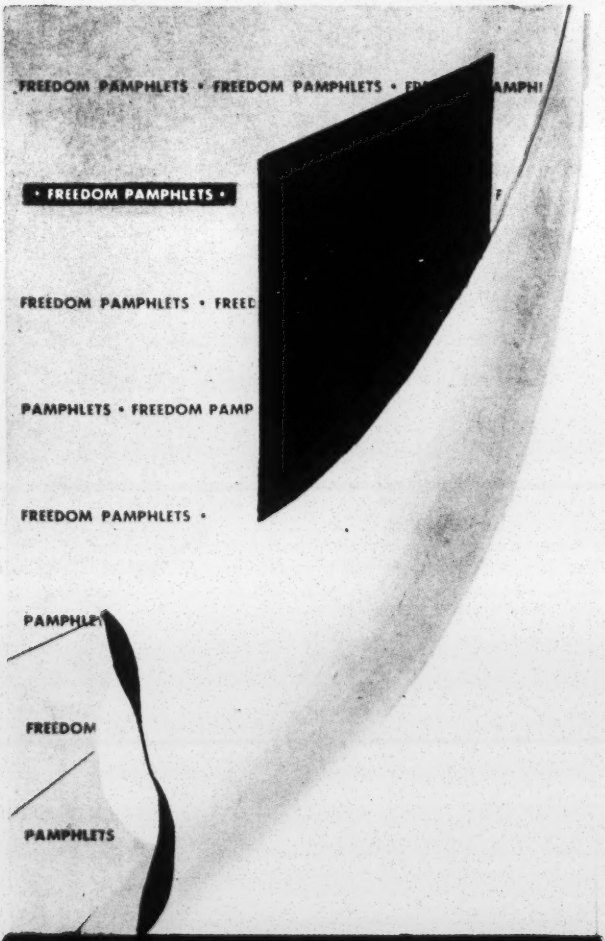
Cordially,

Fred Grossman

Fred Grossman
Associate Director

FG/ff

TO ELIMINATE DEFAMATION OF THE JEWS AND TO COUNTERACT UN-AMERICAN AND ANTI-DEMOCRATIC PROPAGANDA THROUGH A BROAD EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM: TO ADVANCE GOOD-WILL AND PROPER UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN AMERICAN GROUPS: TO PRESERVE AND TO TRANSLATE INTO GREATER EFFECTIVENESS THE IDEALS OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY.



THE RESPONSIBILITY IS OURS

DANGER IN DISCORD

THE RADIO LISTENERS' BILL OF RIGHTS

ABC'S OF SCAPEGOATING

MODERN EDUCATION AND BETTER HUMAN RELATIONS

THE TRIAL OF A NEW WEAPON

Freedom Pamphlets

FREEDOM is more than a word. It is a deeply cherished belief in the essential importance of the person and in the supremacy of a society which respects and safeguards the eminent dignity and integrity of personality.

Freedom is a creative spirit that summons the energies of all men to the task of building the kind of community, the kind of nation, the kind of world in which they want to live. It is a dream of a world in which all men, women and children are encouraged to grow to their fullest—physically, mentally, spiritually—so that they may fulfill the great promise of their inner potential.

But Freedom is more than a belief or a dream. Freedom is also a process; as such it is concerned with means as with ends, seeking through democratic methods to create the good society.

The education of free men to understand their proper role in a free society is basic to such a process. To this task the Freedom Pamphlets are dedicated.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Freedom Pamphlets are published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. They are edited by Frank N. Trager, National Program Director, with the assistance of Harold Schiff and Adele Liederman.

Freedom Pamphlets are a new series of booklets dealing with the most important problems of our time — the relations of men with their fellow men of various races, creeds, national origins.

Freedom Pamphlets are written by outstanding authorities. Each brings his specialized talents and experience to bear on the problem of human relations. Each makes a valuable and original contribution to a series that embraces every significant facet of the American scene.

(In cooperation with the American Education Fellowship, a number of the Freedom Pamphlets are being prepared by key educators at colleges and universities throughout the country. Prof. Theodore Brameld of the New York University School of Education and regional vice-president of the American Education Fellowship is editorial consultant for the pamphlets.)

Here are some of the distinguished authors of Freedom Pamphlets.

MRS. BONARO W. OVERSTREET

Mrs. Overstreet, whose pamphlet, *The Responsibility Is Ours*, initiates the series, is an outstanding author and lecturer in personal psychology and adult education. In this essay she emphasizes the responsibilities of all towards integrated group living.

OSCAR AND MARY HANDLIN

Dr. Handlin, assistant professor of social science at Harvard University, and his wife, Mary, devote their pamphlet, *Danger in Discord*, to a sociological examination of the roots of anti-Semitism in the United States. "While racist ideas originally sprouted without reference to Jews, they were quickly applied to them," the Handlins point out.

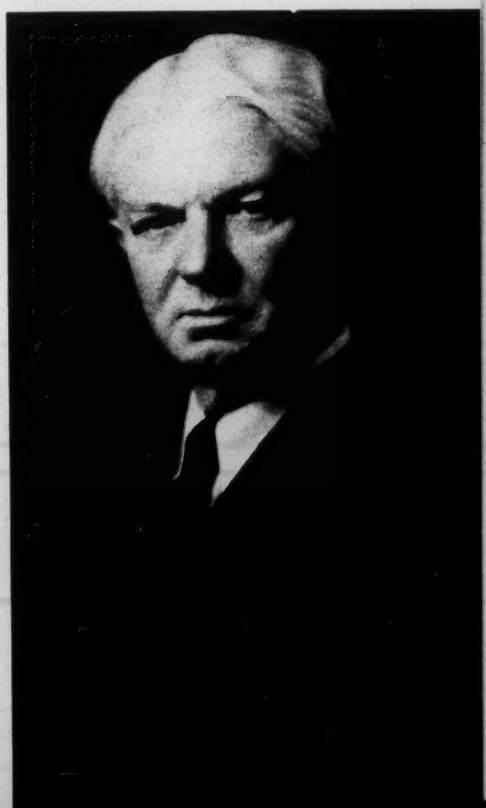
CHARLES A. SIEPMANN

Prof. Siepmann, chairman of New York University's Department of Communications, spent twelve years with the British Broadcasting Corporation before coming to the United States in 1937. During the war, he served in OWI's radio division. His pamphlet, *The Radio Listeners' Bill of Rights*, describes how communities may use radio as an instrument in securing better human relations.

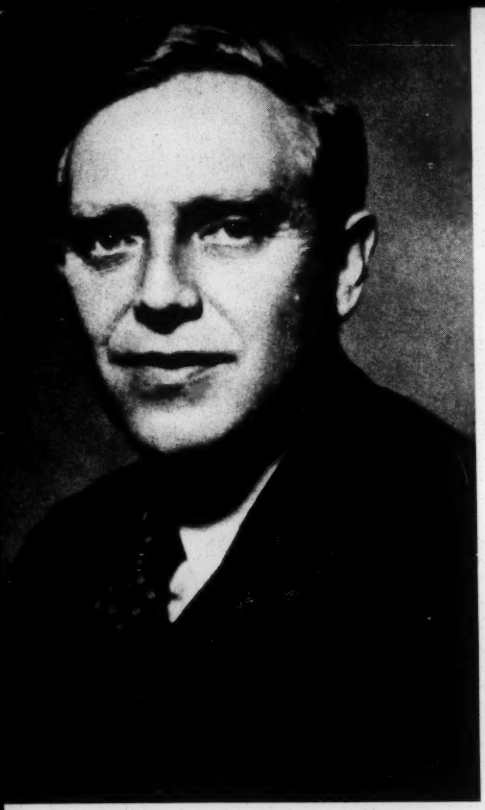
GORDON ALLPORT

Dr. Allport, psychology professor at Harvard University, has prepared a revised edition of *ABC's of Scapegoating* for the Freedom Pamphlet series. The pamphlet is concerned with the psychology of prejudice, and investigates the motives, sources, forms and effects of scapegoating.

DR. WILLIAM H. KILPATRICK



Professor emeritus at Teachers College, Columbia University, Dr. Kilpatrick is one of the leading educational thinkers in the United States. In *Modern Education and Better Human Relations*, he traces the development of present-day teaching methods, stressing the importance of intercultural education.



JAMES PARKES

James Parkes, noted English writer and lecturer, has written extensively on anti-Semitism. In the pamphlet, *The Trial of A New Weapon*, he describes the origin of political anti-Semitism in 19th Century Europe and its culmination in 20th Century Nazi Germany.

Freedom Pamphlets are aimed at community leaders. They demonstrate to men and women in all walks of life how contemporary institutions may be used to forge "the kind of community, the kind of nation, the kind of world in which they want to live."

NOW AVAILABLE

THE RESPONSIBILITY IS OURS: *The Individual and Our Human Relationships*, by Bonaro W. Overstreet.*

FORTHCOMING ISSUES

DANGER IN DISCORD, by Oscar and Mary Handlin.

ABC'S OF SCAPEGOATING, revised edition, by Gordon Allport.

MODERN EDUCATION AND BETTER HUMAN RELATIONS, by Prof. William H. Kilpatrick.

THE TRIAL OF A NEW WEAPON, by James Parkes.

THEATRE AND HUMAN RELATIONS, by John Gassner, editor of TWENTY BEST PLAYS, member of the New York City Drama Critics' Circle, and professor of drama at the New School for Social Research.

THE RADIO LISTENERS' BILL OF RIGHTS, by Charles Siepmann, chairman of New York University Department of Communications.

THE SCHOOL-CENTERED COMMUNITY, by S.E.T. Lund, professor of education, University of Oklahoma.*

GRASS ROOTS DEMOCRACY IN ACTION, by Kenneth D. Benne, professor of education, Columbia University.*

TOWARD WORLD UNDERSTANDING, by Harold Benjamin, dean, University of Maryland.*

WORKER'S EDUCATION, by Arthur Elder, director of the Worker's Educational Service, University of Michigan.

*Prepared in cooperation with the American Education Fellowship.

Freedom Pamphlets are 20¢ per copy. Discounts for quantity orders.

For additional copies, write to:
SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE
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Order your pamphlets from:
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
PROGRAM DIVISION
212 Fifth Avenue New York 10, N. Y.

College Study Bulletin No. 5
October, 1948

File CB-16D
Mimeo. E5570

STUDY FORMS AND TECHNICS IN INTERGROUP RELATIONS

THE COLLEGE STUDY IN INTERGROUP RELATIONS*
Council on Cooperation in Teacher Education
American Council on Education
Lloyd Allen Cook, Director
Wayne University, 5272 Second Ave.,
Detroit 2, Michigan

RECEIVED
SEP 13 1948
Southern Regional Council

Among the several ways in which the College Study seeks to be of help to workers in intergroup education is in devising, collecting, and distributing study forms, bibliographies, teaching aids, and the like. In the main, these materials have been prepared by the College Study Staff, or by colleges in the Study, although we are glad to receive from others any study form which in their opinion merits general use and test.

In general, our materials are related to College Study goals, with emphasis especially on race, creed, national heritages, rural-urban and social class differences, as suggested in the following statement:

College Study Goals

1. To discover and appraise the role in child and adult life of race, creed, national heritages, rural-urban and class level differences.
2. To provide college and school environments in which all peoples are viewed, valued and treated in terms of their personal worth.
3. To teach prospective teachers a better understanding of and a deeper concern for human relations, and to increase their work skills in this area.
4. To make basic and lasting improvements in teacher training programs in line with the above goals, and to diffuse these changes within the profession.
5. To work directly, and to cooperate actively, with local and nonlocal intergroup agencies for the increasing democratization of our common life.

Please order any item by its file number, including stamps up to $1.00 in your order. In amounts over $1.00, make checks payable to the College Study in Intergroup Relations. Charges cover costs to us, including postage.

Our function, as we now regard it, is to supply sample forms, at least for most of our listings, with the user reproducing the form in quantities for his own noncommercial use. Where forms are copyrighted, the right of use must of course be secured from the copyright holder.

After February 1, 1949, when the field work phase of the College Study program comes to an end, we shall be obliged to terminate the circulation of materials listed in this bulletin. We are hopeful that this service can be continued in some way by the Council on Cooperation in Teacher Education.

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*Financed for a four year period by a grant to the Council on Cooperation in Teacher Education of the American Council on Education by the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

I. ANECDOTAL RECORDS, LIFE HISTORIES

1. Anecdotal Record Sheet. Adapted from form by Professor Bertha Lawrence, State Teachers College, Trenton, N. J. Record Sheet, File AR-3, 6¢.

2. Student's Weekly Log and Program Report. Adaptation of a weekly "log" used in College of Education, Wayne University. File AR-7, 6¢.

3. Formative Influences on My Attitudes toward Minority Groups. A guided outline for student autobiographical papers on their experiences as possessors and objects of prejudice. Can also be used as an interview guide. 3 p., mimeo., File AR-12, 9¢.

II. ATTITUDE SCALES, OPINIONNAIRES

1. Race Attitudes and Contacts. General, composite inquiry, illustrating various kinds of testing. Of use in orienting a college class and as an endtest measure. Four pages, mimeo. File AS-1, 12¢.

2. Attitudes Toward Jews: Statement Form. Seventeen tested attitudinal statements, asking for one of five responses from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Score range of 17 to 85. File AS-10, 6¢.

3. Attitudes Toward Jews: Incident Form. Ten incidents, or short cases, asking subject to circle one of five attitudinal statements with which he most nearly agrees. Scale range of 10 to 50. File AS-11, 10¢.

4. Attitudes Toward Social Classes: Statement Form. 32 items. File AS-12, 6¢.

5. Attitudes Toward the Foreign-born: Statement Form. 15 items. File AS-13, 6¢.

6. Attitudes Toward Negroes: Statement Form. Same type as No. 2 above. File AS-15, 6¢.

7. Attitudes Toward Negroes: Incident Form. Same type as No. 3 above. File AS-16, 10¢.

8. A Survey of Group Opinions. A composite 40-item test dealing with attitudes toward Jews, Negroes, the foreign-born, and lower classes. Each item selected from an original list of about 30 items. Scale range of 40 to 200, with tentative norms on about 1500 cases. Test and Answer Sheet, AS-20, AS-20A, 8¢. Manual, File AS-20B, 15¢.

9. Social Distance Questionnaire. Adaptation of Bogardus Social Distance Test. One page. File AS-25, 6¢.

10. Attitudes Toward Races and Nationalities. By H. H. Grice, edited by H. H. Remmers, Purdue University. A 46-item scale which can be filled in for one to five races and nationalities. Test and Answer Sheet, AS-26, AS-26A, 6¢; Manual, AS-26B, 3¢.

11. What People Are Like. A 10-item rating scale of personal-social traits. Adapted from a test by Dr. Eugene Hartley, City College, New York. Test and Answer Sheet, AS-38, AS-38A, 10¢; Manual, AS-38B, 6¢.

12. Paths of Life. Six "paths of life", each related to local "power system" and each described in a paragrphs. Respondents are asked to indicate personal reactions by ratings of 1 to 5. Adapted from a test by Charles Morris, University of Chicago. File AS-40, 6¢.

III. BIBLIOGRAPHIES

1. Intergroup Relations: A General Bibliography. Current fiction, sociological studies, child acculturation, school programs, group study and management technics, etc. Fourteen pages, mimeo. File B-2, 25¢.

2. Projective Tests: A Bibliography. Adapted from Hertz, M., et al., "Rorschach Methods and Other Projective Technics." Review of Educational Research, 17, 73-100, 1947. File B-5, 9¢.

3. Bibliography on Action Research and Group Management. Four pages covering recent researches and interpretations. File B-7, 12¢.

4. Leadership: A Bibliography. Adapted from Leslie Day Zeleny, "Leadership", Encyclopedia of Educational Research, 1948 Revision. File B-9, 9¢.

5. Bibliography on Nondirective Therapy, by Dr. Carl R. Rogers, 1946. Mimeo., 70 titles. File B-3, 9¢.

IV. COLLEGE STUDY BULLETINS*

1. The College Study in Intergroup Relations. General information regarding the Study for colleges interested in making an application for inclusion in the Study. File SS-7, Five pages.

2. Our Colleges for 1946-47. Brief description of the programs of 20 participating colleges as of December, 1946. File CS-6, Twelve pages, 10¢.

3. Action, Action Research for 1947-48. Discussion of "action research" in reference to College Study program for the year. October 1947. File AR-10, Fourteen pages, 15¢.

4. Group Work Technics in the College Study. Descriptions of "group work" approaches made by colleges in the Study, with cases and analyses. February, 1948. File TM-32. Eleven pages, 20¢.

5. Study Forms and Technics in Intergroup Relations. An inventory of study forms, teaching aids, etc., distributed by the College Study. October, 1948. File CB-16D, 6¢.

V. COMMUNITY STUDY FORMS

1. A Study of Newspapers. A 6 page form for rating newspapers in respect to their treatment of minority groups. Six pages. File CS-12, 12¢; Manual, CS-12A, 8¢.

2. Social Participation Scale, 1937. By F. Stuart Chapin, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis. Nature and extent of husband and wife participation in community organizations, tentative norms. Copyrighted. File CS-31, 6¢.

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*Only Bulletins in stock are listed, with listings discontinued as stocks are exhausted.

3. Community Resources Inventory. By Lloyd Allen Cook. Three page inventory for collecting essential information on community agencies of use in a school program. File CS-35, 9¢.

4. Community Satisfaction Scale. By Vernon Davies, Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis. 20 scaled statements. File CS-38, 6¢.

5. Paths of Life. Six "paths of life," each related to local power system and described in a paragraph. Respondents are asked to indicate personal reactions by ratings of 1 to 5. Adapted from test by Chas. Morris, University of Chicago. File AS-40, 6¢.

6. Occupational Rating Scale. A device to secure rated opinion as to the social worth of 90 common occupations. Adapted from scales by C. C. North and Paul Hatt. File CS-43, 15¢. Manual, including national norms, File TM-55, 20¢.

VI. EVALUATION FORMS

1. Evaluation of a Course in Intergroup Relations. Overall course rating by students. achievement of objectives, teacher personality, etc. Two pages, File EF-1, 8¢.

2. Student Reaction to College Experiences. Adapted from form by Wayne University Committee on Intergroup Relations. Student reactions to courses, campus and off-campus activities. Two pages, File EF-5, 6¢.

3. Group Process Approach to Education. Systematic pre- and end-test appraisal form for college course seeking to make a "group work" approach to teacher training problems. Objectives, procedures, problems. Four pages. File EF-10, 12¢.

VII. EXPERIENCE INVENTORIES

1. Experiences With Negroes: Community Contacts. By Robert N. Ford, University of Alabama, University, Ala. Negro participation in community life as white respondents have seen it. Two pages, 12 tested items, five responses. Scale values of 12 to 60, with some known norms. Test EI-4 and Answer Sheet EI-6A, 9¢; Manual, EI-6, 12¢.

2. Experiences With Negroes: Personal Contacts. By Robert N. Ford. Same type scale as above. 14 items, scale value 14 to 70. Test EI-5 and Answer Sheet EI-6A, 9¢; Manual, EI-6, 12¢.

VIII. GROUP STUDY FORMS

1. Observing A Youth Group. For use in sensitizing college students to group structure, processes, member roles, etc. Requires training in use. Three pages. File GI-2, 12¢.

2. Guided Outline for Group Study. Form to be used by college students in group description and analysis. File GS-4, 12¢.

IX. INFORMATIONAL TESTS

1. American Ethnic Peoples. A 100-item factual test, multiple choice type. Items indicative of general knowledge; college level. Test IT-1B and Answer Sheet IT-1C, 20¢; Manual, IT-1D, 9¢.

X. PROBLEM CHECK LISTS

1. Problem Check List. By Ross L. Mooney, Ohio State University. Over 300 items in 11 categories. Copyrighted. Obtain from Bureau for Educational Research, Ohio State University. File PCL-1 (Jr. H. S.), PCL-2 (Sr. H. S.), PCL-3 (College).

2. The Wishing Well. By Louis Raths. 160 items in eight "needs" categories. More projective than Mooney Problem Check List. Grades 4, 5, and 6. Obtain from Bureau for Educational Research, Ohio State University. File PCL-6, 15¢.

XI. PERSONALITY INVENTORIES, GENERAL

1. The Personal Audit. By C. R. Adams and W. A. Lepley, Psych-Educational Clinic, Penn. State College, State College, Pa. Percentile score profile in nine areas of personality. Copyrighted. Obtain from Science Research Association, 228 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago. File PI-2.

2. The Personality Inventory. By Robert G. Bernreuter. Copyrighted. Obtain from Stanford University Press, Stanford University, Calif. File PI-3.

3. Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory. By S. R. Hathaway and J. C. McKinley Copyrighted. Obtain from Univ. Minn. Press, Minneapolis, File PI-4.

XII. PROGRESS REPORTS, ARTICLES

1. The Study of Intergroup Relations. 24th Yearbook. American Association of Teachers Colleges, 1945, pp. 5-51. Papers by Ethel Alpenfels, Allison Davis, R. J. Havighurst, Frank Baker, Julius Warren, Lloyd Allen Cook. Order from Chas. W. Hunt, Secretary, American Association of Teachers Colleges, State Teachers College, Oneonta, New York. $1.00. File PR-1.

2. Cook, Lloyd A. "Teaching Teachers Cooperative Action." 25th Yearbook, American Association of Teachers Colleges, 1946, 97-108. Reprint. File PR-2, 20¢.

3. Cook, Lloyd A. "The College Study in Intergroup Relations: A Progress Report." Educational Record, October 1946, 452-465. Reprint. File PR-3, 15¢.

4. Cook, Lloyd A. "Intergroup Education." Review of Educational Research, 17, 266-78, 1947. 77 title biblio. File TM-25, 20¢.

XIII. PROJECTIVE TESTS

1. What Would You Do? An Interviewing Device. By Arnold Meier. Series of simple line drawings, showing child entering country, traveling to subject's home town, entering school, etc. Child (small doll, paper cutout, etc.) a little Negro boy Jewish girl, and the like. Test used as interviewing device. Obtain from Detroit Citizenship Education Study, 436 Merrick St. File PT-1.

2. Rosenzweig P-F Study. By Saul Rosenzweig, Western State Psychiatric Hospital, Pittsburgh, Pa. Four printed pages, four drawings to a page, with subject asked to write in responses to personally frustrating situations of a general sort. No group relations content. Order from author. File PT-2.

3. The "Faces" Test. By Research Center for Group Dynamics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge. Panel of 16 tested photo faces about which "guess who" questions are asked. Now in experimental stage and available only from authors. File PT-4.

4. Human Relations Test. Developed by the staff of the College Study. Ten printed drawings, each depicting an intergroup contact. Subjects asked to write a short story about each scene, telling what has happened, how it came about, and what will happen next. Can be used as individual test (cards) or group test (slides, opaque projector). Directions for obtaining and interpreting scores for guidance uses based on 260 cases. Test, File PT-10, Set of 10 cards, $1.50, ten sets or more, $1.00 each. Individual Answer Summary Sheet, PT-10A, 6¢; Group Answer Summary Sheet, PT-10B, 6¢; General Manual, PT-10C, 15¢; Instructions to Respondents, PT-10D, 3¢.

XIV. SCHOOL INQUIRY FORMS

1. The School Inventory. By Hugh M. Bell. Series of 70 or more questions about the school, reactions to teachers, etc. Copyrighted. Order from Stanford University Press. File SIF-1.

2. School Inventory: Intergroup Relations. Designed by the College Study as a survey for use in mixed schools. Pupil attitudes and behaviors, school practices, etc. File SIF-5, 15¢.

XV. SOCIOGRAPHIC AND SOCIAL DISTANCE TESTS

1. Ohio Social Acceptance Scale: Form G-3. By Dr. Louis Raths, New York University. Six categories of personal friendliness. Can be adapted grades 4 to 12. Test, File ST-3, 6¢. For general manual on sociometric testing, see STM-18A, 15¢.

2. Who's Who in My Group? Form G-4-B, Intermediate Grades. By Dr. Louis Raths. 18 "guess who" items indicative of pupil roles and prestige ratings.

3. The Culture Conflict Index. By Dr. Louis Raths. Middle to upper elementary grades. 18 kinds of intergroup attitudinal situations answered in terms of "how many people in your room" (or group) would react by liking, disliking. Separate answer sheet. Six pages. File ST-5, 12¢.

4. Casting Characters for A Class Play. 10 parts, one page, grade school level. File ST-6, 6¢.

5. How I Feel About Others. A 20 item check list for 3rd to 6th grades, seeking attitudes toward country children, small town and big city children. Two pages, File ST-10, 6¢.

6. Where Should Children Be Reared? Seventeen attitudinal statements, asking for comparison of farm, town, city, etc., as the most desirable place in which to live. For grades 6 to 10. File ST-11, 6¢.

7. Things We Like to Do. Designed to secure positive and negative friend choices, but to focus attention on an array of activities, sports, hobbies, etc. Grade level, ST-16, 6¢; High school level, ST-18, 6¢.

8. Social Distance Inquiry. Adaptation of Bogardus Scale. One page, mimeo. File ST-25, 6¢.

9. Social Distance Questionnaire. Adapted from scale devised by Dr. Theodore G. Standing, State College for Teachers, Albany, N. Y. Twelve "distance" relationships toward ten ethnic groups. One page. File AS-52, 6¢.

10. Sociometric Study, A General Manual. Collecting, analyzing and diagramming sociometric data, with special reference to College Study forms. File STM-18A, 25¢.

XVI. TEACHING MATERIALS: INTERGROUP RELATIONS

1. Intergroup Education: Course Outline. By Dr. W. W. D. Sones, University of Pittsburgh. Two page outline of study units. File TM-1, 6¢.

2. Thaden, J. F., Farm People of Michigan by Ethnic Stocks: 1945. Sample ethnic map (2½ by 3 ft.). File TM-2, 25¢.

3. Alpenfels, Ethel, Sense and Nonsense About Race. 47 p. 1946. File TM-5, 25¢.

4. Redfield, Robert, Race and Religion in Selective Admission. 15 p. 1947. File TM-8, 25¢.

5. Gilchrist, Robert S., et al. Building Friendly Relations. Description of practices in Laboratory School, Ohio State University. 50 p. 1947. File TM-10, 45¢.

6. Improving Intergroup Relations in School and Community Life. By Committee on Inservice Education, North Central Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges. Cases, theory, study and action technics. 48 p. File TM-15, 35¢; 10 copies or more, 25¢ each.

7. Welling, Jane B., et al. What Can Teachers Do? Intergroup Relations in creative arts, college level. 31 p., illustrated. 1947. File TM-20, 55¢. Over 25, 40¢ each.

8. Cook, Lloyd Allen, "Intergroup Education." Review of Educational Research, 17: 266-73, 1947. Reprint. File TM-25, 25¢.

9. Cook, Lloyd Allen, "An Experimental Sociographic Study of A Stratified 10th Grade Class." American Sociological Review, 10: 250-61, 1945. Sociograms, case materials, biblio. Reprinted, 1947. File TM-26, 25¢; 10 to 20, 20¢ each

10. From Sea to Shining Sea. Administrative viewpoints and practices. 64 p. 1947. Order from American Association of School Administrators, 1201 16th St., N.W., Washington, D. C. or from the College Study. File TM-28, 50¢.

11. Cook, Lloyd Allen, "Group Work Technics in the College Study." Social Education, February, 1948. Group discussion technics, activity programs, group therapy, cultural informant, sociodrama, etc. Reprint, 12 p. File TM-32, 20¢.

12. The Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. To Secure These Rights. New York: Simon and Schuster, $1.00 Available from the College Study in PM's reprints. File TM-34, 10¢.

13. Some Principles Defining A Democratic Group Situation. One page, mimeo. File TM-36, 6¢.

14. Preliminary Report of the First National Training Laboratory on Group Development. Order from National Education Association, 1201 16th St., N. W., Washington, D. C. $1.00.

15. Williams, Robin M., Jr. The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions. A Survey of Research on Problems of Ethnic, Racial, and Religious Group Tensions. Obtain from Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York, 17, N. Y.

16. Paul K. Hatt, "Class and Ethnic Attitudes," Amer. Soc. Rev., 13, February, 1948 36-43. Factoral analysis of responses on College Study AS-20 test. 9 pages. Mimeo. File TM-38, 25¢.

17. Grace I. Woodson, The West Virginia State College Group Relations Program. A 13-page study of West Virginia State's participation in College Study program. File TM-42, 25¢.

18. Resource Agencies in Intergroup Education. A list of 50 selected agencies. File TM-45, 6¢.

XVII. TEST SCORING METHODS AND MATERIALS

1. Cook, Lloyd Allen, Methods of Community Study. Adapted from article in W. C. Reawis (ed.), The School and the Urban Community, 1942, pp. 201-14. Emphasis on processing field data, building tables, etc. File TSM-1, 15¢.

2. The McBee Keysort System. Five page description of an effective "ice pick" system of tabulating social data. File TSM-4, 12¢.

3. Forsyth, Elaine and Katz, Leo, "A Matrix Scheme for Scoring Sociographic Data." Sociometry, 9, November 1946, 340-7. Reprint. File TSM-14, 12¢.

4. Manual for Attitude Testing, 5 p., mimeo. File AS-20B, 15¢.

5. Manual for Information Testing, 3 p., mimeo. File IT-1D, 9¢.

6. Classification Code for Scoring Personal Background Factors on College Study Battery A Tests. File TS-20, 12¢.

7. Coded Summary Sheet for College Study Battery A Tests. For the machine scoring of test scores by 14 variables. File TS-20A, 6¢.

8. Interviewing Guide, for use with College Study Battery A Tests, File TS-21, 10¢.

XVIII. WORKSHOPS, CLINICS, CONFERENCES

1. Plan for A One-Day Workshop on Intergroup Relations, Followed by Conferences (Second Day) with Working Committees. File WS-1, 3¢.

10 - Intercultural Education

SECOND NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON INTERGROUP RELATIONS

November 18-20, 1948

International House and Public Administration Clearing House

University of Chicago Campus

Sponsoring Agencies

American Council on Race Relations

National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials

National Citizens Council on Civil Rights

PROGRAM

PART I

Second Annual Meeting of the
National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 18

9:00 A.M. - 10:00 A.M. REGISTRATION - International House

10:00 A.M. - 12:00 Noon Session 1 - International House
Assembly Room

WELCOME TO DELEGATES

George Schermer, President, NAIRO

Summary and Review of Current Activities
in Intergroup Relations

Chairman: Benjamin Epstein, Director
Anti-Defamation League

A. On the national scene, report by

Louis Bennett
Assistant Executive Director
American Jewish Committee

B. In the states, report by

John B. Sullivan
Director of Public Relations, Education and Research, New York State
Commission Against Discrimination

C. In local communities, report by

Dan W. Dodson
New York Mayor's Committee on Unity

12:30 P.M. - 2:00 P.M. Session 2 - LUNCHEON
International House: Assembly Room

Professional Standards in the Field of Intergroup Relations

Chairman: George Schermer
President, NAIRO

Speaker: E. Franklin Frazier
Department of Sociology
Howard University

2:30 P.M. - 5:00 P.M. Session 3 ROUND TABLES (A.B.C)

ROUND TABLE 3A - PACH Board Room

Administrative Problems and Techniques of State Official Agencies

Chairman: Harold A. Lett
Division Against Discrimination
New Jersey Department of Education

ROUND TABLE 3B - PACH Conference Room

Administrative Problems and Techniques of Local Official Agencies

Chairman: Felix M. Gentile
Executive Secretary
Toledo Board of Community Relations

ROUND TABLE 3C - International House: Room D-E

Administrative Problems and Techniques of Citizens' Community Councils

Chairman: Irene Miller
Executive Secretary
Seattle Civic Unity Committee

7:30 P.M. - 10:00 P.M. Session 4 - GENERAL SESSION
International House: Assembly Room

Organization for Legislation

Chairman: Roy Wilkins
Assistant Secretary
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People

A. Congressional Action - International House
Assembly Room

Discussion Leader: Mike Masaoka
Legislative Director
Anti-Discrimination Committee, Japanese American
Citizens League

B. State Legislation - International House
Room D-E

Discussion Leader: Will Maslow,
Director, Commission on Law
and Social Action, American
Jewish Congress

C. Local Ordinances - International House: Room A

Discussion Leader: Byron Miller
Midwest Director
Commission on Law and Social
Action, American Jewish
Congress

(Presentation of subjects in general sessions will be followed by separate group discussions and then groups will reconvene in Assembly Room for summary of sessions.)

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 19

9:00 A.M. - 10:00 A.M. Session 5 - Business Meeting
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS OFFICIALS
International House: Assembly Room

Chairman: George Schermer
President, NAIRO

10:15 A.M. - 12:00 Noon Session 6 ROUND TABLES - (A, B,C)

ROUND TABLE 6A - International House: Room B

Methods and Techniques of Eliminating Discriminatory Practices in Local Government

Chairman: John G. Feild
Field Representative
City of Detroit Interracial Committee

ROUND TABLE 6B - International House: Room A

Methods and Techniques of Eliminating Discriminatory Practices in Housing and Urban Redevelopment

Chairman: Coleman Woodbury, Director
Urban Redevelopment Study

ROUND TABLE 6C - International House: Room D-E

Techniques of Adult Education and the Use of Mass Media

Chairman: Clyde Hart, Director
National Opinion Research Center

PART II

FRIDAY AFTERNOON, NOVEMBER 19

Second Annual Meeting on Intergroup Relations

(Sponsored by the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials in cooperation with the American Council on Race Relations and the National Citizens' Council on Civil Rights.)

12:30 P.M. - 2:00 P.M. Session 7 - LUNCHEON
International House: Assembly Room

Implementing the Recommendations of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights

Chairman: John B. Sullivan
Vice-President, NAIRO

Speaker: A. Abbot Rosen
Regional Director, Anti-Defamation League (Former Chief of the Civil Rights Section, U.S. Department of Justice)

2:30 P.M. - 5:00 P.M. Session 8 - ROUND TABLES (A,B,C,D)

ROUND TABLE 8A - International House: Room D-E

Citizens and Civil Rights

Chairman: George Field
Executive Secretary
Freedom House

Speaker: Leo Cherne
Treasurer, National Citizens' Council on Civil Rights; Executive Secretary, Research Institute of America

ROUND TABLE 8B - PACH Conference Room

The Role of Fair Employment Practices Officers, Consultants, and Race Relations Advisers in Federal Agencies

Chairman: Frank W. Baldau
Executive Director
Cleveland Community Relations Board

ROUND TABLE 8C - PACH Board Room

Health and Welfare: Providing Equal Treatment and Facilities

Chairman: Michael M. Davis
Chairman, Committee on Research in Medical Economics

ROUND TABLE 8D - International House: Room A

The Role of Religious Groups

Chairman: Homer A. Jack
Unitarian Church of Evanston

7:30 P.M. - 10:00 P.M. Session 9 - GENERAL SESSION
International House: Assembly Room

Reports on Current National Issues by National and Federal Agency Representatives

Chairman: Frank Trager
Program Director
Anti-Defamation League

1. Federal Civil Rights

Speaker: Leo Cherne
Treasurer, National Citizens' Council on Civil Rights

2. Fair Employment Practices

Speaker: Arnold Aronson, Director
Committee on Employment
Discrimination, National
Community Relations Advisory Council

3. Anti-Lynch Measures

(Speaker to be announced)

4. Elimination of Poll Tax

Speaker: Elmer Henderson, Director
American Council on Human Rights

5. Segregation in the Nation's Capital

Speaker: Joseph D. Lohman, Secretary
National Committee on Segregation
in the Nation's Capital

6. Segregation in the Armed Forces

Speaker: James C. Evans
Civilian Adviser to the
Secretary of Defense

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 20, 1948

9:30 A.M. - 12:00 Noon Session 10 ROUND TABLES - (A,B,C)

ROUND TABLE 10A - International House: Room A

Problems in Higher and Professional Education

Chairman: A. C. Ivy, Vice-President
University of Illinois

ROUND TABLE 10B - PACH Conference Room

Integrating Minorities Into Employment

Chairman: Sara Southall
Board Member
American Council on Race Relations

ROUND TABLE 10C - International House: Room D-E

The Role of Research in the Field of Intergroup Relations

Chairman: Arnold Rose
Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Washington University

12:30 P.M - 2:00 P.M. Session 11 - LUNCHEON
International House: Assembly Room

Chairman: Homer A. Jack
Vice-President, National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials

A. Discussion of Reports from Conference Round Tables

B. Problems and Prospects for 1949

Speaker: Louis Wirth
Chairman, Committee on Education, Training and Research in Race Relations, University of Chicago

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Publications of the Cooperative Study in General Education

Published by

American Council on Education

Washington, D. C.

THE COOPERATIVE STUDY IN GENERAL EDUCATION

THE COOPERATIVE STUDY IN GENERAL EDUCATION was instituted by the American Council on Education in January 1939 and functioned actively in programs set up in more than a score of universities and colleges until September 1944. It grew out of the belief among a number of colleges which had been pioneering in new programs in general education that a cooperative study would be most beneficial in the exchange of ideas and experiences, and at the same time provide the services of consultants and other facilities which individual colleges could not normally provide.

It was considered important that a variety of types of institutions with their individual problems engage in the program, and the group selected included representatives of the land-grant college, the municipal university, the state teachers college, the independent liberal arts college, the Catholic college, the Protestant church-related college, the Negro college, the four-year college for women, the junior college for women, and the coeducational junior college. The over-all report of the Executive Committee and reports of the major projects carried on in the various fields (with the exception of science which was interrupted by the war) are contained in the publications described in this folder.

COMMITTEE ON THE COOPERATIVE STUDY IN GENERAL EDUCATION

Appointed by the American Council on Education

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Now Ready

COOPERATION IN GENERAL EDUCATION

A Final Report of the Executive Committee of the Cooperative Study in General Education

In this over-all report the Executive Committee of the Cooperative Study reviews the philosophy, procedures, and accomplishments of the five-year study. This book makes available the conclusions of the Committee on questions involved in the development of a program of general education.

Who should receive a general education? What should be the ends of general education? What kinds of courses should be offered? What content should be included? What teaching methods and materials should be used? How should achievements be appraised and recorded? What characteristics are required of the student personnel and guidance program? How should work in general education be organized and administered? How should instructors be selected and educated?

CONTENTS

I. Factors Influencing the Development of General Education
II. Issues in General Education
III. The Philosophy of the Study
IV. Individual Projects in the Colleges
V. Major Projects in the Humanities
First Project: General Goals of Life
Second Project: The Inventory and Check List in Fiction
Third Project: What Students Think about Art
VI. Major Projects in the Social Studies
First Project: An Inventory of Social Understanding
Second Project: An Inventory of Beliefs about Postwar Reconstruction
VII. The Major Project in Science
The Health Inventories
VIII. Major Projects in Student Personnel
First Project: Self-Inventory in Personal-Social Relations
Second Project: The Inventory of Counseling Relations
IX. Contributions of the Major Projects of the Study
X. The Process of Development within the College
XI. Some Conclusions Concerning General Education

Appendixes list individual college projects in the several fields covered by the Cooperative Study.

240 pages, September, 1947, cloth. $3.00.

Now Ready

GENERAL EDUCATION IN THE HUMANITIES

BY HAROLD B. DUNKEL

This book is practical, interpretive, philosophical, and visionary. Practical because it gives a step-by-step account of the organization of programs in the humanities, outlines of content, procedures, and new measuring devices. It is interpretive in its treatment of the several extensive case histories; philosophical about both students and teachers and their individual philosophies; and visionary in its faith in the eventual solving of old problems and the discovery of new problems in a postwar world.

The technique was primarily the exploration of students' beliefs and attitudes in order to understand them and to effect such changes as will lead to greater personal satisfaction for the student and the betterment of society. The students reported on here were real people with real—and imaginary—problems. A thoughtful reading of this book should increase the understanding and knowledge of all teachers of young people.

The valuable inventories developed by the Cooperative Study (in philosophy of life, religion, literature, and the arts) are treated in Appendixes.

321 pages, September, 1947, cloth. $3.50.

CONTENTS

I. Cooperative Evaluation in the Humanities
II. Students' General Goals for Life
III. Students' Religious Concepts
IV. Students' Beliefs about Fiction
V. What Students Think about Art
VI. An Overview of the Humanities

Appendixes

A. Reliability of the Inventory of General Life-Goals
B. The Validity of the Inventory of General Life-Goals in Correlation with other Inventories
By Charles F. Sawhill Virtue, University of Louisville
C. Items of the Inventory of Religious Concepts Listed by Categories
D. The Reliabilities of the Inventory of Religious Concepts
E. The Items of the Fiction Inventory Grouped by Categories
F. The Novels of the Check List Grouped by Categories
G. The Validity and Reliability of the Two Inventories of Fiction
H. Inventory of the Arts

Ready Summer 1948

GENERAL EDUCATION IN THE SOCIAL STUDIES

BY ALBERT WILLIAM LEVI

This detailed report of how various colleges tackled the problem of designing a two-year basic integrated course in the social studies will be of practical help to others. Valuable inventories were developed, tested, revised, and are here analyzed for their philosophy and discussed as to their results.

CONTENT: Some of the subjects discussed are: the aims and implements of social studies instruction, the structure of social attitudes, the impingement of the war upon the Study and the effect upon students' attitudes toward internationalism, economic understanding, imperialism, race relations, labor, government vs. private enterprise, and many other subjects.

Inventories discussed are *An Inventory of Social Understanding* and *An Inventory of Beliefs about Postwar Reconstruction*, both of which appear in appendixes.

Part IV, on "The Future of the Social Studies in General Education," offers constructive suggestions for planning the curriculum, teaching method, and strategy.

About 350 pages, cloth. Probable price $3.50.

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STUDENT PERSONNEL SERVICES IN GENERAL EDUCATION

BY PAUL A. BROUWER

This report, intended for those who work with students—teachers, counselors, administrators—analyzes ways to identify and satisfy the needs of students through the coordinated use of fact-finding devices and of personnel services.

Practices in student personnel work are related to the principles which undergird a personnel philosophy in general education and which are derived from psychology, sociology, and related fields.

The contents of the report are based upon the work of many people: instructors, deans, directors of personnel, clinicians, students, and staff members. Their cooperative and individual study of the ways in which the total development of the student may be effectively improved through general education has arisen from the conviction that all those who influence the educational experiences of students are personnel workers.

About 375 pages, cloth. Probable price $3.50.

PARTICIPANTS IN THE STUDY

The twenty-two colleges originally participating in the Study were: Allegheny College, Antioch College, Ball State Teachers College, Bethany College, University of Denver, Hendrix College, Hiram College, Hope College, Iowa State College, Little Rock Junior College, University of Louisville, Michigan State College, Mills College, Northwest Missouri State Teachers College, Muskingum College, Olivet College, Park College, Pasadena Junior College, College of St. Catherine, Stephens College, Talladega College, and the College of Wooster.

During the course of the Study the following colleges withdrew: Bethany College, University of Denver, Hiram College, Hope College, Mills College, Olivet College, and the College of Wooster.

The following colleges joined: Centre College of Kentucky, Fisk University, and Macalester College.

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WHAT DO YOU *know* ABOUT THE JEWS?

By Eleanor Hard Lake

Most Americans — even those with impressive college degrees — know less about the very present Jews than they do about the ancient Romans.

Take you. Do you know what's in the Talmud? How a Jew worships in synagogue or temple (two quite different things)? Whether Jews are one people or several? How many Jews there are anyway, and where they live?

You read a lot today about tolerance. This article won't be about that. It's going to be about something seldom used in talking about Jews: the facts. Who the Jews are. What

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HOW DOES YOUR SCHOOL SCORE ?

CHECKLIST FOR A SELF-AUDIT OF SCHOOL POLICIES AND PRACTICES IN INTERGROUP RELATIONS

Prepared for BROTHERHOOD WEEK
February 20-27, 1949

National Committee for
BROTHERHOOD WEEK:

Harry S. Truman, Honorary Chairman
Nelson A. Rockefeller, General Chairman
Willard E. Goslin, Chairman for
Schools and Colleges

Commission on Educational
Organizations

National Conference of Christians
and Jews
381 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

One of the responsibilities of the American school system is to help develop the understandings and attitudes necessary for healthy action and reaction between the various groups within a community. The proper use of self-evaluation is one way to help sharpen our understanding and point toward needed developments. This score card has been developed for that purpose.

What Is the Score Card? This is only one method which may be applied by schools in carrying out a self-audit of intergroup problems and what is being done to deal with them. It does not pretend to be a scientific measuring device in any sense. It is simply a checklist containing some of the positive steps which reflect real efforts to improve intergroup relations.

How to Use the Checklist. The score card will have its greatest value if it is checked only after a thorough analysis of the situation in your school. Since the pooled judgments of a number of people will give a more accurate and fairer picture of your school than if only one or two persons do the whole job of checking the list, it is recommended that as many teachers as possible be involved in making the self-audit.

Circle zero opposite each item if your school has no activity or is making no effort in regard to the particular item; if some activity is being carried on with respect to any particular item, circle single plus sign; if a great deal of activity or effort is being carried out in regard to any item, circle the double plus sign. To get your total score on the checklist, simply add up the number of plus signs circled.

After you have determined the score for your own school, you may wish to discuss as a staff the meaning of the self-audit which you have made.

CHECKLIST

(CIRCLE 0, +, ++ to indicate score for each question)

School Practices for Democratic Group Relations

GROUP LIFE OF SCHOOL

0 + ++ 1. Have you checked with your fraternities and sororities to determine if members are selected on basis of democratic principles (without exclusion because of students' group background for identity?)

0 + ++ 2. Are students chosen or elected for leadership positions on the basis of merit or in such a manner as to be truly representative of the various compositions of the total student body?

0 + ++ 3. Are members of clubs (other than fraternities and sororities) selected on the basis of democratic principles?

0 + ++ 4. Are the members of your athletic team chosen solely on the basis of ability and achievement?

0 + ++ 5. Are you making a special effort to organize activities and groups (recreation, intergroup choruses, discussion groups, etc.) to break down barriers between groups?

0 + ++ 6. Are you sponsoring activities in your school which foster cooperative action between groups?

THE CURRICULUM AND TEACHING

0 + ++ 1. Do you encourage classroom teachers to use methods which permit the fullest expression of the student's personality?

0 + ++ 2. Do teachers use any of the following means to help develop hostility-free personalities:

a. development of group self-discipline rather than rigid teacher-directed discipline.
b. pupil participation in planning classroom activities
c. pupil initiative in group projects.
d. pupil participation in managing school affairs.

0 + ++ 3. Are you continuously examining your curriculum to make sure the materials which contribute to the thinking and attitudes essential to good intergroup relations are woven into the fabric of the total curriculum?

0 + ++ 4. Are the contributions to American civilization made by various cultural groups and their outstanding representatives included in the curriculum?

0 + ++ 5. Is attention given in the curriculum to social and economic problems which lead to intergroup tensions?

0 + ++ 6. Is provision made to ensure that pupils are well informed about fallacies in regard to various groups?

ADMINISTRATIVE LEADERSHIP

0 + ++ 1. Do you have a representative committee to study, guide and make recommendations on intergroup problems?

0 + ++ 2. Have you made any studies of any of the following: habits of association (sociometric patterns) open hostility, intergroup attitudes, cliques?

0 + ++ 3. Do you have specifically formulated policies on intergroup relations or attitudes?

0 + ++ 4. Are steps taken to include on your faculty individuals of varying group backgrounds (including economic)?

0 + ++ 5. Do you have an in-service training policy and program for your staff members designed to improve their understanding and skill in human relations?

0 + ++ 6. Do you have a counseling and guidance program which contributes to good group relations through the better adjustment of the individual pupil?

COOPERATIVE SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

0 + ++ 1. Do you employ the school facilities as a center for community activities for the promotion of better group relations?

0 + ++ 2. Does the school cooperate with civic and private organizations in attacking intergroup problems?

0 + ++ 3. Do your courses employ the community for study and as an experience laboratory for such activities as the following:

a. fact-finding interviews
b. field trips
c. participation activities

0 + ++ 4. Do your parent-teacher organizations deal with the problem of intergroup relations?

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS
1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.

December 28th, 1948

Dear Superintendent:

American education faces no more urgent task today than that of building attitudes, habits and skills which will result in strengthening democratic group relations. The National Conference of Christians and Jews is attempting to focus attention on this problem during Brotherhood Week, February 20-27, 1949, through the creation of a committee, headed by Mr. Nelson Rockefeller, whose purpose is to stimulate wider interest and activity in programs to improve group relations. Because of my deep concern with seeing this whole movement in American education advanced, I have agreed to represent schools and colleges on this committee. I regard this particular occasion as a symbol of the urgency and challenge of the task which faces American educators.

Education for democratic group relations has made steady progress in the last four or five years. Many schools have now moved forward with important achievements to their credit. We have learned a great deal in recent years about the best materials and methods for intergroup education. As significant as such efforts have been, there is much that remains to be done. The important task now is to involve far more administrators, teachers and schools in establishing sound policies and practices for good group relations. No school or community can afford to be complacent about this problem. Even where there are no overt expressions of intergroup conflicts and problems, latent hostilities and prejudices may exist.

Brotherhood Week gives the schools an excellent opportunity to take stock of their policies and practices in intergroup relations and to chart plans for improving these. We are enclosing with this letter a form entitled "How Does Your School Score" which represents a self-audit of your school. Every school can start at once on this self-audit. Your schools can thus join simultaneously with others in a nation-wide self-evaluation of efforts to foster democratic group attitudes and relations through education. In addition to a sample of the score card we are enclosing a folder which gives additional suggestions for schools in connection with Brotherhood Week and a return postal card on which we would appreciate your indicating the number of copies of the score card which you will need for distribution to your principals.

I would like to urge each of us to bring this program to the attention of every principal in our school system with a letter from you stressing participation in Brotherhood Week by each school's undertaking this self-audit. I would also like to urge each of us to look upon this activity as only one in a well-developed plan within our school system to create good human relations and to continuously evaluate our program of education to see whether or not it is meeting the objectives which we have established for ourselves.

Very sincerely yours,

Willard E. Goslin

Willard E. Goslin, President
American Association of School Administrators

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NORTH CAROLINA PUBLIC SCHOOL Bulletin

. . . Published Monthly by the State Department of Public Instruction . . .

MAY, 1949 RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA VOL. XIII, No. 9

Barker Attends Meeting for Exceptional Children

Felix S. Barker, Director, Division of Special Education, State Department of Public Instruction, attended the Anual Convention of the International Council for Exceptional Children and State Supervisors and Directors of Special Education which met at San Francisco February 27 to March 3.

The International Council for Exceptional Children is an international organization which has as its purpose the promotion of the education and welfare of exceptional children, the handicapped and the gifted.

Mr. Barker reports that many outstanding leaders addressed the meetings and that opportunity for visitations and discussions were presented to those attending the convention.

Among the outstanding speakers were Dr. Lewis M. Terman, Stanford University psychologist, who spoke on "The Gifted Child Grows Up"; Dr. Leslie Hohman, neuropychiatrist from Duke University, whose address was titled the "Adjustment of Emotionally Disturbed Children"; Dr. Eugene J. Taylor, instructor of rehabilitation and physical medicine at New York University's College of Medicine; and Dr. Frederich C. Cordes, San Francisco eye specialist.

Mr. Barker stated that he attended a sectional meeting which discussed the subject: Development of Special Service for Epileptic Children in the Public Schools. It was the conclusion of this group that "The best program for an epileptic child, as for any child, is one that permits him to attend school and to participate in the normal experience so important to the development of healthy, adult maturity."

Features

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STUDY SHOWS MOST U.S. TEXTS ARE FREE OF GROUP BIAS

School textbooks are not guilty of "planned derogation of groups," but much material essential to understanding intergroup relations is not presented to pupils. This condition is revealed in a study prepared by Dr. Howard E. Wilson, executive associate of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. The survey, known as Intergroup Relations in Teaching Materials, was published recently under the auspices of the American Council on Education. It represents an analysis of the most commonly used elementary and secondary school textbooks.

Started at Harvard University in 1944 under the direction of Dr. Wilson, who was then at Harvard, the study embraced 267 elementary and secondary school texts, 24 introductory college texts, 25 college manuals and 100 of the most widely read children's library books. These were analyzed for statements of bias in regard to minority groups in the United States.

"Textbooks," declares Dr. Wilson, "fail to come to grips with basic issues in human relations. The fault lies not in texts alone but in the courses of study for which such books are prepared. Only as courses of study demand the inclusion of topics on intergroup relationships will textbooks be substantially improved."

The remaking of the curriculum, therefore, is a prerequisite to the alteration of textbooks, it is emphasized by the report. Such changes, it was stated, involve the writing of passages focused directly on the description of contemporary relationships between groups. They also involve careful scrutiny of indirect references to all groups.

Discussing the suggestions contained in his report, Dr. Wilson, who recently returned from Enrope, said:

"These recommendations are more important today than ever before, since the treatment of groups within the United States has tremendous effects on our influence abroad. Conflict here between Catholics and Protestants, for example, makes Good Neighbor policy toward Latin America more difficult. Mistreatment of Asiatic groups within our population makes a wise Asiatic policy harder to formulate and put into effect. Our problem of race relations causes many groups in other lands—black, yellow and white—to view our protestations of democracy with scepticism."

Governor Appoints New Board Members

Governor W. Kerr Scott appointed four new members of the State Board of Education on April 22, which were approved by the General Assembly as provided by the Constitution. One of the number, Dr. H. L. Trigg, President of St. Augustine's College, is the first Negro member ever to serve on the State Board.

Paul S. Oliver of Marietta, Robeson County, was appointed for an eight year term to succeed H. E. Stacy of Lumberton.

Santford Martin of Winston-Salem was appointed to succeed himself for an eight year term.

Claude Farrell of Elkin was appointed to fill out the unexpired term of Mrs. R. S. Ferguson, which runs till April 1, 1955.

H. L. Trigg of Raleigh was appointed for an eight year term from the State at large to succeed Alonza C. Edwards, who had resigned to become a member of the General Assembly but whose term would have expired on April 1, 1949.

Driver Training Institutes To Be Held in Summer

Plans are being made for holding Driver Training Institutes in three sections of the State during the summer, it is announced by John C. Noe, Safety Adviser for the State Department of Public Instruction.

Details concerning places for these institutes, dates, etc., will be made available just as soon as all plans have been completed, Mr. Noe stated.

Superintendent Erwin Says . . .

The General Assembly of 1949 has enacted certain important school legislation which I wish to call to your attention.

In the first place, the appropriations for operating the nine months school term were increased from $61,633,597 in 1948-49 to $82,273,494 and 83,520,898 for 1949-50 and 1950-51, respectively. This represents an increase of around 33⅓ per cent in this fund, and will enable the State to pay an average salary of $2500 annually to teachers holding Class A certificates, or an increase of approximately 28.5 per cent in instructional service. The salary of beginning teachers in this group will be increased by approximately $450 annually. Funds for vocational education, and for the purchase of free textbooks and school buses were also substantially increased.

Other legislation enacted at this session of the General Assembly included the following:

1. An appropriation of $25,000,000 was made to the counties ($250,000 each) for the erection of new school buildings, and provision for voting another $25,000,000 for this purpose by the people was also made.

2. Provision was made for the appointment of a State supervisor of music for the Department of Public Instruction. Provision was also made for other State supervisors for the Divisions of Instructional Service and Negro Education and for the support of the Safety Adviser and Resource-Use Education Division, formerly supported by the aid of private funds.

3. Provision was also made for the enrichment and strengthening of the public school system by giving the State Board of Education broad discretionary authority in making allotments of personnel to the local administrative units for various purposes other than actual teaching.

4. Provision was also made for accepting and using any Federal funds that may be appropriated to this State for schools.

A number of other acts which concerned public education were passed. Mimeograph copies of the most important of these have already been furnished to superintendents. All of this legislation will be codified, and with legislation enacted by the General Assemblies of 1945 and 1947 will be printed and made available to those persons desiring these laws.

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Intergroup Education: The Still Small Voice

MAXWELL H. GOLDBERG

I

THERE was once an unusually sponsored intercollegiate conference at a university in New England. It was a gathering of a recently formed organization of Jewish students in the Connecticut Valley region of Massachusetts and Connecticut. It was unusual in that the student Christian Association of the university was acting as host to the visiting Jewish delegates, and it had supported the conference both by official endorsement, and by financial aid to the local Jewish student sponsors.

In welcoming the participants, the president of the Christian Association commented on these exceptional circumstances. Quietly, without ostentation, without a hint of condescension to a cultural and religious minority group, he explained why his society had supported the conference, and why it was pleased to welcome the delegates. He said, in effect: we compared our aims with yours, and we found that we shared most of them. You stand for truth, justice, and mercy. So do we. You stand for peace and good-will among men. So do we. You sincerely want to do what you can to make this world a better place for mankind. So do we. In short, while we may differ as to the way in which we formulate our religious creed, and as to the ritual by means of which we dramatize it, we are pretty well agreed as to the translation of our faith, our creed, and our ritual into the direct conduct of life. Hence, concluded the host, we have felt justified in active support of your conference.

Neither the speaker, nor his fellow hosts, nor the student delegates got any academic credit for participating in this unusually sponsored conference. Yet this participation was a distinctive experience in an urgently needed kind of education—education in intergroup appreciation and friendship. It was all the more valuable for not being so labeled and publicized.

Some years ago, at a college also in New England, a distinguished Catholic scholar delivered the annual lecture on John Henry Cardinal Newman, under the sponsorship of the local Newman Club. Known for my interest in religion from the point of view of the college student and the college teacher, I was invited to the dinner in honor of the guest; and, being an appreciative student of Newman, I was also asked to write, for the college newspaper, a feature article on the Newman lecture.

Both of these invitations, from a Christian religious group, pleased me. What appealed to me, in particular, was that they were extended so naturally and wholeheartedly, without a hint of self-consciousness because of the frequently stressed differences between Jew

and Catholic—just as, with similar spontaneity, I myself invited the visiting scholar to speak on Newman, the morning after the public lecture, before one of my own classes in which Newman was studied.

My write-up of the lecture was without a by-line. The President of the Newman Club sent a copy to the lecturer. He did not happen to mention the name of the writer of the article. By way of acknowledgement a letter of thanks came. It referred to the article as very good. Then the President of the Newman Club jokingly informed his scholarly correspondent that one by the name of *Goldberg* had written the piece. The comeback was: "I still think it's very good."

The head of the Newman Club did not hesitate to tell me of this exchange of comments concerning the authorship of the write-up of the Newman lecture. He knew that I would enjoy it. For it came in a context of friendship and esteem. The other members of the Club must have sensed the mutual regard between their president and me; for, at the conclusion of his term of office, a gift committee had me select, for their outgoing leader, several books on Newman, and thus inaugurated a tradition which persisted for a number of years, and in which I annually participated.

This series of incidents furnishes another good illustration of intergroup education that is none the less valuable for not being listed in the curriculum and for not getting credit toward degree. It is education in intergroup friendship, not by precept and formal instruction, but by example and action. The Catholic students and faculty members whom I joined in their Newman Club functions (Catholic townspeople were present, too), as well as the students of various denominations in my class addressed by the eminent Newmanian—to all of them, through example and participation, were afforded opportunities to know, by immediate experience, the enrichment of understanding and sharing in the cultural and spiritual life of groups other than their own.

A similar realization of common heritage and sympathetically acknowledged differences prompted an invitation that I once got, not from one, but from several members of a society of Christian students, who thought I might like to attend a meeting at which one of my own former teachers was to speak. This teacher, a devout Christian, was to talk on a central mystery—the Mass—of the religious fellowship which he and the students shared. Yet those young people, knowing my appreciative attitude, having heard me voice indebtedness to this teacher for the insight the latter had given me into Christianity, and sensing my affection and regard for the scheduled speaker, actually wished me to join their intimate group. I responded to the invitation in the same gracious spirit in which it had been extended.

The recognition on the part of members of one religious group, of a respectful and sympathetic attitude toward their doctrine and practice, by a respected member of another group; their decision to invite the outsider to their

intimate gathering; their reiterated invitation; their welcome to the outsider upon his arrival; their awareness of his presence throughout the meeting—all yielded a rich experience in intergroup sharing. This was intergroup education—without fanfare, but none the less effective for being so.

Then there was the time when, as guest of honor, I was asked to say grace before dinner at a Christian fraternity house. How much better, perhaps, than a whole series of lectures on the validity and the worth of interfaith co-operation was this one direct example, in which I, a Jew, performed a universal religious rite on behalf of a group of Christians. It turned out, moreover, that the leaders of the fraternity had asked me to dinner in great part because they had discovered among their members much social and religious prejudice, and they wanted me to help them combat it by frankly discussing intergroup relations with the assembled chapter.

Or, again, there are my recommendations. That Jewish students should use my name as reference in their applications for admission into rabbinical schools is not at all surprising. But that students seeking scholarships granted by explicitly Christian religious organizations, or applying for instructorships in emphatically Christian denominational schools, or seeking entrance into theological schools that prepare for the Christian ministry—that these students should likewise ask permission to name me among their references is worthy of note. For, in the blanks which I am requested to fill out concerning the applicant, I am often asked to give my estimate not only of his general character, but, specifically, of the quality of his Christian faith and his promise for professional Christian service. When I first used to fill out the forms, I approached this question very gingerly. I no longer do. I have recognized that, thanks, in great part, to like moral and spiritual criteria, I may put down my answer without compunction or impertinence. I have recognized, too, what an important experience it is in indirect intergroup education for these non-Jewish students to turn to me, a Jew, for recommendations to Christian appointments.

II

To the professor of literature who stresses the philosophic, moral, and religious elements in his subject matter, numerous opportunities are afforded, in areas bordering the curriculum itself, for experiences in the operative community of tradition shared by students of different faiths and denominations, and in the valuable results, from the point of view of intergroup education, of their fresh commingling.

Thus, a Christian student has requested and secured me as the supervisor of his master's essay on Newman in relation to American theorists of liberal education; a Christian undergraduate has selected me to supervise her senior honors work on the religious development of Newman; a number of additional students of the same faith have written, under my guidance, semester papers on various phases of Newman's religious life and thought; on the prob-

lem of John Donne's "conversion"; and the same problem as found in Thomas Carlyle; on Milton's religious development; on Milton and Dante; and on similar subjects of religious implication. Other Christian students similarly under my direction, have prepared theses on the religious humanists of the Renaissance, on the Cambridge Platonists, on the relationships between the religious and the social philosophy of T. S. Eliot, on Thomas Carlyle in relationship to Calvinism, on John Ruskin's varying relationships with traditional religion, and on other subjects related to religious experience as inspiration to memorable literature.

Conversely, even while I have cooperated with Christian students in their studies having to do with religious matters, I have, with parallel enthusiasm, encouraged Jewish students in their papers on Milton and the Biblical Prophets, and on like topics involving religious considerations. One of my Jewish students, whose rabbinical studies were interrupted for service in the Merchant Marine, but who has now completed these studies with distinction, and is a student at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, proposed to me, as the subject of a term paper, a study of the similarities and contrasts between Matthew Arnold's treatment of traditional religion and that of the Jewish Reconstructionists; and, though I realized that this subject was quite tangential in a literary course dealing with English prose writers of the nineteenth century, I approved of it. The results have fully justified my decision.

This sort of intercultural teaching probably would not have come about had not I shared, with my students of various faiths and denominations, a common moral and spiritual heritage so strong as to enable them to approach, reasonably and sympathetically, the numerous troublesome yet frankly recognized and identified differences among them. Such out-of-class teaching, moreover, may be most fruitful. It brings about in some students a day-to-day acceptance of the idea that there may be much cultural and spiritual stimulation when one explores his own traditional resources under the friendly guidance of a teacher who does not happen to be identified with that same tradition, but who has studied it honestly, sincerely, with sympathy and respect. In like manner, this out-of-class teaching encourages other students to enjoy the illumination and enlargement that come from friendly correlation of their inherited tradition with its development in other religious currents of thought, feeling, and practice.

About a year after our entrance into the War, a young man came to my office to talk over with me a project about which he and several other students had become very enthusiastic. This was his proposal. There were a number of undergraduates, perhaps ten or twelve, who had a strong interest in cultural and spiritual studies—not just as an end, but rather as a means toward understanding themselves and the universe and integrating and implementing their lives.

They wanted to study literary masterpieces. They wanted to study crucial

documents in the history of Western Culture—documents from formal philosophy, from literature, from religion, from other departments of cultural and spiritual endeavor. They wanted practice in discussing these things informally, yet purposively. They didn't have time to get all this in courses. Besides, courses didn't offer them all that they sought.

So they proposed to organize a study group. They wished to lay out a plan of study; to have the dean of the college recognize this work and give them college credit for it. They hoped to have me as their director and moderator. They didn't care to have me lecture to them. They were emphatic on that point. They got more than enough of lecturing. But they did want me to be their guide and constructive critic.

I was delighted with this spontaneous expression of eagerness for co-operative exploration of our various cultural and spiritual resources. But I felt it my duty to be the devil's advocate. I told the student who made the proposal that his group were very ambitious. They were tackling a hard job. They were forgetting all of the usual distractions of campus life, to say nothing of the special distractions caused by the War. I went on to say that I myself could give them little help, since I was so busy. Finally, I said that the group could not hope to get college credit for what they proposed to do.

None of the arguments daunted the student. Let the weaklings fall by the wayside. Echoing Isaiah and Plato, he said that a remnant would remain. Even if there were three or four students who persisted—that would be enough. They would forget academic credit. They would do the work on a voluntary basis.

So it went. Each of the objections was answered, and the original purpose was all the more strongly affirmed. That made me regretful of having raised the doubts, and I agreed to sponsor the program of study and discussion. A tentative plan of reading was mapped out. Books were ordered. Soon the group was in action.

True, difficulties developed. Some of the members were suddenly called into active military service. But the rest continued. I had to be absent from meetings; the group met without me. Even before the end of the college year, the members discussed taking in some freshmen so as to make sure that the studies would continue on into the next college year—war or no war.

One of the most interesting features of this group was that it was made up of widely differing students. There were science majors and arts majors. They represented divergent, or actually conflicting, socio-political attitudes. In one seat at the seminar table was a young man who is now a chemist in industrial research. Next to him was another young man who is now a theological student. There were Christians and Jews. There were professed secularists, traditional religionists, and sceptics concerning religion—at least as traditionally conceived and institutionalized. But all of them were agreed in their faith in the worth of the intangibles in human experience, and all of them were eager to experience these intangibles in spite of

the emphasis they had to place upon the tangibles of their training in a war emergency. These students, few in number, were a true cultural and spiritual "remnant."

Since no examinations were given in the "course," there was no systematic gauge of the amount of knowledge each member of the group acquired, of the number of new, changed, abandoned, or freshly connected ideas he gained, of the number of old convictions in which he was freshly confirmed, or of the degree and quality of inspiration toward the good life that he got from the course. It is certain, however, that each participant enjoyed numerous valuable experiences in intercultural sharing. Each frequently thought, imagined, felt his way into attitudes, doctrines, and traditions different from his customary mental and emotional modes; sought to understand them, and learned to respect them even when he concluded that they were not for him.

III

To the teacher who is a competent oral interpreter of literature, and who has had experience with dramatics, special opportunities are afforded for informal intergroup education. Once it became known, for example, that I had a sympathetic understanding of the Christian tradition, I was asked to give dramatic or poetry readings at Christmas celebrations, to direct the production of religious plays, and to give readings from devotional literature.

A non-Jewish sorority invited me to give readings from the Bible at a Sunday afternoon fireside gathering of the members. I accepted the invitation, and prefaced my program by commenting on the King James version as a mighty example of what may be accomplished through the creative combination of varied traditional resources. The accumulated heritage of several great traditions, I said, were fused into what Professor John Livingstone Lowes has called "the noblest monument of English prose." I pointed out that two of the most important of these traditions were the Hebraic-Christian and the English. Neither of these traditions alone, I observed, would have been adequate to produce a great work like this version of the Bible. Yet both together, with the inclusion of other traditional resources, principally the Graeco-Roman, did yield this literary treasure. I concluded my introduction by endorsing similar ventures in intercultural pooling among the students on our campus. The Biblical readings that followed became an immediate experience of the intergroup sharing that I had just recommended.

On another occasion, a religious club of Christian students invited me to give poetry readings. I decided to read from the devotional poets of their own sect. My audience proved unusually responsive. I got this response at least partly because, in addition to my long and serious study of the Christian tradition, the spiritual heritage which I shared with my audience enabled me to penetrate into the soul of the poems that I read and to give a convincing interpretation of them.

It came as a revelation to my listen-

ers: the discovery that an "outsider" was enabling them to tap afresh the spiritual resources of the sacred poets of their own denomination. It was an unforgettable experience in intergroup co-operation. At least seven years later, I received a copy of the informative leaflet got out by the club for circulation among students of its church. On the leaflet was written "For your information." My sympathetic joining in the functions of the club apparently were still remembered—though several student generations had come and gone.

A Christian student came to me for help with his oral interpretation of Milton's "Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity." The student was preparing this poem for presentation at a candle-light Christmas service in the college chapel. The constructions and some of the imagery of this poem are unusually difficult; but even more difficult are the encyclopedic allusions and the theological references.

I found the student enthusiastic, but vague in his appreciation of the poem. I told the lad that, until he understood the written text, he could not hope to give an effective oral reading of the poem. The student was eager to be informed. We spent a great deal of time in a detailed explication of the poem. In so doing, we were both deeply enriched in our immediate awareness of the Christian and the Judaic heritage; for Milton moved as freely within the one as within the other; and he extracted rich poetic substance from both.

Since his graduation from college, this young man has corresponded with me, and has told me of his experiences, first as teacher, and, during the last two or three years, as member of our armed forces. From these accounts, it is clear that our informal lessons in intercultural enrichment have become a factor in his own motivations and practices as teacher.

Another member of the armed forces, this one Jewish, who also has studied with me, has brought to bear upon his military life his own undergraduate and extra-curriculum education in intergroup understanding, good will, and co-operation. As a student, he was very active in the Jewish religious club at our college. Friday evenings, he conducted the Jewish worship services with a gusto that reached enthusiastic climaxes in the blessing of the wine, the singing of the "Sholem Aleichem" ("Peace unto Thee"), and the welcoming in of the Sabbath as a joyous bride. His final "gut' Shabbes" ("Good Sabbath") was a greeting that warmed the heart.

But this young man did not limit himself to Jewish religious activities. He was a steady worker on the united religious council which the students of different faiths and denominations had formed. Then, too, he once selected, for presentation in a poetry reading contest, Francis Thompson's "The Hound of Heaven." As coach of the contestants, I worked with him in his interpretation of this ardently, passionately Christian utterance. At the first audition, I found him, like the Christian lad who had come for help with the "Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity," eager and sympathetic, but lacking in specific insight. With him, too, I adopted the

method of slow analysis and explanation; and, with him, too, the results were gratifying. He made great improvement in the effectiveness of his oral interpretation of the poem. Also, he achieved an intelligent grasp of its essence.

Afterwards, as navigator of a bomber, this young man was shot down over Italy. He was taken prisoner, and eventually was consigned to a prisoner-of-war camp in Germany. There he not only buoyed up the spirits of other Jewish men in his unit; but also, in time, led his fellow-prisoners, Christian and Jewish, to renewed experience of our American ideal of over-all unity through respect for group distinctiveness and through sympathetic understanding of it. He did so as director of a series of dramatic presentations, some of which were actually broadcast via intra-camp radio. More than that, he himself wrote the scripts for two or three of these programs.

A highlight among them was presented on a twelfth of October; and it took advantage of the occasion, Columbus Day, to dramatize our American impulse toward intergroup co-operation.

Thus, right within enemy lines, my former student was giving the lie to Nazi racism and was resisting its degradation of the Judeo-Christian tradition. Further, he was projecting on to a large stage his own informal, personal undergraduate education in intercultural understanding and appreciation, gained through experiences such as preparing for oral interpretation the strongly Christian "The Hound of Heaven":

Halts by me that footfall:
Is my gloom, after all,
Shade of His hand, outstretched
caressingly?
'Ah, fondest, blindest, weakest,
I am He Whom thou seekest!
Thou dravest love from thee,
who dravest Me!'

IV

In broader than intercollegiate spheres of religious discussion and activity, a professor of literature who likewise is a serious student of religion may often enjoy similar experience of how much the Judaic and the Christian tradition share in ideal and practice, and of what rich educational rewards may result from unpublicized intergroup effort thus commonly motivated.

True, his main business is with his students, in classroom and on the campus. Yet once his intergroup interest becomes known, he is likely to receive frequent invitations to address off-campus organizations on religious subjects. Some of these invitations may come from co-religionists; others, from religious groups not his own. I have received numerous invitations of this second type. Acceptance has meant additional burden to an already overweighted schedule. Yet I have welcomed them. They have afforded a heartening contrast to grim events that have occurred elsewhere.

In supposedly civilized sections of the world, I have witnessed a revival of barbarity surpassing that of the Dark Ages, for it has been made all the more efficient, and hence all the more terrible, by the ingenuity of modern science and invention, and by the ideological pre-

texts of intellectual prostitutes. Whole philosophies of life (they should be called philosophies of death) have glorified torture and organized mass slaughter of innocent millions whose only crimes have been their birth, blood, religious faith. Nor has our country been immune from this recrudescence of barbarism. Indeed, within our own borders, the most powerful stream of moral and spiritual energy that man has known—our shared religious tradition—has been poisoned, and has been debased into an agency of brutal hate.

During such times, it has been reassuring for me to know that my hosts, representing one branch of our great stream of ethical and spiritual energy, should ask me, representing another branch, to join with them in fresh realization of the beauty and the strength of our mutually cherished tradition.

At one such meeting, I discussed, in detail, the "Sh'ma Yis-roayl," as a concentrated expression of Judaism:

Hear, O Israel: The Lord our God, the Lord is One.
Praised be His name Whose glorious kingdom is forever and ever.
Thou shalt love the Lord, thy God, with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy might. And these words which I command thee this day, shall be upon thy heart. Thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt speak of them when thou sittest in thy house, when thou walkest by the way, when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. Thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thy hand and they shall be for frontlets between thine eyes. Thou shalt write them upon the doorposts of thy house and upon thy gates: That ye may remember and do My commandments and be holy unto thy God. I am the Lord thy God.

When I was finished, a minister remarked, "Now if we just added, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself,' we'd have a prayer that would satisfy any of us here, wouldn't we?" His comment met with general agreement, and led to a constructive comparison between the Christian version of the Golden Rule, and the earlier, Judaic version of it, which is phrased negatively:

"What is hateful to thee, do not to thy neighbor.
This is the whole law; the rest is commentary."

Another time, several years before the outbreak of the Second World War, I gave a sermon before a Negro congregation. It was on a Sunday close to the twelfth of February; so I decided to make Abraham Lincoln my theme. I started by observing that the Nazis and the Fascists had afforded us bad examples of an inherently sound human impulse—to have honored leaders as model and inspiration. I then went on to affirm that, if we were effectively to resist the Nazi and Fascist poisons, we must counter with loyalty to our own kind of hero—our heroes in the struggle for democracy and social justice. I named Lincoln as such a hero, and suggested that, from time to time, we need to have a fresh experience of the perennial meaning of such a man. I then read various poetic passages and whole poems providing emotional and imaginative

means of this quickened realization.

At the end, the pastor said that I had reminded him of drilling for water: deeper and deeper goes the drill; then the gracious, cooling water spouts up to refresh the thirsty. So I had refreshed his spirit and that of his flock. Experiences of this sort have been very encouraging to me. They have confirmed my faith in the practicality of unsystematized intergroup education even in times of ominously increasing intergroup tensions.

Especially heartening was a request put to me by an inter-denominational institute for training and accrediting lay religious teachers in the Protestant churches of a whole community. This organization asked me to teach a course in the Biblical Prophets. I shied away from the proposal. I protested that I was no theologian, but a mere teacher of secular literature. I warned that, in teaching the Prophets, however sympathetic I might try to be to the Christian point of view, I should probably be unable to exclude, altogether, my Jewish slant on the subject—even if I wanted to, and I wasn't sure that I did.

The objections were not sustained. The spokesman for the institute replied that he and the other members of the committee on curriculum had not the slightest qualms about entrusting their Christian students, and hence, ultimately, the youngsters whom these students were to teach, to my instruction and influence. I finally agreed to give the course. There was an elderly lady who remained silent during most of the open discussions. I therefore concluded that she was cool toward my teaching. At the end of the last class, she came up to me and thanked me for my conduct of the course. She referred to my obvious reluctance to express my opinions upon a number of rather ticklish issues connected with the Prophets. Then, in confidence, she reassured me thus: "You need not have been so hesitant to give your opinions on these matters: more of us think as you do than would admit it, or than you seem to suspect."

I then realized that, without its being announced as such, my course had been, in effect, a contribution to intergroup understanding, good-will, and co-operation in the area of adult education, upon the importance of which, in recent years, so much stress has been placed by professional authorities.

By narrating autobiographic incidents, experienced in pertinent social contexts, and cumulatively elaborated, I have tried to make vivid the pervasive operation, in intergroup education, of intangibles, such as emotional realization and imaginative apprehension, which are likely to slip through the fingers of statistical investigation; and of intangibles such as the delicate overtones and undertones of personal sympathy and respect which are likely to remain unregistered on the formal recordings, and ungraphed on the formal charts. Through this means I have tried to suggest what teachers of literature have done, and many others could do, once they regarded intergroup education not merely as a series of curriculum projects, stored away, between classes, within the covers

of a syllabus or in the files of a report in the making; rather, once they regarded it as a central and comprehensive function of their whole personal and professional life.

Highly systematized and technicized, broad-guage and mass-appeal methods of promoting intergroup harmony are no doubt useful. They should have our support and our gratitude. But their immediacy must not obscure the value of less obvious instruments. The poster, the neon sign, and the loud speaker are often overwhelming in their mass impact. But the candle which, like a good deed, shines in an evil world, still has its place; and, especially in times of threatened darkness, it throws its beams far. So with informal, unpublicized, personal, individualized education in intergroup understanding, good will, and co-operation.

We must not forget that, for Elijah, God was not in the wind, the earthquake, or the fire. His was "the still small voice."

Reprints sponsored by Alpha Epsilon Pi Fraternity Foundation

17. International Aspects, American Race Problem

■ The propaganda war between Russia and the USA gives timely interest to this article

American Negro Problem In The European Press

By James W. Ivy

MORE than five hundred clippings from the daily and periodical press of ten European countries have gone into the making of this article. They come from England, France, Italy, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, Sweden, Spain, Portugal, and Rumania. They come from some forty different newspapers and magazines representing every shade of political opinion from the French Communist *Humanité* to Vatican City's *L'Ossevatore Romano*. They include London's *Times* as well as her brilliantly written *Economist;* Lausanne's *Servir* as well as Olten's *Die Woche im Bild;* Madrid's *Arriba* and Lisbon's *O Seculo Ilustrado;* Turin's *Gazetta del Popolo* as well as Bucharest's *Studentul Roman*. Although the greater percentage of the clippings fan out over the years 1948-1949, there are many covering the first three months of 1950.

In the main the papers are politically moderate independents. They are European in the sense that they are journals of opinion rather than information. Excepting the English papers, few of them would be considered newspapers in the Anglo-American sense. They stress interpretation and comment in preference to the straight reporting of our own press. In reporting on the American Negro they sometimes used straight reporting, feature articles, photographic essays, occasional "think pieces," and the scholarly essay. Many of the feature articles are lavishly illustrated with pictures of Negro life. Nor do they overlook the impact which a picture of a lynching, Klu-Klux-Klan, or mob scene has on readers.

Many of them sent over special correspondents to report on the Negro problem at firsthand. Zurich's *Der Aufbau* sent over Margirt Unti-Gerber; Stockholm's *Morgon-Tidningen* had Elsa Brita Marcussen investigate conditions in the South under the title "Elsa Brita Marcussen in the Southern States." Miss Marcussen had spent several days in the New York office of the NAACP getting background information before undertaking her trip. When Josephine

Selon la loi du Sud j'aurais dû voyager dans une "paillasse nègre"

Para quem trabalha o negro?

Réminiscences du moyen-âge

CIVILTA' AMERICANA

Il mercato di negri

Lo schiavismo non è morto in America

IL GHETTO NERO

In un freddo mattino invernale del 1915 una giovane madre assalita dal- un ricevimento ufficiale era stato re- del libro sul settimanale « New Re-

Le "Solid South" s'effrite et Truman risque d'être battu par le Ku-Klux-Klan

Instantanee

A CID

É HOJE TER

SIX N

SUR L

Continuera-

des blancs

HEALDINES like these help to make

Baker returned to France from her American visit, she related her experiences in a series of articles for *Paris-Soir*. Joseph Kessel, the French popular novelist, wrote a similar series for Lisbon's *Diario de Noticias*. Many of the papers have American correspondents resident either in New York or Washington whose dispatches never overlook a racial incident. Talmadge's election in Georgia, the Columbus, Tenn., riots, the Dixiecrat revolt, the regional college plan, the Georgia prison-camp massacre, the Mallard lynching, the murder of Isiah Nixon, and the case of the

Linşarea negrilor continuă în Statele Unite

NEGER KLAGEN AN

os da America (1)

ADE NEGRA

DE HARLEM

ENO VEDADO AOS BRANCOS

NEGER

die «Unberührbaren» Amerikas

Que devient le Ku-Klux-Klan ?

ATLANTA, Georgie, janvier

par Sam Green, « le seul candidat qui

PORQUE ERA NEGRO le despreciaban

DIRS VONT-ILS MOURIR A CHAISE ELECTRIQUE ?

t-on de séparer les noirs dans l'armée américaine ?

AMERICA'S UNTOUCHABLES

. . the "Negro problem" a live issue for Europeans

"Trenton Six" have been reported by these men.

Appearance of French and Italian versions of the writings of Richard Wright frequently gave French and Italian periodicals opportunity to probe into "the problem" while reviewing his books. *Martedi* (Milan, Italy) translated and carried Wright's "The Ethics of Living Jim Crow" in full. Several French journals used their reviews of the books on America by Simone de Beauvoir, Sartre, and Claude Roy to probe the American racial cancer, which the London *Times Literary Supplement* in re-

Acme

SELLOUT EDITION *of the pro-Nazi magazine* TEMPO DER WELT, *Frankfort, Germany, commemorating the German surrender. An American Negro GI is pictured with bayonet in one hand and gun in the other gloating over a downed German fighter plane.*

viewing Myrdal called "the greatest sore spot of American life."

Not all reports, however, are on the dark side. The progress and achievements of individual Negroes are stressed by many of the papers with illustrated biographical sketches of outstanding personalities filling many of their pages. Lausanne's *En Famille* featured the Peters Sisters; Zurich's *Die Weltwoche,* Rome's *Il Tempo,* and Milan's *Il Popolo,* Dr. Ralph J. Bunche; Geneva's *Patrie Suisse,* Paul Robeson; Milan's *Avanti,* Louis Armstrong; Neuchatel's *L'Express de Neuchatel,* Lena Horne; Lausanne's *Feuille d'Avis,* the Nicolas Brothers; and Geneva's *Le Messager Social,* Mrs. Mary McCleod Bethune.

This preoccupation of the European press with the American Negro and his problems is a postwar phenomenon, partly an outgrowth of our use of a jim-crow army to war on Third Reich Aryanism, and partly European resentment of what many of their intellectuals regard as pernicious meddling in Continental affairs. Even the European man in the street sensed the incongruity of a "democratic equality" that condemned Negroes to service battalions and segregated outfits. And in American postwar efforts to rehabilitate Europe through the "Marshall Plan" we have aroused the deeply rooted European prejudices against the United States as a "culturally backward country." Much of the present popularity of C. Virgil Gheorghiu's novel, *La Vingt-Cinquième Heure* (The Twenty-Fifth Hour) stems from one of its themes that Americans are technological barbarians lacking in all notions of human values. According to Gheorghiu, a Rumanian, America may have been the hope of the world but she is no longer.

Only a few weeks ago the English philosopher C. E. M. Joad was lambasting us on the grounds that American influence "corrupts, infects and pollutes whatever it touches." Georges Duhamel, a longtime French critic of our mores, wrote querulously in *Ici Paris* (March 12, 1950) "That this great nation which has taken such a delight in lecturing Europeans on colonialism and the duties of the white race early simplified its problems by exterminating the Indians"; then adds that though

Acme

ANTI-AMERICAN TABLEAU *in Prague, Czechslovakia, of two rope-bound Negroes being led to execution by a band of Ku Klux Klan men. This was during a giant May-day parade in* 1949.

the United States may be the world's greatest temporal power, she is still troubled in body and soul by her Negroes. In commenting on "To Secure These Rights," the London *News Review,* under the title "America's Untouchables," concluded with this diatribe: "Now the country which has always shut its eyes to the inequalities of the American way of life for the Negro, while exclaiming in hypocritical horror at persecution in Europe and allegedly the British colonies, has had its own housekeeping publicity exposed."

"Americans like to indulge in endless reproach of Europeans for their 'racism' and 'colonialism,'" sneers *La Liberté* (Fribourg, Germany), but the answer is the Greensville, S. C., lynch-trial verdict, an acquital which can only encourage lynching."

Our segregation, our mob violence, and our Dixiecrats contribute grist to the European mills of anti-Americanism. To preach democratic equality while making distinctions of color and race strikes Europeans as bizarre, if not perverse. It reaps headlines like these: "Is the Negro a Man?" "Racism in the United States," "America's Untouchables,"

"Odor of Burning Flesh," "Lincoln or Lynch?" "Blackest American State," and "Negroes: America's Untouchables."

Let us now turn to sample quotations: *L'Echo Illustré* (Geneva, Switzerland) puts it this way: "The groans of the American Negro are beginning to be heard throughout Europe." This paper also carried a two-page illustrated feature on the "Revival of the Klu Klux Klan" as well as another entitled "Black Tragedy in the United States is no Myth."

I asked Americans, writes a correspondent of *Patrie Valaissane* (Sierre, Switzerland), why they treated Negroes with such contempt. The more sensible ones gave this reply: 'It's because Negroes are inferior; just overgrown untrustworthy children who need watching to keep them out of mischief.' Others used the idiom of the eighteenth-century planter: 'It's because they are liars, drunkards, and thieves.' Yet there is a much more serious and apparent reason. America has a caste chiefly interested in maintaining and spreading racism as an economic arm of her great trusts, and the inferior position of the Negro keeps him a docile and ill-paid worker.

SHOCKING EXPERIENCE

Joseph Rovan (*Servir,* Lausanne, Switzerland) thinks "The Negro problem is beyond question the most shocking experience to be encountered by those French writers (Sartre, Claude Roy, Simone de Beauvoir, et al.) who have crossed the Atlantic since the war. This reaction was intensified by their experiences with the German occupation and the French Resistance movement."

Near the end of a review of Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma, The Times Literary Supplement* (London, England) apostrophizes:

It was the dilemma on which Lincoln tried to impale Douglas; it is the dilemma which is presented all over the world today to the defenders of the American free way of life. Every lynching or sanctioned murder in a convict gang, every political career like that of Senator Bilbo or Governor Talmadge, is a renewal of intolerable scandals like those that threatened the authority of the Holy See. And nothing could be easier than to rest simply on charges of odious (an incompetent) hypocrisy, to see in the pretentions of American democracy not the claims of Jefferson's or Lincoln's doctrines, but the shameless impudence of Barnum, in the missionary zeal of the American churches, a scandal greater than any given by a Borgia pope.

Robert E. Abs gives his "Impressions of America" in *Le Peuple* (Brussels, Belgium):

I paid particular attention to the conduct of Negroes and simple honesty forces me to admit it was perfect. Their deportment was correct, their clothes neat, but one easily read on their faces the engraved-sadness of fatigue and fear. Where they are clean, they do not constitute the poorest and most miserable social elements.

Many professions are barred to him not by law, but because of his lack of financial resources. He is shunted aside from the majority group. In a restaurant a Negro may be allowed to do the dirty cleaning job but not to wait on the general public. He may remove the garbage cans from midnight to five A.M. He can dig ditches or do similar ill-paid work. Little black children wander the streets in tatters shining shoes for a few pennies. But one seldom sees Negroes in restaurants except in cafeterias. I personally think that white prejudice is declining and

(*Continued on page* 468)

Acme

HEMAN MARION SWEATT, *Houston Mail Carrier, wins his 4-year fight to enter the University of Texas Law School.* *See page* 444.

30 W. 40th St.
New York 18, N. Y.

May 22, 1950

DEAR VOTER:

YOUR VOTE AND ACTIVE SUPPORT OF SENATOR FRANK GRAHAM IN THE NORTH CAROLINA PRIMARY MAY 27 WILL BE GREATLY APPRECIATED. YOU KNOW, JUST AS WE DO, THAT "DR. FRANK" HAS DONE MUCH TO ADVANCE THE PLACE OF THE NEGRO IN NORTH CAROLINA. THE NEGRO IS A USEFUL, TAX-PAYING CITIZEN!

W. WITE, Executive Secretary,
National Society for the Advancement of Colored People

BELOW THE BELT—*A facsimile of the postcards sent out by Graham opponents during the recent North Carolina senatorial race. Thousands of these cards were mailed North Carolina voters from New York City to dupe them into believing that the NAACP backed Senator Frank P. Graham. Introduction of the race issue through the NAACP along with the charge that Graham supported FEPC and flouted segregation was expected to turn Carolina voters against the senator. Obviously witless voters would confuse "Wite" with "White" and the "National Society for the Advancement of Colored People" with the "National Association for the Advancement of Colored People." Actually there is no "Wite," no "NSACP," and no 30 W. 40th St." And needless to say neither Walter White nor the NAACP sent out any such message. Senator Graham's opponents were Willis Smith, corporation lawyer, former Senator Robert R. Reynolds, and Olla Ray Boyd. Senator Graham polled 295,000 votes to Willis Smith's 245,000. Boyd polled 62,000. Since Senator Graham did not get a majority, there was a run-off in June. Returns from 1,753 of 1,990 precincts gave Senator Graham 233,807 to 258,565 for Mr. Smith. Senator Graham lost, since nomination in the Democratic primary is equivalent to election in North Carolina.*

DID YOU KNOW —

That the Emancipation Proclamation, issued September 22, 1862, freed the slaves only in the seceded states? Not until adoption of the 13th Amendment in 1865 were slaves liberated everywhere else in America.

O Lord, help us who roam about. Help us who have been placed in Africa and have no home of our own. Give us back a dwelling place, O God. All power is Yours in Heaven and on earth. Amen." Michael Scott took a seat among the audience.

The chairman recognized the delegate from Haiti. "So," he said, "now we know. Yes, indeed, it was very dangerous to allow this Christian man to come before us and speak. Yes, for some people it was very dangerous. We've got to the bottom of this thing, gentlemen, and what do we find? Blood." He leaned forward. "Blood and mud. Gentlemen, I am not, I think, a very emotional man, but I can assure you that I was deeply moved by what I've just heard and I think you were too.

"We must do something, gentlemen. It is up to this council to help those brutally oppressed people before they turn on their tormentors in their tortured agony. If we do nothing, then the blame for a bloody holocaust will rest squarely on this council. The whole colonial tyranny has been drawn for us. Woe betide these men who wish to set up the old system of a race of masters and race of slaves. Gentlemen, you are still thinking in the ideas of the eighteenth century. Your honor and your conscience compel you to prevent what is happening in Africa today from continuing. I implore . . ." A door opened, and a man hurried toward an empty chair. He held up his hand. South Africa wanted to speak. The Haitian relinquished the floor; the South African asked that the debate be postponed.

"We have a crowded agenda," the chairman told him. "If the delegates agree, we will resume at ten forty-five tomorrow morning." The delegates agreed.

South Africa had received a reprieve, but the next day the temper of the committee had not changed. In spite of quibblings and obstructions—by the United Kingdom, Greece, and the United States, in addition to South Africa—the committee decided to ask the International Court of Justice at The Hague for advice as to the legal status of South West Africa.

Mexico requested that the court have its decision ready in time for the next meeting of the General Assembly. When the case came before the Plenary Session, South Africa fought hard, but failed by a vote of forty to seven, to stop the General Assembly from acting on the committee's report.

One man had spoken for a gagged people, and his quiet words would be heard by many millions more as the drums of the Bush Telegraph thudded them out the length and breadth of Africa.

Michael Scott had both set a precedent and created a miracle.

EUROPEAN PRESS

(*Continued from page* 418)

that the war has brought about a rough equality, an embryonic equality at least.

"In Oklahoma," claims the *Gazette de Lausanne* (Lausanne, Switzerland), "people must use telephones appropriate to the color of their skins. In Florida the books of the white school children must be segre-

gated from those used by Negroes. In Georgia the annual salary of a white teacher is $1,123; that of his Negro colleague, $515. And in Texas Joe Louis cannot legally fight a white boxer. But one thing is certain: the thirteen million Negroes of the United States have a much older American lineage than the great majority of whites."

SOUTHERN REVOLT

In commenting on the "Southern Revolt," Alistair Cooke (*Manchester Guardian,* Manchester, England) writes: "Nothing new can be said for the retrogressive doctrine of white supremacy, except perhaps that its fearful adherents do face, where often the Southern liberal does not, the reality of miscegenation. . . ." Northern liberals, he adds, "are often evangelists of the printed word, in big cities that excuse them from paying any practical price for their enjoyment of being holier than the neighbors [Southerners] they can comfortably ignore."

Josephine Baker's angry articles in *Paris-Soir* detailed her experiences in the United States after an absence of twelve years. She describes a visit to Fisk university, a jim-crow trip to St. Louis, Mo., reports on segregation in the armed forces, and takes a look at the race motif in Broadway plays. "The Negro in the South is no longer a slave," she observes, "despite the fact that some people consider him one and bar him from all contacts with the whites."

One piece details her husband's experiences with a New York hotel:

Things must have changed in the United States. The war mingling of peoples and races must have brought whites and Negroes together in a common struggle and torn down the barriers of color prejudice. Anyway, these were my thoughts upon my return to America after a twelve-year absence. My husband, Jo Bouillon, and I had spent several months in South America where we had given hundreds of performances in the larger cities. We had finally reached Chicago by way of Mexico. Our stay in Chicago was uneventful. As we were about to leave, we asked friends to reserve a suite in a large New York hotel for Mr. and Mrs. Jo Bouillon. But as soon as we arrived in New York we ran smack into trouble. Before we could hardly settle down in our rooms, the management called in my husband:

'How long do you plan to stay, Mr. Bouillon?'

'I've rented the suite for a month.'

'I'm very, very sorry,' explained the manager.

'There must be some mistake. Your suite is just for today. You give it up tomorrow.'

Jo understood at once:

'Is it because my wife is Negro?'

'You must understand Mr. Bouillon," the manager went on hesitantly, that I'm not complaining, at least not personally. But you see we have a large southern clientele. . . . People from the South, you know.' The fatal word had slipped out. We met this same excuse thoughout the day at every hotel we entered. Yet none of them was honest enough to say: 'We've no room for a colored woman.'

JOSEPHINE BAKER

However, here is a report on Miss Baker herself from *Die Zeit* (Hamburg, Germany), a far remove from jim-crow New York hotels and the prejudiced South.

Despite the fact that Josephine Baker owns a castle in Dordogne and an apartment house in the best section of

Paris, she is always short on cash. Her jewelry, fifteen million francs worth, often ends up in the pawnshop. But whenever she has money she loads herself down with foodstuffs for the poor of her neighborhood. Yet one of her recent charities was accepted with mixed feelings.

She had stocked her house on the Avenue Victor Hugo with eighteen tons of coal, much to the joy of her tenants. But one day they were filled with apprehension and fear. They were horrified to find that Josephine had distributed all the coal to the poor.

This is the Josephine Baker who recently amazed the world with a hitherto unknown side of her character. As a result of her war exploits she won the War Cross, the medal of the Resistance, and the Croix de Lorraine. She was even appointed a temporary lieutenant, and she performed invaluable services for the *Deuxième Bureau,* the espionage department of the French Ministry of War.

RALPH J. BUNCHE

Hans Habe writes glowingly of "the fairy-like career" of Dr. Ralph J. Bunche in *Die Weltwoche* (Zurich). I quote a paragraph:

Just what, then, is the secret of this Negro? He loved the people among whom he worked as an intermediary. He loved the Jews. Not only because his Rosenwald fellowship had opened up a brilliant career, but because he knew that up until a few years ago the Jews had been 'white Negroes.' He loved the Arabs. Not only for having accepted him at the time as one of their own, but also because he sensed a similarity between their fate and that of his own people. What is more important is that an understanding of his personal problem provides a key to the solution of the whole Negro problem. . . . Bunche has always been 'color blind.' He made no grand speeches about racial equality. He took the idea of American democracy literally. He confided in democracy, and it appears that democracy confided in him.'

AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

When *La Voix Ouvrière* (Geneva) headlined the news that the chief of the Information Section of the American Military Government in Germany had orders to present the principles and practices of American democracy to the Germans, with special emphasis on the rights of man and the fundamental freedom of the individual, the paper asked rhetorically:

"Will they talk about the life of the Negro in the United States?"

Pour Tous (Zofingue, Switzerland) headlines: "In the United States the "Displaced Persons Are Negroes." "Right now many Americans are finding themselves deeply embarrassed," the paper continues. "For many months now [January 1948] their papers have been full of complaints on what they call the 'inhumane attitude' of the English. But these same Americans are just themselves becoming aware of the conclusions reached by 'The Report of President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights.' "

Amerigo Ruggiero, New York correspondent of *Il Messagero* (Milan, Italy) tries to clarify the problem for his readers:

The American Negro problem is very complex. Moreover, there are as many Negro problems as there are states in the Union. Their aspects are by turns tragic, absurd, grotesque, comical. We must also be aware at the outset of the American definition of

Negro. Hardly more than twenty percent of them are of pure blood and these are found mainly in the 'Deep South,' especially in the southern parts of Georgia, Alabama, and Louisiana.

The rest, making up about eighty percent of the total, are mixed and run the most extraordinary color gamut and blendings imaginable. Negroes themselves are acutely aware of these color nuances, giving them such special names as mulatto, quadroon, banana-yellow, high yellow. . . .

NEGRO TROOPS

Alberto Spaini (*Il Giornale della Sera,* Rome) praises the Negro troops who entered Rome after the expulsion of the Germans:

They were the good brave Negro Americans who made friends with the people of Rome and then encamped for the night at Cinecitta. . . . 'Are they really black?' asked His Eminence Cardinal Albani. 'Are they fair or brown?' asked the elders. 'They are black. Black as coal,' was the reply. But they were Americans and they waved the American flag as they passed and the people yelled back the familiar *Paisà!* And they replied: 'Hello, Joe,' and 'O.K., John.'

Finally the people began to notice that these men were Negroes, and the girls respected them; they kept them in good cheer. They soon noticed that these men were really not black. Many of them were actually lighter in complexion than many Italians. . . . Their polite correctness, their kindness soon made you forget their color. Theirs was indeed the color of real Americans!

Several papers examined segregation in the American Army. *La Tribune de Genève* (Geneva) devoted a two-column article to the subject from its Washington correspondent under the heading, "The Negro Question in the American Army." Another Swiss paper, *Journal d'Estavayer,* went into details on Army segregation and A. Philip Randolph's congressional testimony at the time he said he would advise Negroes not to serve in a jim-crow army. The headline read: "Will There be Continued Separation of Whites and Blacks in the American Army?"

VARIOUS TOPICS

Now for a few miscellaneous comments. These are from Swiss papers. The *Semaine de la Femme* (Lausanne) devoted two lavishly illustrated pages to Southern University; *Die Woche* (Olten), a photographic study of Meharry; and *In Freien Studen* (Zurich), Negro life in general.

American lynching was the concern of many papers. *La Marseillaise* (Paris) reproduced scenes of a double lynching under a phrasal caption from one of General Eisenhower's speeches: "American democracy offers to the individual a free and limitless horizon." The *Sud-Ouest* (Bordeaux) commented on the decline of lynching, as did *Arriba* (Madrid): "Although the barbarous custom of lynching is disappearing in the United States, it has still to be completely eliminated." *Coitidianul* and *Semnanlul,* both of Bucharest, devoted articles to lynching. A headline in the first read: "Negroes Are Still Lynched in the United States; and the second put this headline over one of its pieces: "Lincoln or Lynch?" *Action* (Paris) penned this: "The Klu Klux Klan, America's oldest Fascist organization, founded in 1867, is still able to terrorize a Negro in the South. Let him dis-

obey its orders and he will see his cabin burned down, his little property destroyed, and he himself is fortunate if he is not turned into a living torch."

Claude Julien (*Il Quotidiano,* Rome) praises Baroness Catherine Hueck's Friendship House in Harlem; *Il Messagero* (Rome) discusses discrimination in American universities, and *Die Wochenzeitung* (Zurich) pictures G. W. McLaurin in his jim-crow cubicle at the University of Oklahoma under the caption: "Come now, Uncle Sam!" *Drum Nou* (Brasov, Rumania) swears that Negroes are only allowed to travel in boxcars; *Action* (Paris) translates Roi Ottley's *Ebony* (March, 1948) article, "5 Million U. S. White Negroes"; *Frontul Plugarilor* (Bucharest) explains how Negroes got from Africa to the United States and illustrates the piece with an old cut of a slave auction; *Arriba* (Madrid) notes Senator Russell's plan to distribute Negroes evenly throughout the United States; *Solidaridad Nacional* (Barcelona) remarked on the exclusion of the Haitian minister of agriculture François George from the Hotel Buenavista in Biloxi, Miss.

SPIRIT OF BILBO

La Nation Belge (Brussels) carried a short news item on Miss Fisher and the University of Oklahoma under the English blurb: "Made in U.S.A.," and a headline (in French): "A University for Just One Student — But Then She's Black." *Avanti* (Milan) has a picture of Amy Mallard and daughter; *Dovere* (Bellinzona, Italy) pictured Klansmen giving an aged Negro a Christmas basket; *El Alcazar* (Madrid) carried Klan pictures; and the *Diario da Manha* (Lisbon) wanted to know for whom Negroes worked. *La Stampa* (Turin) says that though Bilbo is dead his spirit still lives on, in American racism; *L'Osservatore Romano* (Vatican City) translates Vincent Baker's "Negro Youth and Social Action"; *The Economist* (London) discusses southern regional colleges; and the Paris *Figaro* had a news item on Senator Glen Taylor's arrest for violating Alabama's jim-crow laws.

These newspaper comments, though many of them are from Communist sheets, do not, with the exception of Rumania, come from behind the iron curtain. Nor, excepting the Communist press of Rumania, do they indulge in fulminations or distortions. All expose the moral cancer of American racism in contrast to our stultiloquence about individual freedom and the American way of life. We preach equality but practice racism, and this moral turpitude makes Uncle Sam the grotesque mountebank of "the free world." As Senator William Benton (Conn.) said in the Senate on May 9: "The Russians did not invent the worldwide suspicion that all has not been well in race relations in the United States, although they have exploited it to the hilt." "The World Audience for America's Story," title of a Department of State publication, expects more of the United States than industrial know-how, money, and an unintelligent, myopic, dogged militarism. It is a fair presumption that we cannot give moral leadership to the world until we solve our problems of race and color.

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October 1950

Mat. - Intercultural Education

CHAPTER II

Intercultural Education

WILLIAM VAN TIL and GEORGE W. DENEMARK*

THE past three years have noted the publication of a number of significant research studies in intergroup education. Of particular importance have been those studies which have been directed toward gaining a better understanding of the nature and roots of prejudice.

The Development of Intercultural Education

Many intercultural education leaders have long recognized the necessity of developing a theoretical, conceptual framework regarding the nature of prejudice in order that efforts to improve intergroup relations might be firmly built. Yet it is only recently that the scientific groundwork has been laid by the psychological and social sciences. Handicapped by insufficient research on the understanding of prejudice, intercultural education in its earliest years struggled thru the missionary and oversimplified-answer stages. In the early nineteen forties, intercultural education began to come of age with the initiation or expansion of activities by the Bureau for Intercultural Education, Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools, College Study in Intergroup Relations, Anti-Defamation League, American Jewish Committee, National Conference of Christians and Jews, and Commission on Community Interrelations. Characteristic were pragmatic explorations into the technics and practices which seemed most promising in effecting attitudinal changes. Increasingly apparent today is an emphasis upon careful and deliberate research into the causes of prejudice and the most effective ways of combating it.

The Nature of Prejudice

The weight of the research evidence surveyed seems to support the findings of Ackerman and Jahoda (2), which indicate that there are two major sources of prejudice and discrimination toward minority groups: (a) frustration and (b) cultural learning.

* The authors wish to acknowledge the financial grant of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith to the University of Illinois for this project. The assistance made possible a trip for a week of interviews with national leaders in intercultural education. Research appraisal technics and important trends in intergroup education were discussed. Interviewed were: Hermann H. Giles, Center for Human Relations Studies, New York University; Otto Klineberg, Columbia University; Louis Raths, Bureau for Intercultural Education; Arnold Rose, University of Minnesota; Frank Trager, Leo Srole, and the Research Staff, Anti-Defamation League; Robin Williams, Cornell University; Louis Wirth and the Research Staff, Committee on Education, Training, and Research in Race Relations of the University of Chicago; and Rudolph Wittenberg, Research Department, American Jewish Committee. The help of these men and groups is gratefully acknowledged. Responsibility for the findings of this review is, of course, that of the authors alone.

An increasing body of data, such as that reported by the above authors in a later study (1) and by Miller and Bugelski (58), lends support to the position that the tensions and insecurities resulting from frustration are translated into expressions and acts of hostility and aggression toward minority or out-groups. The sources of these frustrations are to be found both in the personal-family environment (36), which operates most strongly upon the individual during his early preschool and school years, and, increasingly, in the larger social structure as he matures (86).

Ackerman and Jahoda (1) found that out of the forty cases of anti-Semitism collected for their study there was not a single example of permanently well-adjusted marital relationship between the parents of the anti-Semites, a condition almost certain to result in many tensions. However, as Hymes (42) pointed out, tensions and insecurities experienced in family and early peer group relations do not necessarily determine a person's prejudices. Tensions and insecurities may simply predispose him to seeking an outlet for such feelings.

The work of Komarovsky and Sargent (43) described some of the influences of subcultures upon personality. This study supported the generalization that the designation of specific groups toward which hostility shall be directed depends largely on the societal pressures that operate upon individuals. The importance of the class status system, both as a source of tension and as an agency for focusing existing hostilities upon certain groups, was indicated by Davis (21) and by Bettelheim and Janowitz (8). The latter authors, upon the basis of intensive interviews with 150 war veterans, disclosed a marked correlation between anti-Semitism and social mobility, particularly downward mobility. Hatt (34) also dealt with the relation between social class and ethnic attitudes, while Centers (11) discussed attitudes in relation to occupational stratification. However, while emphasizing with Davis the intimate relationship between these societal influences and the individual's total personality, Bettelheim and Janowitz concluded that intolerance is less a function of the objective social situation than of one's personal evaluation of that situation.

A number of writers (33, 54, 60) indicated that another source of prejudice can be discerned. This second source of prejudice, cultural learning, is not explainable in terms of frustration. As MacIver (54) suggested, prejudice can also be explained thru the processes of indoctrination and habituation. Data from the Philadelphia Early Childhood Project (66, 89), on which a full report is now in preparation, indicated that prejudices develop out of adult values and the status quo to which children are exposed, as well as out of situations generating insecurities and frustrations. Radke, H. Trager, and Davis (66) observed that many children have opportunities only for the kind of learning about groups that involve stereotypes and rejection. Children often rejected groups not present in their environment. Lewin (49, 50) indicated that a way by which groups and institutions perpetuate themselves is thru the exercise of strong pressures upon their members to conform to the group norms.

As a consequence of such pressures, individuals find themselves dependent upon the group for the determination of what is real and what is right.

Two insights into the nature of prejudice, which at first seem paradoxical, are of considerable value to the student of intergroup education. The first is the existence of authoritarian personalities which, according to Adorno and his associates (3), contain a broad and coherent pattern characterized by conventionality, rigidity (70), repressive denial, fear, and dependency. The second is the high degree of inconsistency characteristic of the reactions of individuals toward members of other groups. Such inconsistency may take the form of responding favorably to a given group in one situation and unfavorably in another, or of accepting one kind of relationship with such a group while rejecting an apparently much less personal type of contact (45). Deutsch and Collins (22) reported that such inconsistencies were apparent in members of public housing projects interviewed, as did the contributors to an issue of the *Journal of Social Issues* devoted to the problems of inconsistency (14).

These two types of evidence, seemingly contradictory, were reconciled ably by Ackerman and Jahoda (1) who related them to the ego-integrative forces stemming from the person constantly seeking to associate and order his experiences into a coherent and consistent whole, and to the divisive forces of a complex society in which the requirements for status in one aspect of life are antithetical to those of others. The interrelationship between such factors was also recognized by Bettelheim and Janowitz (8, 9). They pointed out that personality structure alone cannot entirely explain why people set out to discriminate against particular ethnic groups or why they are more prejudiced toward one group than another. The defensive needs of the individual, the economic and social structure of the community, and the ethnic realities of the moment must all be taken into account. As Deutsch (14) concluded, "efforts to produce change in the individual must not only be directed at the individual but also at the social institutions and group standards which determine the individual's values and which help to induce the goals for which he strives."

It is in such a complex context that the problem of improving intercultural relations must be considered. The task is formidable and multifaceted. Obviously, a high degree of cooperation is essential between human relations agencies and the psychological and social sciences. Such cooperation is increasingly apparent in the work of such groups as the New York University Center for Human Relations Studies, the University of Chicago Center for the Study of Intergroup Relations, and in the movement fostered by Clinchy (16) to increase the number and scope of activities of such centers. The need for cooperation has been increasingly recognized in the number of research projects calling upon the skills of men trained in a variety of disciplines, as pointed out by Max Horkheimer and Samuel Flowerman, editors of the Harper's Studies in Prejudice Series (3). Further encouragement may be found in the coordination of the research efforts of many institutions around one basic problem, as in

the case of the College Study in Intergroup Relations (17, 18) and the increased emphasis upon action-research by such groups as the Commission on Community Interrelations of the American Jewish Congress (13, 14, 76).

What Schools Can Do

Five major approaches to developing democratic human relations have especially been studied in current research. Many of these approaches had been suggested as promising practices by educators who based them primarily on teaching experience, educational theory, and the limited research available (41, 91, 92). It should be noted that a large number of the current research studies considered demonstrated an awareness of the necessity for developing programs which included a wide variety of approaches, even as they chose to limit their investigation to one.

1. *The creation of a democratic atmosphere designed to reduce the personal insecurities and tensions of children.*

Ackerman and Jahoda (1, 2) found that emotional predispositions to anti-Semitism include anxiety, confusion of the concept of self, unsatisfactory interpersonal relationships, conformity, fear of the different, poor perception of reality, an inconsistent value system, and a poorly developed conscience. Much research points to the importance of wholesome family relationships prior to and concurrent with the school experiences of children for minimizing such difficulties. There is also good reason to believe, with Kilpatrick (41), Weston (93), Taba (83), and others, that a warm, friendly, democratic atmosphere in schools may help to strengthen the healthy attitudes already present in many young people, and to some degree at least, make up for the shortcomings in home environment experienced by others. Kilpatrick and Van Til (42) indicated that perhaps the single most important factor in building good human relations thru the school is a democratic atmosphere, and defined such an atmosphere as one which involves acceptance, belongingness, and welcome as a person.

The importance of the classroom teacher in effecting attitude changes, and the influence which teacher attitudes have upon those of the students have been pointed out by Russell and Robertson (75), Radke, H. Trager, and Davis (66), and others. Those institutions involved in the College Study in Intergroup Relations (18, 32) recognized the crucial role of the teacher and instituted surveys and reexaminations of their teacher preparation programs.

Analyses done in the area of group dynamics (51, 62, 84) lead us to believe that a reexamination of the ways in which school groups are organized and conducted will point out possibilities for materially reducing individual tensions and insecurities. Tolman (87), in describing social

learning, commented briefly on some of the possible ways of translating or dissipating aggressions against out-groups.

2. *The encouragement of broadening intergroup contacts in situations involving cooperation.*

The findings reported by Stouffer and others (81), drawn from data obtained by the Research Branch of the War Department, and those reported by Whittemore (94) with regard to the experiences in the "G. I. Universities" following the war, lend strong support to the *fait accompli* as a method of intergroup education. Data from the former group, in answer to a question relating to attitudes toward serving in a company containing Negro and white platoons, disclosed that of the men not having had such experience, only 2 percent stated they would like it. Sixty-two percent indicated they would dislike it very much. A literal revolution in attitudes was apparent from the responses of men having had such experience. Thirty-two percent stated they would like it and only 7 percent indicated they would dislike it very much. As Stouffer and his associates pointed out, this technic is particularly promising when "attention is focused on concrete tasks or goals requiring common effort rather than upon more abstract considerations of justice or of desirable policy which emphasize and arouse traditional prejudices." A similar conclusion was reported by Wittenberg (98) with respect to neighborhood projects.

The value of contacts in situations involving cooperation was reported by Deutsch and Collins (22) with respect to intergroup contacts in public housing projects. Findings by Phelps (64, 65) in school work camps also seem to corroborate the value of this technic. Particularly promising results are yielded by situations in which the pressures to conform to prior arrangements are lessened. The conditions of contact are important, according to B. MacKenzie (55) and as research on social distance prior to the current period of investigation has repeatedly demonstrated. One of the conclusions of the Philadelphia Early Childhood Project (66) pointed out that such contacts needed to be accompanied by other change technics to prevent some prejudiced persons from regarding the contact merely as an exception to their previously formulated generalizations.

3. *The provision of opportunities for enhanced emotional sensitization to other intercultural groups.*

The role of emotions in the educative process has long been underestimated in American educational thinking. The work of Prescott and his associates has been a valuable stimulus toward recognizing the emotional as well as the intellectual facets of the learning process. In human relations research the importance of building into personal frames of reference an emotional sensitivity to other persons and groups is now receiving increasing attention. Davidoff (20) found a positive correlation between empathy and attitude toward minority groups. Kramer (45), in discussing dimensions of prejudice, called attention to the emotional as well as the

cognitive and action facets of such attitudes. Woodruff and DiVesta (99) observed that an important way of changing attitudes is to change the individual's concept of the object toward which the attitude is expressed, a process which must necessarily include emotional considerations.

A significant part of the work of the staff of Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools (85) has been devoted to developing school curriculums which emphasize human relations problems thru the medium of literature, particularly novels. Reports suggesting the potentialities of literature for both the elementary and secondary levels were made by Franc (28), Finley (25), and Rollins (71). H. Trager and Everitt (88), speaking from experiences with primary grade children in the Philadelphia public schools, doubted that books alone are sufficient, but suggested that their value lay in reinforcing, interpreting, and extending the experience of children.

Analyses of the effectiveness of movies as a media for attitude change have been made by Raths and F. Trager (68) and by Sherif and Sargent (78). The latter authors noted that the high degree of ego involvement present in movie audiences was an important factor in the adoption of new form and values or the maintenance of old.

4. *The promotion of situations in which individuals may be exposed to the inconsistency or invalidity of some of their existing attitudes.*

It is notable that in contrast to the preceding half-decade, when a large number of research studies were concerned with the effectiveness of information presented in curriculum courses as a means of changing intergroup attitudes, practically no such projects were reported in the period from 1947 to 1950. Bierstedt (54), in summarizing much of this earlier research, concluded that appropriate instruction under certain conditions does have an influence on attitudes toward out-groups, but pointed to the necessity for research as to the kind of instruction and conditions which accompany it, as well as into the character of the students involved. Similar tentativeness is apparent in Rose's generalizations on the effectiveness of information (73), also based on a summary of research.

Current researches have placed considerable emphasis upon study of persons exposed to data that contradicts their presently held attitudes. Lippitt (51), Kretch and Crutchfield (46), and others have observed that the effectiveness of facts in bringing about attitudinal changes is frequently dependent upon the extent to which those attitudes we seek to change are themselves involved in obtaining the facts. Much of the work of the Commission on Community Interrelations (13, 14, 76) has been devoted to an analysis of the role of action research in intergroup education. Chein (12), reporting upon the Montclair, Minneapolis, and Northtown community self-surveys, noted in a composite summary such concrete changes as the passage of an FEPC ordinance, the admittance of Negroes into an important local union, the construction by private builders of a 350 dwelling unit for Negro occupancy, and the first employ-

ment of Negroes as teachers, school principals, policemen, and salesclerks.

5. *Strengthening the "social supports" of democratic behavior.*

In contrast to the oft-repeated phrase, "you can't legislate good human relations," evidence from studies made in conjunction with the work of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination (4, 79) indicated that patterns of behavior in employment practices could be substantially altered in a short period of time. Watson (92), in summarizing research dealing with the effects of legislation, arrived at a similar conclusion. Cook (17) pointed out that discrimination teaches prejudice rather than prejudice fostering discrimination. Montagu (59) noted that unless educational programs are accompanied by social and economic arrangements which support the more desirable attitudes, all the institutional pressures upon the individual will be in the direction of a resumption of his original attitudes.

Perhaps one of the most thorogoing programs for intergroup change thru legislation was that presented by the President's Committee on Civil Rights in an influential and outstanding report (90). Much of the recent work of the Anti-Defamation League has been devoted to the implementation of this program thru mass media and conferences as well as thru educational materials. The Anti-Defamation League also publishes the Freedom Pamphlet Series, an important contribution to disseminating intercultural insights, which includes syntheses by Allport (5), Kilpatrick (41), Sparling (80), and many others.

Another approach, the dissemination of propaganda thru the mass media (26, 27, 74), tho closely associated with emotional sensitization and with the imparting of information, may well be discussed under social supports. For, as Lazarsfeld (48) pointed out, the major value of mass propaganda lies in its introduction of an alternative mode of behavior to persons whose environment might otherwise have taught only prejudice and discrimination. Helson (35) and Kretch and Crutchfield (46) referred to a theory of adaptation level which holds that the introduction of extreme statements regarding a social issue will change the acceptance level of the individual exposed in the same direction in which the range of alternatives in the perceptive continuum has moved.

The use of propaganda is subject to serious limitations because of the likelihood of its reaching mainly those who are least in need of such ideas and because most prejudiced persons may avoid exposure by withdrawal (19, 27, 47). Advocates of propaganda as an approach urge, however, that its use constantly reinforces those who already hold democratic attitudes. Williams (95), summarizing research studies on the use of propaganda, generalized that its effectiveness tends to be greater when the material is linked with prestige symbols.

Lazarsfeld's observation that personal persuasion is more effective than large-scale programs because of its flexibility and adaptability to the

individual or group in question suggests that propaganda might be even more effective when adapted to individual community, school, and classroom groups. But whether the school should be used as an agency for propaganda, however beneficent or democratic, will long be a topic for educational controversy.

Trends in Research Methods

Research in intergroup education has increasingly moved away from the measurement of student reactions in college classrooms and into clinical laboratory studies and larger social field investigations. Both depth and breadth dimensions of the problem field have been expanded. The first three volumes of the Harper Studies in Prejudice Series (1, 3, 8), sponsored by the American Jewish Committee, illustrated methods entailing a deep probing into the personality patterns of individuals. The latter two volumes (53, 57), along with the work of the Commission on Community Interrelations, the Anti-Defamation League, the Social Science Research Council, and others, suggested a more extensive examination of attitude change in the broad context of the community with its complexity of cultural influences.

Attention is called here to the methods and technics developed or extensively employed in the research studies examined. Methods increasingly used were intensive interviews by trained persons (1, 2, 3, 8, 31), *Rorschach* and *Thematic Apperception* tests (3, 8, 69), group therapy (7, 44), sociometrics (6, 38), surveys based upon responses of groups in concrete life situations (housing projects, armed forces, etc.), nonverbal tests (66, 89), and community self-surveys. Attitude scales were subjected to continued research and refinement (23, 24). Of particular concern to students of attitudes were unidimensionality of attitude scales (45) and the indication of the intensity with which a given attitude is held (37, 82).

Summary and Needed Research

The past three years appear to have been important ones for intergroup education, marking the continuance of the "coming of age" of the movement. Especially significant has been the development of a concept of the nature of prejudice substantiated by research. The emerging framework aids in integrating the efforts of those persons and groups seeking to accomplish similar ends. Important, too, are studies validating or modifying proposed approaches to intercultural education.

Much remains to be done, as Williams (95), Clinchy (16), MacIver (54), Chein (12), Wirth (97), and others have indicated in discussing promising areas for further research. Nevertheless, there would seem to be good cause for encouragement to be found in the progress of research since the war. Systematic summaries of research findings by Rose (73), Williams (95), Watson (92), Bierstedt (54), and Shapiro (77), a study

of the handling of minority groups in three-hundred textbooks (96), and the birth of a bulletin (15) devoted wholly to a quarterly summary of research underway in intergroup relations, suggest a "stock-taking" which is an important characteristic of maturity.

It is also encouraging to note in intercultural education a heightened appreciation of interrelationships and interaction. For instance, there is a growing emphasis upon the school *in* society, both as it influences and is influenced by other social institutions and forces. There is growing recognition of the relationship between process and product, and consequent deep concern with both. The ties between emotion and intellect are emphasized. Increased cooperation is evident between psychological and social disciplines, between research workers and action agencies, and between home and school. Most of all, it is heartening to find that these emphases arising out of research concerned with improving intergroup relations closely parallel and undergird our emerging concept of what constitutes good democratic experimental education for American schools.

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background

PUBLIC SERVICES DIVISION • DEPARTMENT OF STATE

International Orgs. Italy

ITALY-1954

The United States has a deep human interest in Italy. As leader of the free world, our Government has supported Italy's integration with Western Europe through membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the European economic, defense, and political communities. We have helped Italy toward economic recovery from the devastation of war, and we are helping to train and equip Italian defense forces. As a Nation that owes much to its own Italian population and heritage, the United States has an abiding concern for the political, economic, and social welfare of Italy.

BASIC PROBLEMS

Most of Italy's difficulties stem from overpopulation, plus three inherent deficiencies: shortage of capital, scarcity of good soil, and lack of basic raw materials. Exploited by extremists of right and left, Italy's chronic economic weakness, poverty, and unemployment have created problems that have taxed the powers of all Italian governments to the utmost.

Without substantial help from the West, postwar Italy would have had little chance of averting another dictatorship. Although the Fascists had been discredited, the Communists were accepted as a legal party, in part because of their vigorous opposition to the Fascist regime.

Leaders of the center parties have been aware of the threat of communism and have taken measures to circumvent it. In 1948 they succeeded in thwarting a Communist attempt to gain political control of the country. However, the Communist vote remains substantial, and, although the center parties have continued in power, their control is less firm since the 1953 elections.

In its efforts to speed economic recovery, the Italian Government has had both financial and technical assistance from the United States. Progress is being made, but Italy continues to need encouragement and certain types of assistance from the United States and other friendly nations. At this time, early 1954, its most urgent needs from the Western countries are long-term capital investments, lowering of trade barriers, and relaxing of immigration policies. Such assistance is needed to help the Italian Government hold unemployment at a manageable level and speed the raising of the standard of living.

POLITICAL HISTORY

Italy's economic problems are not of recent development. For generations they have plagued the Government and condemned large numbers of Italians to submarginal living conditions. To a large extent economic distresses and crises have determined the course of Italy's political history.

12-27-55 Intermarriage

Does the Southern Policy Achieve the Southern Goal?

(From the Christian Advocate of Nashville, Tennessee, official organ of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, December 16, 1938, pages 11-12, by Rolfe Lanier Hunt, Louise, Mississippi.)

"Is there less mixture of races in the South, where separate school systems are provided and where law forbids intermarriage, or in the North, where children go to the same schools, and laws permit intermarriage, in proportion to the total populations?"

The answer is, so far as can be learned from census figures, "no." The northern states...have fewer children born of mixed parents in proportion to the populations than do southern states....

In spite of a considerable migration of mulattoes from the South, the increase of mulattoes in the South from 1850 to 1920 was 317.5 per cent; the increase in the North, 245.5 per cent for the seventy-year period. In the North and West the increase of mulattoes was less than in the South, and the increase of blacks in the North greater than in the South. In the South the mulattoes increased 426.1 per cent from 1850 to 1930, while the black element increased only 131.6 per cent. In the period from 1890 to 1910 the increase of the black element in the South was 20.1 per cent, while the mulatto increase was 91.4 per cent. In the North during the same period the blacks increased 49.5 per cent, and the mulattoes 39.2 per cent.

The southern states have separate school systems designed to keep the races apart; they have laws forbidding intermarriage....they do not preserve racial integrity.

...A study of the social history of 5,512 Negro college graduates recently reported just two cases of intermarriage with any race.

(Duplicated for study by the Committee on Religion and Public Education, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia.)

RLH:ss
12/27/55

National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America
Department of Religion and Public Education
R. L. Hunt, Director
63 Auburn Avenue, Northeast, Atlanta 3, Georgia

January 16, 1956

TO PERSONS CONSIDERING PROBLEMS OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS:

In discussions on what should be done concerning public schools in states affected by recent Supreme Court decisions on the constitutional rights of American citizens for equal treatment in public schools, a statement was reported in the daily newspapers from a prominent state official that sending children of different races to the same public school would inevitably result in increased mixture of the races.

That statement is not supported by facts known to me. Being at Columbia, South Carolina on the day the report appeared in the daily newspapers, I wrote a letter to the editor of the South Carolina Methodist Advocate which you will find on page 10 of the January 12 issue. Returning to the office, I was able to locate a copy of the article to which reference was made, and from it I enclose also certain extracts.

The facts are scanty, they are difficult of interpretation, and I do not regard them as wholly reliable, but so far as is known to me, the facts show that mixture of the races is the product of something besides going to school together. I confess my surprise that the facts so indicate. I expected them to be otherwise. No fact known to me justifies any statement that increased educational opportunities for Negroes will result in racial intermarriage. Intermarriage seems to be the result of community factors little related to whether or not children attend the same public school.

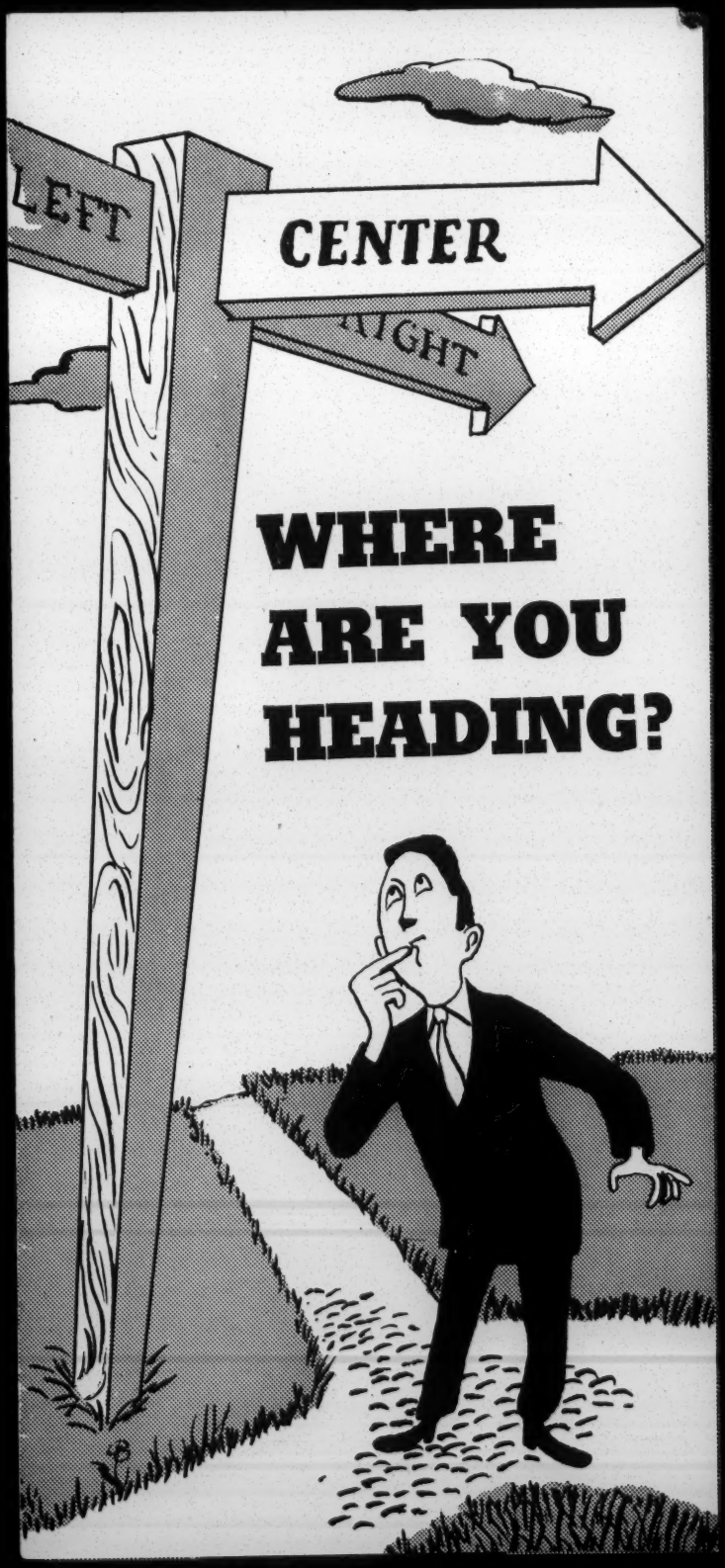
The burden of proof is upon any person who says that attendance at the same public schools automatically results in greater mixture of the races. For what they may be worth in current discussions, I share such facts as are known to me with a limited number of church and public school leaders in states most affected by the Supreme Court decision. Any facts known to you which may throw further light on this problem will be gratefully received by the undersigned.

Sincerely yours,

R. L. Hunt

R. L. Hunt

RLH:[illegible]
Enclosures: 2


LEFT
CENTER
RIGHT
WHERE ARE YOU HEADING?

Only Democracy and One World

The Communists and Fellow-Travelers

Here on the Left are the people who use democratic slogans as a cloak for their blind support of every twist and turn in Soviet foreign policy.

Because Communist policies shift with Soviet national interests, you never know where you stand. Declining British imperialism is attacked; expanding Soviet imperialism is applauded. Post-war conscription is fascism in America, though democratic in Russia.

Today's friends are yesterday's enemies, and vice versa. Roosevelt was a "Fascist" until 1936, an object of adoration until September, 1939, an "imperialist" and "war monger" until June 21, 1941, and the greatest man in America after Russia was invaded.

The Communists and fellow-travelers set up innocent sounding organizations as traps for minority groups, and bore from within established democratic political and labor organizations. They seek a shield of respectability by associating themselves with unsuspecting liberals. They have their spokesmen on the air, the public platform, in the newspapers. They are tireless, resourceful and crafty. When you corner them and call them by their right name, you are called a "red baiter" and "Fascist."

This road leads to chaos and despotism.

ALONG this broad Center road, between the minorities on the Communist Left and Fascist Right, travel the overwhelming majority of the American people.

They know that freedom cannot exist in a totalitarian state, whether it be ruled by one man or by lawless groups who contemptuously ignore the unalienable rights of others.

They are the inheritors of the liberal American tradition, spurning the path of reaction to advance the cause of "progress under law." They are prepared to defend their faith; at the same time they are ready to assume leadership in an effort to bring genuine disarmament to the world.

As they survey their buildings untouched by bombs, their farmlands unspoiled by devastating war, they are conscious of an obligation to share their abundance with people in other lands who are living amid the ruins of war and are dying of hunger. They know that those who have no food and no hope are ripe for dictators, ready to embark on mad adventures which will engulf us all. To encourage and inspire democracy in other lands, to build a secure and peaceful One World, America should put justice above expediency and generosity above self-indulgence.

They know that in order to have a more

(continued on back page)

Offer Freedom

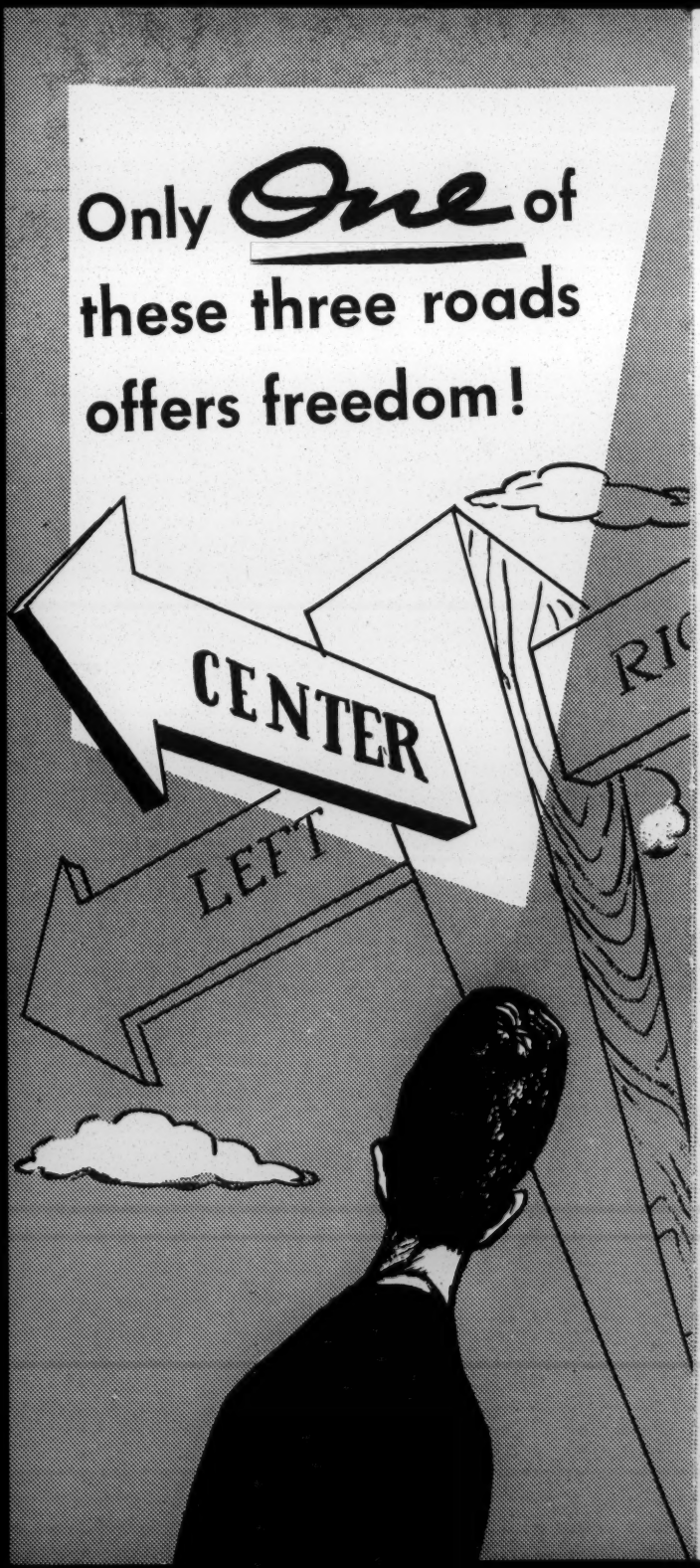
The Fascists and Their Dupes

Here on the Right is another form of totalitarianism. In its tactical approach this group has much in common with the American Communists.

They, too, use American slogans; they organize apparently innocent "religious" and "patriotic" fronts and seek to associate with their cause the names of well known Americans.

When Hitler threatened to conquer the world they were complacent and undisturbed. They became transmission belts for Nazi agents and mouthpieces for Goebbels' propaganda. They once organized America First. Today they operate on different levels: (1) "Nationalists," who call themselves American Action; (2) "White supremacy" folk, who support the Rankins and Bilbos; (3) Anti-Catholics, anti-Protestants, and anti-Semites, who stir up hate to divide and conquer.

They seek to influence mass circulation newspapers, their voices are on the air, they publish vile pamphlets. Using the appeal to patriotism as a cloak, they cater to those who claim national superiority; they foster antagonism against minorities; they develop tensions among national groups and between capital and labor. When you corner them and call them by their right name you are called a "Communist." This road leads to Fascism and slavery.


Only One of
these three roads
offers freedom!
CENTER
LEFT

perfect democracy at home, we need the same high order of statesmanship in economic affairs as in world affairs. . . . They insist that our law enforcement agencies be overhauled to abolish lynchings; poll taxes must be repealed; all men must have equality of opportunity. In the hearts and minds of these people there is no room for prejudice against human beings because of differences in race, religion or national origin.

At all times, the fanatical totalitarians must be resisted by a firmly organized and vigilant Center, devoted to the ideal of freedom. This road leads to national unity and durable peace.

From a statement by FREEDOM HOUSE
reprinted by
Community Relations Service
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, N. Y.

181 PRINTED IN U.S.A.

DO YOU WANT TO BE HAPPY AND FREE?

BY

WILLARD JOHNSON

PEOPLE

LIKE BIRDS

OF A FEATHER

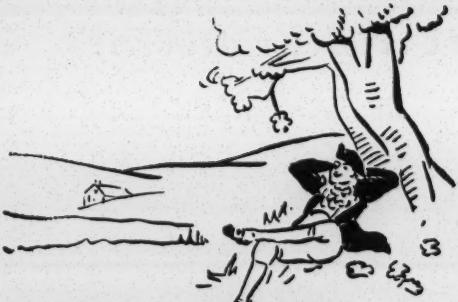
FLOCK TOGETHER

WE FLOCK TOGETHER

IN FAMILIES
IN CITIES
IN NATIONS
IN CHURCHES
IN CLUBS
IN RACES

SOME OF THESE WE CHOOSE
WE ARE BORN INTO OTHERS.
But EITHER WAY
WE STICK BY OUR GROUPS.

THAT'S NORMAL AND GOOD!



IN THE OLD DAYS,
WE COULD LIVE IN OUR OWN GROUPS
PRETTY MUCH TO OURSELVES.

MOST OF US LIVED IN SMALL
TOWNS OR ON FARMS.

WE DIDN'T TRAVEL MUCH
WE DIDN'T MEET PEOPLE OF
OTHER RACES
OTHER RELIGIONS
OTHER NATIONS
VERY OFTEN.

ALL THAT IS CHANGED NOW!

JET PLANES TRAVEL FASTER THAN SOUND

INSTANTANEOUS RADIO COMES
RIGHT INTO OUR HOMES.

WE TRAVEL EVERYWHERE IN AUTOMOBILES.

WE RUB ELBOWS ALL THE TIME
WITH PEOPLE OF ALL KINDS.

WE WORK WITH MANY PEOPLE.

EVERYBODY IS OUR NEIGHBOR!

AS A RESULT —

LOTS OF US ARE UNHAPPY.

WE GREW UP AND WERE EDUCATED IN A WORLD OF SET-APART GROUPS.

WE ARE NOT PREPARED FOR THE KIND OF WORLD WE REALLY LIVE IN.

SO WHEN WE MEET PEOPLE OF DIFFERENT RACES, CREEDS, NATIONS,

WE ARE IRRITATED

UPSET

IT EVEN DRIVES SOME PEOPLE CRAZY

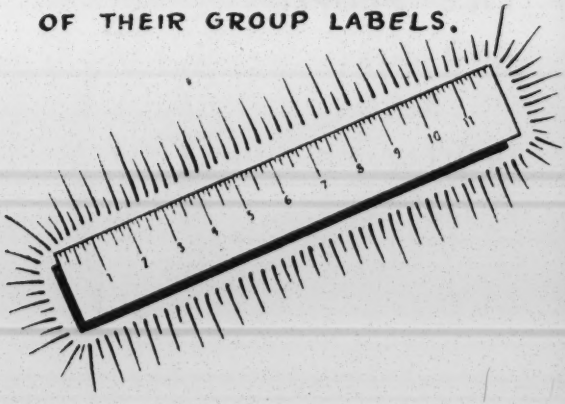
BUT WE WANT TO BE HAPPY.

Therefore:

THERE'S ONLY ONE THING TO DO.

DEAL WITH PEOPLE, AS WE WANT TO BE TREATED, –

AS INDIVIDUALS REGARDLESS OF THEIR GROUP LABELS.



WE MAY NOT LIKE
EVERYONE WE MEET.

BUT, IF WE REALLY FIND
OUT ABOUT PEOPLE,

WE'LL FIND THAT THERE
ARE JUST AS MANY
NICE PEOPLE
AND JUST
AS MANY
IRRITATING
ONES
IN ALL
GROUPS.

IF WE LIVE WITH
PEOPLE ON TERMS
OF RESPECT
WE'LL BE
A LOT HAPPIER!

WE ALSO WANT
TO BE FREE
.
WE HAVE FOUGHT
A COSTLY WAR
FOR
FREEDOM.

NOW WE WANT TO DO
THE THINGS WHICH
WILL KEEP THAT
FREEDOM
WITHOUT MORE WAR!

WE KNOW THAT ONE WAY
TO LOSE FREEDOM
IS TO LET WOULD-BE-DICTATORS
SET RELIGIOUS GROUPS AGAINST
EACH OTHER AS THE NAZIS DID
AND SEIZE POWER.

THEREBY GETTING FREEDOM
FOR THEMSELVES ONLY,—
AND MAKING SLAVES
OF EVERYBODY ELSE.

FURTHERMORE —

A FREE SOCIETY LIKE AMERICA WILL BREAK UP

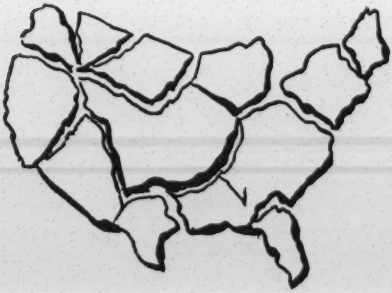
Unless ALL THE PEOPLE WORK TOGETHER LIKE A TEAM.

IF THEY SPLIT UP INTO SUSPICIOUS AND INTOLERANT GROUPS, THEY CANNOT SOLVE GREAT PROBLEMS, SUCH AS UNEMPLOYMENT, AND POVERTY AND BAD GOVERNMENT.

ONLY PEOPLE WHO RESPECT
ONE ANOTHER
CAN MAKE A TEAM.

*

A DEMOCRACY MUST
STICK TOGETHER
OR
IT WILL FALL APART.!



So IF WE WANT TO BE HAPPY-
IF WE WANT TO BE FREE-
WE MUST RESPECT AND WORK
WITH PEOPLE IN ALL GROUPS

THAT MEANS WE CANNOT TALK
OR ACT AGAINST JEWS, AGAINST
CATHOLICS, AGAINST PROTESTANTS,
AGAINST MEMBERS OF ANY
RACE OR NATIONALITY.

WE MUST SEE THAT EVERYBODY GETS A SQUARE DEAL AND A FAIR BREAK TO GET FOR THEMSELVES WHAT WE WANT FOR OURSELVES.

IT'S FOR OUR OWN GOOD!

TAKE YOUR CHOICE —

MISERY AND SLAVERY OR

HAPPINESS AND FREEDOM

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS

381 Fourth Avenue, New York City 16

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17-Intercultural Education

PRICE 25¢

DIVIDE AND CONQUER

by

ALLAN SLOANE AND BOB RUSSELL

•

with a foreword by

HOWARD FAST

GREEN PUBLISHING COMPANY

17 - Intercultural Educ

What the BUREAU for INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION is

...and what it can do for your school

1697 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y.

WITH the quick heightening of tensions among Americans of varied religions, races, and nationalities, and the aggravation of problems brought about by social and economic conditions, many of us realize sharply that America must develop further a truly democratic way of life.

So we formed a Bureau . . .

It was the recognition of intercultural understanding as one of America's most serious necessities that led a group of men and women who have worked for years in the field of education to come together to discover techniques that could be used in the schools. We've enlisted the help of scientists, researchers, and group workers. The Bureau for Intercultural Education has for its object the improvement of democratic human relations through the schools.

We work primarily through the schools

"Intercultural" means "between and among cultures." "Culture" itself implies the creation and teaching of attitudes and behaviors by human beings to each other through schools and other social institutions. "Education" implies primarily the public schools and all that is connected with them. Thus the word "intercultural" indicates both inter-personal and intergroup exchange of ideas, practices, and understandings.

Our first job: to develop "know how"

The fact that both scientific information and reliable, successful experience in intercultural education are limited defined our first task: to develop "know how." Laboratory experiment through the schools offered us the soundest and most direct approach.

Here is how we're doing it

The Bureau studies ways of improving human relations through working intensively with a few school systems. The work must be intensive if we are to be able to draw dependable conclusions

from it. The knowledge and experience we gain eventually will benefit all school systems.

The Bureau serves as a central source for the best available learning materials. Original materials in the form of books, pamphlets, magazine articles are published when these represent fundamental experimentation and research; joint publications are produced and advice given to educational organizations and publishers; helpful bibliographies, articles, and pamphlets by many individuals and organizations are distributed; a library open to anyone working on intercultural education is maintained.

The Bureau carries on a program of training for professional leadership. It works closely with scientists whose fields of research have a bearing on intercultural education; their knowledge is made available through conferences at which the scientists present their findings and through the publication or reprinting of their materials.

The Bureau supplies special services and general consultation to workers in juvenile literature, radio, motion pictures and comics, to the social agencies who can best help the schools, and to adult education projects.

We learn as we work in school centers

Since our object is to develop "know how," the three school systems whose invitations to work with them we have accepted —Gary, Detroit, and five schools in Philadelphia—were selected because we felt they present sharply defined and urgent problems, the study of which would teach educators most for effective intercultural programs. We have extended our work to a few other school systems on a less all-inclusive basis. The selection of these centers was again made because of what could be learned from them.

We develop learning materials

Learning materials are important to any program developed through the schools. Our work includes the preparation of materials for teacher education, books and plays for high school students, work in progress reports on current research, the encouragement of worthy materials by whomever produced, the distribu-

tion of the best available printed materials, and the dissemination of audio-visual aids.

We help with leadership training

Since no amount of valuable study can become effective in our schools and communities without competent leaders, another emphasis in our work is leadership training at the professional level. Our work is through university workshops, through school conferences between and within school systems, through meetings with advisory groups such as our Committees on Teacher Education and on Learning Materials, and through inter-staff conferences with organizations working toward democratic human relations.

Right now we must concentrate

All Bureau services to their fullest capacity are focused upon this program of intensive learning. The first necessity in a successful national program is the gathering of just the data and insights we are gathering now through our intensive work. Our conviction is that sound work on selected problem areas will achieve more in the long run than superficial attention to many demands. This is why we concentrate, for instance, on a few school centers.

This is what you can get from us now

Here are some of the present services now available to educators and community workers which we have developed:

Publications on Intercultural Education, our 1946 catalog, lists 100 books, pamphlets, articles, and bibliographies which the Bureau distributes at a minimal cost. These titles include the Bureau's series of books published by Harpers, the Work in Progress Series of laboratory reports on the Bureau's work, joint publications with such groups as the National Education Association and the American Education Fellowship, materials for teachers and students reprinted by the Bureau. In short, the best by specialists in intercultural education is published or distributed by the Bureau for use in American schools.

Intercultural Education News, a quarterly, includes articles on topics of broad intercultural concern and is available without cost to anyone who requests it.

General consultations are held by mail, telephone, and in person at the national office. We receive hundreds of questions or requests every month.

Consultation in the field. A day's professional consultation service (group meetings, discussions, advisory and survey service, and a maximum of two talks) away from the office on specific school needs can sometimes be supplied for a fee of $50.00 plus expenses.

Speakers can be supplied when we have them available. For instance, at present our staff anthropologist is largely engaged in speaking to selected groups. Speakers are supplied without charge to educators in the school centers in which our intensive action-learning is taking place, and also for a few national, regional, and state educational meetings, and to certain conferences of professional staff members of agencies in the field. To everyone else, there is a fee of $100.00 a day for large meetings such as national community organizations and $50.00 a day for smaller meetings, plus expenses in both cases.

Seminars and conferences. Workers in the field are invited to attend the Bureau Seminars and conferences with scientists and leaders in the area of human relations.

Advisory services. We co-operate with people who prepare material for public media—editors, comic strip artists, radio writers, film writers, etc.

Work with the schools. Our intensive work in schools, and our work of intermediate concentration, is done by invitation of the school system. In all cases, the initiative of inviting the Bureau comes from the school system, and the control rests with the school system throughout the period of the Bureau's work. The Bureau's contribution lies in stimulus, in technical guidance, in supplying of materials, and in evaluation of methods, practices, and aims.

Laboratory centers. The school systems in which we are working are hosts to accredited visitors who wish to inspect the work being done. Permission to visit the school centers may be arranged through the Bureau.

Professional training. Any school, school system, college, or university may apply to the Bureau for professional training of its staff. The Bureau acts as educational consultant in workshops and conferences and is prepared to offer help and direction to selected institutions in both pre-service and in-service training.

Our door at the Bureau is open at all times to ideas and requests from all those who wish to build democratic human relations in our land.

THE STAFF

H. H. Giles *Executive Director*
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Mildred Biddick *Special Consultant*
Theodore Brameld *Special Consultant*
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WORK IN PROGRESS SERIES

Agencies in the Field of Intercultural Education

by

H. H. GILES

Director, Bureau for Intercultural Education

Bureau for Intercultural Education

1697 Broadway • New York 19, N. Y.

WORK IN PROGRESS

A series of reports of projects being carried on in intercultural education

AGENCIES IN THE FIELD OF INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION
H. H. GILES

THE WORK OF THE BUREAU FOR INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION
WILLIAM VAN TIL

SCHOOLS ARE ORGANIZING TO IMPROVE HUMAN RELATIONS
MILDRED BIDDICK

THE MONTCLAIR CONFERENCE ON WORKSHOP PLANNING
LESTER DIX *(in preparation)*

AGENCIES IN THE FIELD OF INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

America not only thinks of group conflict as a No. 1 problem, but has learned that thinking and caring is not enough—you have to organize! Thus there are so many organizations in the general field of inter-group relations that it would require a very long time and some very wise persons to become properly acquainted and to investigate properly the work of each.

Fortunately, at least two such persons have been at work during the past year—Dr. Charles Johnson, of Fisk University, and Mrs Elizabeth Allen, of the Rosenwald Fund. With their aid, with replies to 165 letters of inquiry from the writer, and with the help of Dr. Paul Diederich, of the University of Chicago, the following interim report for the use of educators is made. Over 850 organizations have been investigated in Dr. Johnson's study. About 350 of these will be represented in a handbook soon to be published by the American Council on Race Relations. Data on each will include statements of purposes, recent activities, publications, and leadership. Organizations excluded were left out either because they are now inactive, or because their interest in race relations was incidental or subordinate to some other purpose.

The present paper, drawing heavily from the material which Dr Johnson and Mrs. Allen so helpfully made available, is nevertheless a personal interpretation, and the writer alone is responsible for any erroneous conclusions.

There Are Unanswered Questions

First, let me say that the whole question of how to get far-reaching social changes seems to be involved in the attack on injustice and discrimination which these agencies represent. For example, there is the way of pressure groups and politics, the way of revolution, the way of law, the way of education. None of the groups involved in the present study are inciting to revolution. Some of them are doing their best to hasten changes which are sorely needed, with an emphasis on *hasten.* Some of them are concerned chiefly with meeting the emergencies which arise in the form of riots and other acts of violence which are now of almost daily occurrence.

The organizations which are most concerned with immediate action do not argue that long-time education is unimportant. They simply say that when the patient, the body politic, has a raging fever it is important to treat symptoms, as well as to search for causes and eliminate them. Granted that it is important not only to treat symptoms but also to root out causes of social sickness, there still remain important differences in the way various organizations go at both parts of this task. These differences may be summed up in a series of questions, as follows:

1. Should the Federal government impose and enforce certain regulations, particularly with regard to conditions of employment, the right to vote, reg-

ulation of housing, health and recreation? Or should legal regulation and enforcement be the business of the states, or of city governments? To what extent, also, should legal and police measures be preceded and accompanied by a program of public education? Is it sufficient for such a program to consist of public announcements, or must there be wide and continuous discussion and other more personal forms of interchange?

2. What is the relation of local conditions to the particular form of activity undertaken by either public or private agencies? Is it possible to make a blueprint for solving problems in human relations? Can a plan for legal action or public school education, for housing or recreation be carried over entire from a central planning agency or even from one locality to another? If it cannot, what are the essentials of technique in local planning and action which can be studied and used quite generally after they have been tried and tested in one or more places?

Further, what is the relation of economic and cultural sectionalism to effective attack on the problems of human relations? What are the functions of "top-down" and "grass-roots up" approaches to these problems?

3. Insofar as undemocratic practices are due to bad attitudes, rather than to external economic and institutional practices, what are the effective measures for producing fundamental changes in attitude? More specifically, since many agencies now maintain extensive programs of publication and public lectures, what are the uses and limitations of information—presenting facts? Similarly, what are the effects of an emphasis on things to be feared, or of preachments of brotherhood?

4. Finally, what are the values in the work of private agencies which could be duplicated if they were public and tax-supported institutions? And, since both exist, what forms of co-operation would make the efforts of public and private agencies of more immediate and more far-reaching good effect?

There Must Be Answers

Answers must be found to all of these questions, if agencies in the field of intercultural relations are to be effective as professional social engineers. I do not know anyone who can give the answers now. I believe that there is now, and will be for some years, a heightening, rather than a lessening of the tensions which have aroused our nation to the greatest upsurge of interest in race relations since the Civil War. I believe that many forms of effort are needed, terribly needed, but that equally, there is needed the closest kind of study, continuously, of the results of all forms of effort to the end of clarifying purpose and making our methods for achieving it truly effective. We are facing the fact—it is part of the American Dilemma—that ideals and good intentions require "know-how." We have in each of our organizations a great obligation to record and report our laboratory results to each other.

Reflecting Today's Needs

Particular point is given to this last statement by the fact that of 175 local committees now listed, fully two-thirds were organized either in 1943 or

1944. Of the 35 state and regional committees, about half were organized in the past three or four years. Even of the national organizations, which tend to be more stable and permanent, about one-fifth were organized in the very recent past, and at least another fifty set up their committees on discrimination since our entry into the war. There is need for the newer organizations to learn from the older ones, and for all to relate their efforts so that they may hit as hard as possible and in the right places.

Nature of Groups Now Organized

It may be of interest, here to classify generally a representative number of organizations now listed in the survey which Dr. Johnson is conducting. 120 are national in scope and membership, 35 are state and regional, and about 175 are local. Of the national organizations, seven are independent bodies, like the American Council on Race Relations,. dealing exclusively with the problem of intercultural relations. By "independent bodies" I mean only that they are not organized or controlled by any church, political, educational, or labor group. Twenty-six are social action groups, like the American Civil Liberties Union, designed to protect civil liberties, to influence legislation, or to achieve other social purposes. All groups of this sort which have been listed have made the abolition of discrimination a prominent part of their program. Fifteen are labor groups, representing a vast number of local union committees which are working on this problem in all parts of the country. Thirty-one organizations, such as the National Conference of Christians and Jews, are connected with religious groups, and thirteen with educational organizations or services. Seven are youth organizations which have done outstanding work in this field, and probably more will be added. Five are philanthropic foundations. Five deal with the problems of immigrants and refugees. Seven are concerned with our relations with the Far East, or with the problems of citizens of Oriental ancestry, and six with American Indians and Spanish Americans. The report of government agencies shows that they carry on important work in this field, especially on problems connected with the war.

Geographical Spread

The thirty-five state and regional organizations now listed have headquarters in twenty-three different states. Their geographical distribution is not significant, except that the largest number are in the South.

Of the 175 local committees now listed, 60 are in the North-East, extending down through Pennsylvania; 51 are in the South; 44 are in the Mid-West; and 20 in the Far West. These figures indicate very clearly that interest in the problem of discrimination is nationwide. No section of the country is without a substantial number of local committees which are at least city-wide in scope and membership. As I mentioned before, smaller groups working on this problem are too numerous to count.

Educational Organizations

Among all the organizations, I have a list of thirty which may be of special significance in the educational field. These organizations include:

American Civil Liberties Union, 170 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C.

American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, Inc., 1 East 54th St., N. Y. C.

American Council on Race Relations, 32 West Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.

American Film Center, Committee on Mass Education in Race Relations, 630 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C.

American Friends Service Committee, 20 South 12th St., Philadelphia, Pa.

The American Jewish Committee, 386 Fourth Ave, N. Y. C.

American Jewish Congress, Commission of Community Interrelations, 212 West 50th St., N. Y. C.

Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith, 212 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C.

Bureau for Intercultural Education, 119 West 57th St., N. Y. C.

Catholic Interracial Council, 20 Vesey St., N. Y. C.

Commission for the Defense of Democracy, N.E.A., 1201 16th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.

Common Council for American Unity, 222 Fourth Ave., N. Y. C.

Council Against Intolerance in America, 17 East 42nd St., N. Y. C.

Council for Democracy, 11 West 42nd St., N. Y. C.

The East and West Association, 40 East 49th St., N. Y. C.

Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, Dept. of Race Relations, 297 Fourth Ave., N. Y. C.

Girl Scouts of America, 155 East 44th St., N. Y. C.

Jewish Labor Committee, 175 East Broadway, N. Y. C.

The League for Fair Play, Inc., 11 West 42nd St., N. Y. C.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C.

National CIO Committee to Abolish Racial Discrimination, Washington, D. C.

National Conference of Christians and Jews, Inc., 381 Fourth Ave., N. Y. C.

National Maritime Union of America, 346 West 17th St., N. Y. C.

National Urban League, 1133 Broadway, N. Y. C.

Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 30 Rockefeller Plaza, N. Y. C.

Julius Rosenwald Fund, 4901 Ellis Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta, Ga.

United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America (UAW-CIO), 1324 Maccabees Building, Detroit, Mich.

Young Women's Christian Association of the U. S. of A., National Board, 600 Lexington Ave., N. Y. C.

Youthbuilders, Inc., 120 East 16th St., N. Y. C.

Major Activities

A rough tabulation of their major activities, in order of frequency, from their own statements of them shows the following spread:

Pamphlets and Publications
Conferences
Research
City Centers
Popularizing of Research
Speakers
Labor Education
Government Politics
Consultations
School Centers
Courts
Employment
Advice
Photos and Movies
Radio
Press
Leadership Training
Parent Education
Self Discipline (Miscellaneous)
Library
Plays
Teachers' Courses and Workshops
Youth Councils
Housing
Work Camp
Test Materials
Co-operation of other Agencies
Family Service
Rallies
Teacher Materials
Opinion Polls
Advertisements
Army

State Committees

It may be of interest to note the 27 state committees (in 23 states) which have been formed:

Alabama Committee of the Commission on Interracial Co-operation
California: Pacific Coast Committee on American Principles and Fair Play
California: Peace Officers Committee on Civil Disturbances
California: The Southern California Council of Inter-American Affairs
Colorado Committee for Fair Play
Connecticut State Interracial Commission
Delaware Council on Interracial Co-operation
Florida Council of the Commission on Interracial Co-operation
Georgia Committee of the Commission on Interracial Co-operation
Illinois Interracial Commission
Indiana State Defense Council, Indiana Plan of Bi-Racial Co-operation
Kentucky: Governor's Commission on Needs of Negro Citizens
Kentucky Council on Interracial Co-operation
Louisiana Commission on Interracial Co-operation
Massachusetts Committee for Racial and Religious Understanding

Minnesota: Governor's Interracial Commission
Mississippi Council on Interracial Co-operation
New Jersey Good Will Commission
New Jersey Urban Colored Population Commission
New Mexico Association on Indian Affairs
New York Commission Against Discrimination
New York State War Committee on Discrimination in Employment
North Carolina Interracial Commission
Pennsylvania: Penn State Commission on Conditions of Urban Colored Population
South Carolina State Interracial Committee
Texas Commission on Interracial Co-operation
Virginia Commission on Interracial Co-operation

Federal Committees

Federal activities in intercultural relations include:

The President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice
The Office of War Information
The War Manpower Commission
The Federal Security Agency, Unity War Services
War Department, Special Services Division
Department of Agriculture, Farm Security Administration
Department of Justice, Civil Rights Division
State Department, Division of Cultural Co-operation
Office of the Coodinator of Inter-American Affairs
Office of Strategic Services
Office of Education

Conclusion

The many things being done by individual schools, teachers, and administrators in greatly increasing numbers are not reported here. Light will be thrown on them by the study of school administrative practices conducted by Theodore Brameld, the forthcoming issues of *Intercultural Education News,* published by the Bureau for Intercultural Education, forthcoming books in the Problems of Race and Culture Series, sponsored by the Bureau and published by Harpers, forthcoming yearbooks of such groups as the Elementary Principals Association and the National Council for the Social Studies.

It is clear that agencies are on the march in the attack on the poor human relations that mar democracy. Their procedures should be studied carefully that the truly fruitful efforts be extended and pressed home.

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and
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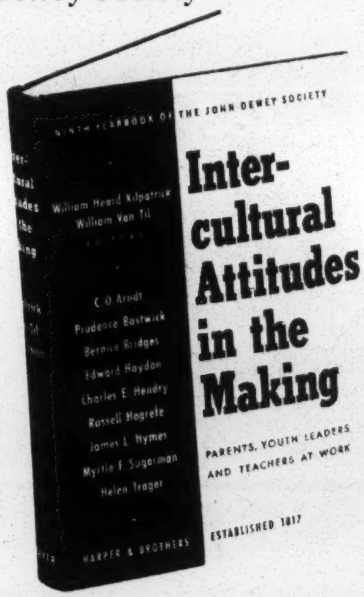

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EVEN UNTO THE YOUNGEST:

An Interpretation of Intercultural Education

RUTH CUNNINGHAM*

I DON'T like Marie. Her clothes is dirty!" This is the evaluation of a playmate by four-year-old Ann in a child care center. Here is a good start toward intercultural misunderstanding. It can easily grow to, "I don't like Tom. His skin is black." Or, "I don't Fritz. His father is a German." Or, "I don't like Sally. She goes to a different church."

We deplore little Ann's attitude toward her playmate. We may tell her she is naughty to talk that way. *She* is naughty? Hasn't it occurred to us that *we* taught her the attitudes she has?

Very young children have no prejudices. They favor those who give them comfort and affection and fear those who threaten their security — basic attitudes which may shape future prejudices; but prejudices such as those concerning race or social position are learned only as children are taught them. Some prejudices are well learned by some children by the time they enter elementary school. Many vicious attitudes are held by some children by the time they leave the elementary school. How does it happen? What can we do about it? How can we teach desirable attitudes?

The development of attitudes is so extremely complex and intricate that no brief discussion can hope to treat the matter adequately, but we can examine some of the more important ways in which we can help elementary school youngsters develop sane viewpoints.

Respect The Person In Personality

Let us stop and look at Ann's reactions. She says she doesn't like Marie because her "clothes is dirty." From as early a time as she can remember, she has been taught that it is "nice" to be clean and "not nice" to be dirty. It is quite possible that her mother said, "People don't like little girls who are dirty." Is it not to be expected then, that she decides that she, to be virtuous, must scorn Marie who is dirty? The logic is clear.

Does it follow that we avoid teaching Ann the virtues of cleanliness? Not at all. It is not that we have taught her too much but too little. We have failed to help her distinguish between people and their attributes and actions. In other words, our job is to help Ann learn that she can like Marie, as a person, even though she may not like her uncleanliness. We like kittens, but we don't like their scratching. And we like you, Ann, though we don't like your attitude toward Marie.

This may seem to be an abstraction difficult to teach children, but skillful teachers are demonstrating daily that it can be taught, even to the youngest child in nursery school. Children are able to grasp abstract ideas at a much earlier age than adults realize. Any four year old will tell you that he likes wagons but prefers red ones to blue ones. He clearly understands "redness", and does not confuse this concept with the wagon itself. In the same manner, the person of Marie may be distinguished from her uncleanliness, or naughtiness, or goodness.

Simple as this idea is, it is one frequently overlooked by those who would teach respect for personality to children. Unless we take this step first, our young-

*Executive Secretary, Department of Supervision and Curriculum Development, National Education Association.

sters are thrown into confusion by the praise and blame with which we try to guide their behavior. When we do take this step, Ann may learn to say, "I like Marie, *but* her clothes is dirty" Someday, when she is a little older, Ann can make still more careful judgments and will be able to understand reasons why some youngsters have a harder time being clean than others. Still later, she may take action for improved housing, better sanitation facilities and adequate child care.

We Have Much in Common.

One of the mistakes made by many parents and teachers is to overplay the drama of certain types of differences. It is easy for us to make a child aware of the "quaint" qualities of the little Chinese children, or the "queer" customs of the little Dutch boys and girls. In trying to make material interesting to children, we have tended to make other peoples seem strange and inexplicable. In teaching children to know and respect other people, we need to help them discover how much like other people we are, and how similar they are to us. We need to start by helping youngsters realize how much we have in common with each other, how like are our wants and needs.

We Are Not All Alike.

Teaching our likeness to other people is not the whole story, however. Fortunately, we do have differences. If a child has first developed a feeling of oneness with others through realizing similarities, he may be led to look upon differences with understanding. However, in bringing differences to the attention of children, we frequently make the error of over-emphasizing certain differences. The differences we choose for attention are apt to be either those which are dramatic, as discussed above, or those about which we have the greatest fear that there may be misunderstanding. For example, in the former type we discuss the "funny" wooden shoes worn in Holland, and in the latter, we choose to discuss the coloring of the Negro. Such emphases give an unfortunate focus to particular types of differences.

One wise teacher with a first grade group introduced the matter of differences by playing a record by a famous Negro singer. After the music had stopped, she told the children that the beautiful song had been sung by a Negro, and asked, "Do you know what is meant by 'Negro'?" The children all knew that Negroes have dark skins. Then she went on to ask, "Who in this room has blue eyes?" The children named them. And "Who runs fast?" and "Who is tall?" and "Who has curly hair?" The children loved the game. Finally, when the teacher explained that we are all "different" in some way, and that some people with certain kinds of differences are called Negroes, there was no more stigma attached to the differences of Tommy, who is a Negro, than to those of Mike, who is a red-headed Irish youngster, or those of black-eyed Tony. Recognition had been given to the differences but in a setting which gave perspective to such differences.

With older children, when the matter of differences of race may be introduced as a problem, such racial differences may be given an appropriate setting by placing them with other types of problems due to differences, such as those growing out of the differences between rural and urban groups, people living on different sides of the tracks, people of different occupations, men and women, youth and adults, Democrats and Republicans. In such a setting, the focus may be directed immediately to *ways of solving* such problems, rather than to the unique nature of the differences themselves, for differences will be seen to be the usual rather than the unusual. It is true that some of the problems are more difficult to solve than others. The youngsters will recognize this, but they can be led to see that there is much in common in the methods to be employed in resolving difficulties due to differences.

Each Makes a Contribution

When children have learned to see differences in perspective, they can then be helped to understand how differences make contributions. They can learn why differences in cultures have arisen and can evaluate these differences as means of enriching the lives of all of us. Some teachers need a word of caution here, however. Assembly programs, pageants, and other programs designed to indicate the contributions of various groups may be undertaken too early in the program of intercultural education. They may merely give emphasis to the "queerness" of other people, as suggested earlier, unless there has first been adequate preparation for understanding and appreciating differences. Too often a teacher will rely on this type of program only to be frustrated and disappointed when she does not achieve the results for which she had hoped. Too many children have been humiliated by being "exhibited" in foreign costumes which their classmates ridiculed because they did not know how to accept what to them was out of the usual pattern of normal things. Too many children have learned to believe that everyone but themselves is "funny" because others sing songs with odd tunes and peculiar words, dance in a strange manner, and eat peculiar food. Thus we may be teaching undesirable attitudes in our attempt to build appreciation, unless we understand how children react, and recognize when they are ready for certain experiences and when they are as yet unprepared.

Attitudes Are Contagious

Probably no one factor is so important in the teaching of intercultural education as the attitude of the teacher herself. No teacher who lacks respect for the personality of the youngsters in her group can hope to teach respect. And this respect must hold all of its true, deep meaning—respect for the boys who fight and use naughty words, for the irritable and "fidgety", for those who find it hard to pay attention, for those who are slow to learn, for *all* as people of worth each in his own right.

There is a story about a county superintendent visiting a rural school which serves as a good illustration. As was his custom, the superintendent asked the teacher to call upon the best reader in the class to read a passage for him. He asked that the best in arithmetic recite the multiplication tables. He quizzed the best in history on the dates of the Revolutionary War. And so on, until he had exhausted his fund of questions, and until most of the children had undergone one ordeal or another.

But he noticed a big awkward boy in the back of the room who hadn't been called on, and he asked "Can't he do anything at all?" "Yes," the teacher replied, "Tom is our expert in ventilation." And with that the boy's face became alive. He went to the thermometer and checked it; then solemnly he reached up to physical heights impossible to anyone else in the room and carefully lowered the sash one half inch. This boy was fifteen years old. His reading was on the second-grade level. His mathematical concepts were limited to the simplest. But through him, every child in that room was being taught respect for individuals. Every child in that room was being taught the fundamentals of intercultural education through witnessing the respect paid by the teacher to one who in some classrooms would be scorned.

Perhaps this story, which may seem to some a far cry from intercultural education, may be used as a lesson in all that is best in such education. The teacher taught respect for the person in personality. She demonstrated that she valued Tom's integrity as an individual even though he could not meet the usual academic standards.

She was able to give to him and to the group a feeling of oneness. He contributed to the comfort and welfare of the group, of which he was a part. His

responsibility to the group emphasized what he had in common with them. At the same time, his difference was recognized. He was not forced to humiliate himself in attempting to meet standards he could not attain. He and the other children realized that his "difference" was a limitation in some ways but an advantage in others. And his "difference" was utilized as a contribution to the group and recognized as such.

Above all, the teacher demonstrated her own attitude in her relationship with Tom and taught an object lesson more effective than many words.

In the story of Tom we may find the essence of intercultural understanding.

Actions Speak Louder Than Words

Youngsters, as well as adults, have a part to play in building our democracy. Even unto the youngest, we must understand each other if democracy is to grow in our land, and peace is to live in the world. Our elementary schools may contribute much to such understanding.

However, parents and teachers should understand clearly that children learn attitudes more through deeds than through words. One of our first responsibilities in the teaching of intercultural education is to examine our school practices and eliminate those which teach intolerance. There is probably no better way to teach lack of respect for personality than through the practice in many schools of branding certain children as "failures" because they have not attained certain arbitrary standards. Mental hygienists have attacked this practice from the point of view of what it does to the child who fails. Perhaps a more severe attack could be made from the point of view of what it does to the attitudes of successful children to see some of their classmates thus humiliated. The over-emphasis placed by some teachers on marks or grades may have the same effect, teaching a respect for a superficial standard at the cost of fundamental respect for personality which must be the basis of inter-personal and intercultural understanding.

Our Responsibility

Moreover, we should recognize that much of a child's experience is outside the school, and therefore much of his learning of attitudes is beyond the classroom. Although we as teachers may be able to help him develop sane viewpoints, we can never hope to be wholly successful as long as there are evidences of gross inequalities and prejudices in our society. A moldy cake cannot be made palatable by covering it with a pink sugar icing. We may be able to make some progress in our schools, but our children in their daily living will slice deeper and deeper into the whole cake as their experience is broadened. If we have brought them an unrealistic picture of society, children, as they meet reality, may not only be confused and bewildered, but, further, may reject as fable what little we have been able to teach them. In working with the children and in our own understanding we must face the unfortunate realities of certain aspects of our social and economic structures. This by no means implies a defeatist attitude, — quite the contrary. What it does imply is that we as teachers cannot feel that we discharge our duty to our children when we attempt to develop better attitudes in our classrooms. An even more important obligation is placed upon us to play our part as adults and citizens in moving boldly and courageously to remove the basic inequalities in our communities, in our nation, in our world. We shall fail miserably if we place our faith in the building of attitudes unless at the same time we take action to cure the causes of unfortunate attitudes. Only when we can link social action to our school programs for intercultural education can we hope to achieve our goal of a world of peace and justice in which, even unto the youngest, we respect men of good will of whatever creed, race or nation.

INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

Best Practices in Church and Synagogue Schools

MILDRED MOODY EAKIN*

IN A PROTESTANT church in Orange, New Jersey, boys and girls of high-school age sat waiting for their church school session to begin. The room in which they sat was beautifully furnished. The expression on the faces of these privileged class young people was lackadaisical, bored.

The door opened. The leader entered. Accompanying her was a man, a good-looking Negro. Faces of the group came alive.

"Boys and girls," the leader said, "I have invited my friend Mr. Lett to tell us how a large group of our citizens live in rich America."

Quietly, with vividness, humor, objectively Mr. Lett described the Negro situation. "I don't believe it!" one student exclaimed. "Will you let me prove it?" Mr. Lett asked. A trip to Newark tenements was planned.

After this trip, which included a visit to a Negro housing project, a study was made of a recent survey report on Negro life in New Jersey. This in turn led to contacts with local social service agencies and a guided trip through Negro slums in Orange, in the valley below the homes of the church school group.

The boys and girls were now in the mood to do something. In the church on the hill they planned and led a story-game-supper hour for twenty colored children under twelve. Gradually some of the white children from the valley and some from the church joined the colored group. From this play hour a toy project began, used playthings being collected by the young leaders, repaired and painted by them and the children working together. The renovated toys would help equip a play room in the valley.

The party before Christmas — with colored and white children from the valley and white children from the hill playing together, singing together, enjoying the results of their handiwork together — was a heart-warming sight. Only one snobbish attitude or remark was observed. It came from an *adult* member of the church.

This, I think, illustrates *better* practice. The leader found a need in the life of the church school group. The group discovered a need in the community. Activities planned jointly by leader, students and children yielded results toward meeting both needs. Community resources were used. Two racial groups of children worked together at something they liked, got acquainted in a natural way. There was a sense of growth and achievement.

But the leadership was not interracial. And the project was short-term, isolated, not supported by like study on the part of other groups in the church. For these reasons I would not call this a *best* practice.

In the school connected with the Roman Catholic Church of Corpus Christi in New York City intercultural education is carried on in an enlightened way. One year a Sister who was teaching eight grade children about the flight of the Israelites from their persecutors in ancient Egypt discovered that "the children all knew of the persecution of Jews abroad but had no idea that discrimination against them existed in this

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country. When she suggested that there might be such bias here, questions were asked."* They were keen questions, and under the Sister's guidance they became the starting point of a detailed study.

The children read widely. They read pamphlets and articles. They read such books as Mary Anton's *Promised Land* and Edna Ferber's *A Peculiar Treasure.* They studied *The Merchant of Venice* and took note of the contents of the Jewish *Who's Who.* They wrote to prominent Jews and got replies — from Eddie Cantor among others. The Sister took them to the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York to study ceremonial objects there. The class completed murals depicting Jewish history and its relation to Christian history and the general background of our culture.

After several months the children began to formulate conclusions. Here are some of them: "Persecution is a weapon used against a minority by the unsuccessful, the ignorant, the bigoted." "It seems to us that we, Catholics and Jews, have much in common, part of which is persecution. We are going to do everything in our power to help and not to hinder the Jew, not only because our religion obliges us to do so, but because both they and we should benefit by good fellowship." "The non-Jew should be educated to the fact that Jews as a group of people have much to contribute to our cultural development. We think that America should be made safe for differences." Through an assembly program these findings were shared with other groups in the school and with adult visitors.

This again illustrates *better* practice, far above the usual. A need in the pupils' lives was discovered. The pupils wrestled with a current problem. Ideas were changed, principles worked out. But judging from the report, no opportunities for contact and fellowship with Jews, adults or children, were provided. If the conclusions had to some extent grown out of such contacts and been implemented in them, good long-term results would seem to have been better assured.

In Philadelphia a significant piece of interfaith education was recently carried through under joint Jewish-Protestant auspices, the first move having been made by a Jewish director of religious education. To begin with, fifth grade teachers from two Reform Jewish temples, a Baptist church and a Methodist church met together from time to time over a period of seven months. The purpose was to get acquainted, explore the possibilities of joint study for the children, face difficulties, make plans. The plans which emerged called for a joint unit of study in which things that Christians and Jews have in common would be stressed first, things that each group has "in addition" being left until later.

For the first two weeks the children, eighty of them in all, met in their regular Sunday class groups — using the same materials, getting ready to meet each other. The third week all met together at the Baptist church. After twenty minutes in which reports were made of what had been done in the separate groups, the united group decided on a theme — "Brotherhood at work on our street" — for the following weeks. Children and leaders then attended the regular service in the church in which they were meeting, after which came a further three-quarters of an hour of planning and getting acquainted. This time there were two groups, with Christians and Jews in each, and, as one of the children remarked, you "couldn't tell them apart."

The next four weeks were spent in the regular classes, all four groups studying and working at the same brotherhood theme. Then the eighth and last session was held jointly at one of the temples. There was more getting acquainted and a regular synagogue service. Thus the project closed.

*Elizabeth E. Reed, "A Study in Tolerance," reprinted from *Religious Education,* October-December, 1940.

It had been most worthwhile, children and leaders agreed. "The Christians like us." "We think a lot alike." "Good Christians do not call me names." Such comments came from the children. Leaders noted that of academic learning there had been a minimum, of the feeling of brotherhood a maximum, that the children had got away from the idea that the strange was ridiculous, while taking greater pride than before in their own religious customs.

This, once more, is *better* practice. Adult leaders of two faiths wrestled with a community need, planned together to meet it with the children. First-hand experiences were provided. Two groups of young Americans came to know and like each other, and in the process ideas and attitudes were changed. But the program, as one of the leaders pointed out, lacked a planned follow-up. And neither in accompanying nor following has there as yet been provision for educating adults which might strike at the source of most of the children's misconceptions. With such additions this enterprise could surely qualify as an illustration of *best practices.* Without them it is still notable, especially for the unusual groundwork laid in the joint leaders' conferences and for the Jewish initiative with which it was launched.

Such initiative takes courage. There is unfortunately a very real chance that it will be misunderstood and rebuffed. Many Jewish leaders seem to believe that responsibility for education in Jewish-Christian relations rests with the majority group, and such a view is quite understandable. I myself have never found a rabbi who showed eagerness to launch a joint enterprise, but neither has a rabbi ever refused me whole-hearted cooperation in a project started from the Christian side.

The Wyoming Presbyterian Church in Millburn, New Jersey, used to choose a "congregational emphasis" in advance of each year's work. A few years ago, at the fall planning conference of the total church staff, "Minority groups in our town" was chosen as the coming year's emphasis. Community frictions were such as abundantly to justify the choice.

In the church school the Intermediates, as their part of the enterprise, decided to become acquainted with local Negroes and their situation. This they did through interviews, visits, guest speakers, reading and discussion, the whole climaxing in a successful interracial Easter party.

The Juniors specialized in Jewish-Christian contacts. Fifty of the children went to a synagogue service. Fifty-six Jewish children later returned the visit. Results in clarified ideas were highly encouraging. Jewish and Christian teachers met and planned for cooperative studies — Jewish boys and girls studying Christian festivals while the Christian children studied Jewish festivals. Joint celebrations were held and united programs carried out.

The young people's department made a study of different racial contributions to their community and in February held a colorful international tea.

Meanwhile the adults were sponsoring forums on the causes of racial tensions and what could be done about them. Community panel discussions were held, with Negro, Italian, Catholic, Jewish and Protestant participants. There was visiting back and forth by members of church and synagogue.

Age-group interests and activities were not always kept separate. For instance children and young people and adults all had a hand in helping a local Negro church to get on its feet, financially and otherwise — a project which involved a variety of activities.

At a synagogue celebration in Millburn, with Jews and Christians present, a beautiful Menorah light was presented by the synagogue congregation "to the person who has done more than any other to establish friendliness and good will in this town between Christian and

Jew — with our gratitude." It was to the pastor of the Wyoming Church that the presentation was made.

This Millburn program, described here much too briefly, represents to me the *best* actual practice in this field of which I know. The enlisting of adults, as well as children of the different age groups, is especially noteworthy. But not even in this instance has there been adequate follow-up. The minister who gave the principal leadership went not long afterward to another pastorate.

Additional reports on church school efforts toward intercultural education are to be met from time to time in religious periodicals, notably in issues of the *International Journal of Religious Education* for February 1943 and February 1944.

Some good resource materials are appearing. For Protestant use the series of Friendship Press texts entitled "The Church and America's Peoples" is to be recommended. For Catholics the "Faith and Freedom" series recently issued for use in parochial schools seems to offer excellent possibilities. A visual-aid unit on "Getting Acquainted with Jewish Neighbors" is now available through the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Based on a Protestant project, it has been found to be acceptable also to Jews and Catholics.

INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

Best Practices in Secondary Schools

CLIFFORD R. BRAGDON*

THE NUMBER of high school teachers awakening to the sense in teaching for intercultural intelligence and decency grows larger every day. It does so as two facts become daily more clear: first, that learning to deal wisely with one's fellow Americans is crucial to learning to deal wisely with the other peoples of the globe; second, that current high school courses in civics, social living, American history, and problems of democracy commonly teach more *about* democracy than *for* democracy.

Another preliminary observation is in order. Much that is done in the name of intercultural education is not intercultural education at all, and much that is done in the name of something else is the finest sort of intercultural education. Because the label is new to many teachers, enthusiasm sometimes outstrips understanding. Education which trains young people to think straight — and disposes them to do so in human relations as elsewhere — is as good intercultural teaching as schools have to offer. Yet the best of what is now done by direct approach shows strength and promise for experiment in American secondary schools.

Aims.

Best practice varies, of course, with the teachers, pupils, and neighborhoods involved; it would not be best practice if it did not. At the same time common characteristics appear, notably in the realm of ultimate purposes to be achieved, new ways of thinking, feeling, and acting sought.

1. Best practice aims ultimately not at lip service to abstract ideals, but at loyalty to the conviction that certain ways of associating with people outside one's tight little in-group are worthwhile for everybody, including oneself.

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2. It aims not so much at subtracting from a person's prejudices as adding to his allegiances. Further, it does not ask young people to tear themselves loose from the circle within which they most intimately and comfortably belong, but to add greater and greater circles around it, each carrying its own set of associations.

3. It aims not at tolerance as sufferance at a distance, nor at paternalistic alms giving, nor at making every American like every other American, nor at indiscriminate admiration of everybody, nor at devotion to the idea that all men are and should be equal in every conceivable way. Instead, best practice aims at one or more of the following: informed and first hand understanding of other people as people; a tendency to judge them on their own merits, and to do so as intelligently as may be; adherence to the theory that the United States is properly a society of united but not identical cultures; recognition of the fact that other cultures than one's own have helped to build the good America and offer now cultural commodities which one needs for oneself; team work for the purpose of getting for all what each wants for himself; and a concern, stubborn but tactically sound, to help bring a single standard of opportunity nearer to reality.

Approaches.

Approaches to these aims in best practice vary considerably. Very best practice, though, seems to go at them through everything and everybody it can find, and to do so everywhere in the school and all the time. For convience let us project here a composite school that shows this.

In it we will find classroom teachers in all subjects making the contribution to growth in intercultural wisdom which experience with their subject can provide.

We will also find one or two of these teachers, once or twice in the individual pupil's career in high school, taking intercultural insights and questions out of the matrix of history, literature, social studies, biology, music in which they have been imbedded, and putting them into direct focus as subject matter with a pattern of its own.

In addition to these two instructional approaches, our composite school will reveal intercultural work going on through such extra curricular media as clubs, athletics, student government, home rooms, and assemblies. Some of that work will attack intercultural affairs directly, especially through clubs, assemblies, and home room activities. Most of it, however, will get at it indirectly, as in the practice in team work natural to athletics and student government at their best.

But teachers are not the only participants in this composite school's intercultural program. Those responsible for guidance keep alert to the part played by cultural and racial affiliations in the psychic health of young people learning to get along with their world and themselves.

The principal of this school, its supervisors and its superintendent, play a dual role. For one thing, they not only permit intercultural teaching in their school; they implement it. For the other, they not only protect it from misinterpretation by the community; they bring it out to the community — through school boards, adult education, and intercultural or interracial community councils.

Leaders in community life, men and women of various cultures and races, enter the life of the school. They come not to lecture at but to meet with youngsters — many of whom have never realized before that people of such names and complexions did important things supremely well. As organizations they come not to press the school into the service of this or that culture-group, but to support the school's work and to help carry it past the school's front door into the community's life.

And, finally, this composite school does these things in the only social weather in which they can flourish. That is, the school practices the decency and intelligence it extolls. Teachers are a living example of it, in their relations to one another and to *all* their pupils. Team work, fairplay, and simple courtesy out of respect for everyman's sheer "human beingness" comprise the everyday, matter of fact, accepted mode of living. School life is so arranged that the chances of these behaviors getting practiced are better than normal. It is so arranged that practicing them pays.

In actual practice no high school uses all these avenues to intercultural goals, but there is evidence of a trend in the direction of using more than one. Probably two of the least common are two of the most productive — individual guidance as therapeutics for pyschic trouble due in part to racial or cultural affiliations, and two-way passage between school and community. Certainly, the most common, even in best practice, is through direct instructional procedures, with unitary organization taking precedence over incorporated organization.

The difference between the two may be briefly illustrated. A teacher of social studies in Chattanooga sets aside a few weeks for interracial study in his white, twelfth-grade classes. Things studied and reported on are Negro housing, education, recreation, occupations, health, cultural contributions, crime, and social relations between Negroes and whites. Pamphlets are read. Negro schools are visited. White judges, editors, politicos, and social service officers are interviewed. On the basis of such information and experience, the meaning of justice and decent relations between Negroes and whites are calmly discussed upon pupil request. This kind of approach may be called unitary.

In New Orleans another social studies teacher sets aside several weeks for research in the sociology of the city. Figures indicative of the characteristics of neighborhoods are gathered. Maps are made from them of delinquency areas, areas of bad housing, disease and unemployment. Hospitals, housing centers, schools, recreation centers—Negro and white, rich and poor — are visited. All sorts of people are interviewed, including management and labor. In the reports and discussions that follow, intercultural matters find a place, but in relation to other such social matters as federal housing, industrial expansion, public health, labor relations. This kind of approach may be called incorporated.

Administrative leadership in combination with community leadership is well illustrated by the experiment in Springfield, Massachusetts. A succinct account of it may be found in an article by Alice L. Halligan, "A Community's Total War Against Prejudice," in *The Journal of Educational Sociology,* February, 1943. It is enough to point out here that the entire administrative staff is hunting for productive ways of working with teachers and community together.

Guidance as therapeutics is more than occasional semi-formal conference between professional counselors and youngsters in hot water. The author encountered in Phoenix a class in English taught by a woman who counseled individual children as much as she instructed them, interculturally speaking. The youngsters here were mostly Mexican and Mexican-American. In this class teacher and pupils spoke Spanish as well as English. They discussed problems real in their own lives. Pedro and Paula talked and laughed with Peter and Pauline in this class as they usually laughed and talked only at home. They associated with their teacher in the halls as well as in the classroom. They told her about the trouble they had with their parents and what they had against "Americans." One of them said to the author, "She likes us." The point needs no laboring.

Here is an example of the use of an

indirect extra-curricular approach. Trouble broke out one afternoon between a Mexican-American girl and an Anglo-American girl outside the high school in a town near Los Angeles. The next morning rumor had it that serious fighting would be started by Mexican-American boys at the noon hour. Student government took counsel with their adviser. At noon the school put on a dance for everybody (not a grave lecture on riots). Members of student government "kept them moving" and made it a point to dance with the other culture group. There was no riot. At two o'clock, student government went into conference with Mexican-American leaders. It was here agreed that when trouble threatened hereafter the two groups would confer and agree upon the proper course of action. That is self-government and intercultural cooperation in very truth.

Processes.

Specific techniques give trouble only to teachers who are unsure about where their teaching is pointed and who lack the background of understanding without which no teacher should undertake any kind of education. Best intercultural work finds teacher and pupils doing all the variety of things they do in teaching and learning anything. Emphasis, however, falls on personal contact with superior represenatives of unfamiliar cultures; on research into the facts about race, living conditions, and the tempers of culture groups; experience with their cultural contributions; cooperative undertakings as dramatics and committee work; and discussion of intercultural relations in terms of what Americans can afford rather than what Uptopia shows.

The field is not rich in materials as it will be. *Intercultural Education in American Schools* by Vickery and Cole (Harpers, 1943) is, however, a good source of bibliography and suggestions for techniques and experience likely to prove useful in the hands of teachers who already own a broad background in sociology, culture, and anthropology, and who already show teaching marked by technical ingenuity rather than adherence to pedagogical formulae.

But after all, if you want to change a person, you can try to scare him, shame him, habituate him, inspire him, or enlighten him. Best practice shows all of these processes on trial:

1. Picturing the threat implicit in the current state of affairs, the threat to one's own welfare and that of the people and values one cherishes.

2. Persuading youngsters that their biases are ill founded and inconsistent with their own avowed ideals.

3. Providing experience in situations likely to produce sound intercultural attitudes and abilities, accompanied by immediate practice in the rewarding behaviors that result.

4. Clarifying the meaning of and manifesting devotion to the righteousness of intelligent and decent modes of intercultural behavior.

5. Helping youngsters to meet the facts and to think out insights from them, leaving the rest up to the youngsters and their circumstances.

And in the very end, it is *people* who count! Teachers who are people, teachers who love intelligence, decency, and the whole particular crop of youngsters whom they touch find aims, approaches, and processes added unto them. Love is a forthright word. The best intercultural teaching is being done by people not afraid of it. Such "people as teachers" are finding ways of helping young Americans to see where they are going together — and where they want to go.

17-Intercultural Educ.

Zeal for American Democracy ☆ Zeal

for American Democracy

How Democratic Is Your SCHOOL?

for American Democracy

Zeal for American Democracy ☆ Zeal

Checklists on Democratic Practices for Secondary Schools

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY, Office of Education, Washington 25, D.C. 1949

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY
Office of Education
Washington 25, D. C.
Bulletin 1949,

How Democratic Is Your SCHOOL?

What does American democracy mean to teachers and administrators? What does it mean to students? What effect does a school's interpretation of American democracy have on the day by day life of high-school students? Upon answers to these questions depends the success or failure of efforts to prepare youth for the privileges and responsibilities of the democratic way of life. People grow into democracy, and a school environment that facilitates this growth conditions the quality of the adult citizen. His performance becomes to a great extent the measure of the school's attainment.

Two checklists, one for teachers and one for students, are presented. They are designed for self-appraisal. These lists bear no relation to standardized tests for two reasons: (1) many of the questions require purely subjective judgment, and (2) school situations vary in the opportunities afforded teachers and students to work and live together democratically. The checklists may, however, serve as springboards for constructive efforts to develop a more democratic climate in any school.

A preliminary consideration of what democracy actually means should precede the use of the checklist. To represent fairly the diverse complexity of the American population, any assertion of a common democratic faith must of necessity begin with broad principles. These have been stated in many ways. Although they differ in phraseology and approach, such statements hold the beliefs and commitments cherished by a majority of our citizens. A summarization would include the following:

1. American democracy rests on a deep conviction of the uniqueness, dignity, and worth of the individual person.

2. American democracy holds that government exists to promote the welfare of people, not to exploit people for government.

3. American democracy accepts and carries out the will of the people in the formulation of public policy.

4. American democracy recruits its leaders from all the people.

5. American democracy embodies the hard won liberties of a free people in a written Constitution which guarantees the same rights for all.

6. American democracy confers no rights which impinge on the general welfare or disregard the equal rights of other persons.

7. American democracy with its attendant duties and responsibilities obligates every person to promote the general welfare.

8. American democracy can be secure only if an informed citizenry understands it, believes in it, and lives by it.

There is no official definition of American democracy, but education has two major tasks in respect to it. The first is to bring about in citizens an acceptance in mind and spirit of democracy's principles. The other - and more difficult one - is to help people spell out these principles into specific practices applicable to everyday personal relationships and experiences. Teaching democracy in the abstract is on a par with teaching swimming by correspondence.

When the principles of democracy are applied to particular situations, the principles and practices often stand in contrast. Before educators talk to others about democracy, they should first clarify their own conceptions of democracy and apply them to school conditions. Are there practices in school which violate democratic principles? Do certain behavior patterns indicate undemocratic attitudes?

Questions in both checklists are derived from the eight general principles listed and are related directly to school life. For example, a question in the checklist for the staff asks, "Do you share willingly in faculty discussions of school problems?" This is a specific application of the broader principle, "American democracy accepts and carries out the will of the people in the formulation of public policy." Other principles may also be implied. If a few persons monopolize the time of a meeting by reiterating their views and others constantly remain silent, all the possible contributions toward solving a problem will not be presented. A vital, vigorous democracy depends on a giving and sifting of many ideas to reach conclusions. Democracy calls for a desire and eagerness by its people to share in group solution of problems.

A question in the checklist for students reads, "Are student officers elected because they are fit for office rather than because they belong to the gang that runs things?" This question is derived

from the general principle that "American democracy recruits its leaders from the ranks of all the people." Strongly organized minority groups should not be able to force a selection of leaders from their membership only. When such a situation prevails - either in adult society or in school - a basic tenet of our democracy is being violated.

The checklist designed for the staff should be used before the one for students. Answers will be valuable only as they stem from an honest probing of self by each administrator, teacher, and student. Truthful answers may point out serious discrepancies between the nominal acceptance of the principles of American democracy and democratic living in the school. These checklists, therefore, can constitute a guide toward a self-evaluation of how deep is the wellspring of democratic faith and understanding.

CONCERNING ADMINISTRATORS

The school administrator is the person upon whom rests the responsibility for stimulating school practices which are in accord with democratic principles. The program of citizenship education in every school needs periodic scrutiny to determine its effectiveness. These checklists suggest a way of motivating such examinations. The questions are so framed that "Almost always" answers indicate the highest degree of democratic relationships. "Hardly ever" answers indicate that something is radically wrong.

Negative responses should be carefully investigated. WHY do certain situations reveal an undemocratic attitude or practice? Are responses manifestations of deep-rooted prejudices? Are they caused by lack of understanding of or experiences in the democratic way of life? Finally, what can be done to develop democratic persons?

The administrator should provide the staff with every opportunity to seek the causes and, together with students, engage in a remedial program. Such activity may cause a revision of the pattern of the school's efforts to create good citizens for American democracy.

The use of the checklist without a follow-up has little value. Its purpose is to reveal to teachers and pupils (and administrators) their strengths and weaknesses so that the former may be retained and the latter overcome. Encouragement by the administrator can arouse a whole school system to renewed vigor and rededication to its major function - that of developing able citizens for American democracy.

CONCERNING THE STAFF

It is suggested that several faculty meetings be devoted to formulating a group definition of democracy and its relationship to school life. Undoubtedly, there will be disagreements; for such is the democratic way. However, through the give and take of discussion, there should emerge some common thoughts on what democracy means. When particular applications cannot be accepted by everyone, then those held by the majority will have to represent the group. Democracy is not static, and it grants a minority opinion the possibility of later becoming the majority one. The chief gain will not be in any pronouncement or document on democracy - although a short statement of agreement is helpful - but in the process of thinking out what democracy means in important specific applications.

Only after reading and thorough discussion on the subject should the checklist be tried out by members of the staff. A tabulation of results may provide the basis for renewed group discussion, reveal the status of democratic thinking by the staff, and direct attention to those areas of citizenship training which require expansion and strengthening. Teachers should be encouraged to compare their individual responses with the composite response of the staff so that they may realize the extent to which their philosophy harmonizes with that of the group and to analyze their own behaviors for consequent modification. Only then is the staff ready to discuss democracy with students.

CONCERNING STUDENTS

While the greatest emphasis on civic education will naturally be given in the social science classes, all other organized activities of the school should share in developing an understanding of and providing experiences in the democratic way of life. Classes, homerooms, assemblies, guidance programs, clubs - all have a part in helping students learn the meaning of American democracy. After study and discussion, each student or group of students may write a definition of democracy. The project may be extended to include a statement representing the school. Again, as with teachers, the statement is not as important as the mental struggle and clarification of thought entering into it.

After students have thoroughly considered the nature of American democracy, then the checklist may be given them. (More honest expressions of opinion are generally obtained when students - and teachers too - are not required to identify themselves.) Responses may be tabulated for classes, homerooms, or the entire school. Analyses by students of these results, and comparisons with commonly accepted principles of American democracy, should follow. Students and teachers should then together plan learning experiences that will promote growth in democratic thought, attitudes, and behavior.

A. *Checklists on Democratic Practices for* Secondary School Staffs

TO MEMBERS OF THE STAFF:

Check the column which best indicates your estimate of the situation in question. Probably some of your responses will be influenced by a knowledge of what should be the correct reply. However, try to be as objective and intellectually honest as possible in order that the combined answers of the staff may reflect, with reasonable accuracy, conditions in your school. The main purpose of this checklist is to cause you to think about the democratic climate which you, as a member of the staff, help to create.

	Almost always	Sometimes	Hardly ever
1. Do students in your classes have a voice in determining the projects or problems on which they will work?			
2. When you are called from class, does the class work by itself almost as if you were there?			
3. Do students in your classes share in evaluating what they have done?			
4. Are patriotic holidays used in your classes as the basis of realistic programs designed to present the significance of the occasions?			
5. Is the slow learner in your classes given opportunities to do something important which he can do relatively well?			
6. Do your classroom procedures give students practice in organizing and serving on committees?			
7. Do you encourage students to express their own considered opinions on topics under discussion in your classes even if in disagreement with your ideas?			
8. Are members of minority groups in your classes accepted by other students without condescension or aloofness?			
9. Do you consider that the attitudes of your students toward the school program are important?			
10. In class discussions, do students permit each other to present a point of view without rude interruption?			

	A	S	H
11. Do your students refrain from generalizing about types of conduct in terms of national origins?			
12. Do you allow a group of students to proceed with a socially acceptable project which they have planned together and want to try, but one which you have warned will fail?			
13. Is there freedom in your class to explore controversial subjects?			
14. When your students cooperatively plan an activity, do they carry out their agreed-upon assignments and responsibilities?			
15. Do your students have opportunities to participate in panel discussions, in forums, or in other forms of group discussion?			
16. Do you admit to your students that you are not an authority on all questions arising in class?			
17. Do your students have opportunities to work with adult organizations in the improvement of the community?			
18. Do students from your classes participate in school service projects?			
19. Do your students distinguish between an article written by an authority in the field and one by a nonauthority for popular consumption?			
20. Do your students follow Robert's Rules of Order when conducting meetings?			
21. Do students have opportunities to discuss community problems?			
22. Do your students seek factual bases from more than one source before drawing conclusions?			
23. Do you stress with your students the qualities of and necessity for both leaders and followers in a democracy?			
24. Do your students indicate an awareness that democracy should also be practiced in the home?			

	A	S	H
25. Do your mature students have opportunities to secure a realistic knowledge of how political parties function in American government?			
26. Have your students compared newspapers and other publications to ascertain differences in news treatment?			
27. Do your students have opportunities to discuss the qualifications needed for office before voting for student officers?			
28. Do your students have experiences resulting in their knowing which local authorities to consult on community problems?			
29. Do your students show eagerness to participate in student self-government?			
30. Do your students select friends irrespective of their religious beliefs?			
31. Is the school's citizenship education program evaluated in terms of the civic behavior of graduates who have become adult citizens?			
32. Do you share willingly in faculty discussions of school problems?			
33. When appointed on faculty committees, do you willingly do your share of the work?			
34. Is your faculty free from a clique which dominates all decisions?			
35. Do you have the opportunity to express your opinion in the formulation of school policies?			
36. Has each staff member a specific function to perform in the school's program of education for democracy?			
37. Do staff members accept differences of opinion impersonally as part of the democratic process?			
38. Do staff members at a faculty meeting require facts bearing on a given question before deciding upon a course of action?			

	A	S	H
39. Do staff members refrain from unfavorable gossip about each other?			
40. Are staff members self-impelled to make themselves as proficient in their work as possible?			
41. Do you belong to and actively participate in a local civic organization?			
42. Do staff members participate in local programs designed to increase the civic understandings of adults?			
43. Do you help inform your public about the problems of education?			
44. Do you carry out your obligations of the good citizen - such as voting, respecting laws, keeping informed on what is going on, etc?			
45. Are teachers of your school identified with movements to improve the community?			
46. Does the student editor of your school paper or magazine have the freedom of the press?			
47. Is your school free from harmful influence by student cliques?			
48. Do students have opportunities to share in group solutions of school problems?			
49. Are school regulations for both students and teachers - such as leaving the building and smoking - cooperatively devised?			
50. Is the student council free from faculty domination in formulating policies and carrying out an action program within its assigned realm of responsibility?			
51. Are students encouraged to evaluate the quality of their school citizenship?			
52. Does the school use an educative process to insure appropriate wearing apparel by students?			
53. Do students maintain self-discipline in the corridors?			

	A	S	H
54. Do students have a fair opportunity to defend themselves against a teacher charge of misconduct?			
55. Are opportunities provided for students to discuss student council activities?			

B. *Checklists on Democratic Practices for* Secondary School Students

Place a checkmark in the column which in your opinion best describes the situation which exists in your school. Try to be as honest in your answers as possible, for this checklist was designed to help you and your fellow students determine to what extent you apply democratic principles in your school life.

	Almost always	Sometimes	Hardly ever
1. Do you volunteer your services to help the school or teacher in any way you can?			
2. Are study halls quiet and orderly enough for you to study well when no teacher is present?			
3. Are students considerate of others during cafeteria period?			
4. Do your student friends avoid gossip and dirty talk about fellow students?			
5. Do students with cars drive carefully and cautiously as school is being let out?			
6. Do students, going to and from school on a school bus or public carrier, behave themselves even when there is no one in authority there to make them?			
7. Are student officers elected because they are fit for office rather than because they belong to the gang that runs things?			
8. Does your school paper or magazine present more than one point of view on controversial school problems?			
9. Do you express your opinions in club or homeroom meetings?			

	A	S	H
10. When chosen for a student committee, do you give unselfishly of your time and energy?			
11. Do students of your school refrain from fights and acts of violence after losing an athletic contest?			
12. Do you place the good of the entire school above your own personal desires, prejudices, or interests?			
13. Do students willingly obey building regulations, such as those concerning smoking, leaving the grounds at recess or noon, passing in corridors, etc.?			
14. Do you assume your share of responsibility for whatever goes on in class?			
15. Do you take part in class discussions?			
16. Do you take into consideration what other members of the class have said before you speak?			
17. When members of the class disagree, do they do so with courtesy and without losing tempers?			
18. Do you willingly do the tasks given you by the student chairman of a project undertaken by the class?			
19. Do you understand why your marks or ranks differ from those of other students?			
20. Do you suggest things to help the class, rather than only to find fault with what is being done?			
21. Do you base what you say on many accurate facts?			
22. Do students serve as discussion leaders in class?			
23. Do opportunities exist in your school for you to lead a meeting?			
24. Do your studies deal with community problems?			
25. Is the special knowledge of experts about any subject respected and used in class?			

	A	S	H
26. Do students do most of the planning and most of the talking about class work?			
27. Do students give courteous attention to assembly programs, even when not particularly interested?			
28. When asked in assembly to take part in devotions, singing, cheering, etc., do students do so wholeheartedly?			
29. Do you have an opportunity to help plan or take part in an assembly program?			
30. Do students have something to say about the type of assembly programs conducted in the school?			
31. Are your assembly programs so varied with music, speaking, devotions, drama, demonstrations, exhibits, etc., that they have value and interest for most of the students?			
32. Do your school clubs and organizations have student-made constitutions definitely stating their purposes?			
33. Are you an active worker in the school clubs which you have joined?			
34. Do students in the school clubs to which you belong secure and discuss all information that may be brought to bear on a problem before taking action?			
35. Do the officers of your student organizations provide enough leadership to make them successful?			
36. Are your school clubs free from small groups controlling their activities?			
37. Do your club treasurers make regular and accurate reports to members concerning the finances of the organizations?			
38. Do you have a voice in determining how your club spends its money?			
39. When your school clubs engage in a money raising venture, do they try to give value for money received?			

	A	S	H
40. Do you respect students who honestly have different opinions from you on club matters?			
41. Does your student council think and act for itself within its field of responsibility without domination by the principal or faculty?			
42. Do you know what your student council is doing?			
43. Are reports of student council meetings regularly given in the homeroom or in some other place?			
44. Do you obey the regulations of your student council?			
45. Do you call the attention of your student council representative to those school affairs which you think need attention?			
46. Do you think your school permits as much self-government as its students can handle?			
47. Is your student council doing worthwhile things in the school?			
48. Do you discuss with other students matters that have come up or are coming up before the student council?			
49. Do you feel that the student council does a good job in giving you a say about school affairs?			
50. Does a student who gets into trouble with a teacher have an opportunity to present his side of the case?			
51. Do you refuse to ask for or accept special favors from friends who hold office in student organizations?			
52. At school social gatherings, do you associate with students outside your particular gang?			
53. Do you do any of the work in preparation for a school social affair?			
54. Are students permitted to present to the faculty statements of student opinion on school affairs?			
55. Does attendance at school social affairs reflect a cross section of the student body?			

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

These checklists have been prepared by Earl Hutchinson, Field Representative for the Division of Secondary Education, with the advice and assistance of various specialists in the Office of Education, Federal Security Agency.

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Preliminary try-outs of the Checklist for Students were made at Fairfax County High School, Fairfax, Va., and at Roosevelt High School, Washington, D. C.

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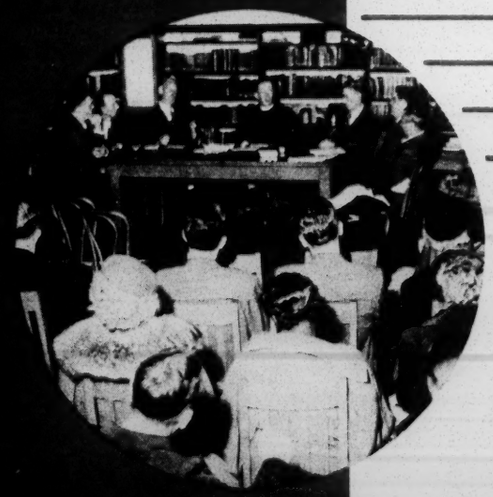

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We have seen so many dead people. so cold physically here . . . and so con that some of us are almost mentally and Maybe your Springfield Plan can give u looking for . . . something to be hopefu thing that is actually happening back ho ory, but in fact—which will make the worl for everybody.

It's a long time, since we've been home some of the things we hear there are pl minded people, hate mongers, and isolati sacred states of ours. The fact that they s and don't wear German uniforms mak dangerous than the Jerries themselves. W Springfield Plan do about them?

Respectfully,

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of us have been wondering . . . and what he meant by , but we would like to know hen he said that it should

ead people. We have been and so confused mentally mentally and physically ill. n can give us what we are to be hopeful about. Some-ing back home—not in the-ake the world a better place

e been home, Sir, but from there are plenty of fascist-s, and isolationists in those t that they speak American niforms makes them more hemselves. What does your em?

Respectfully,

n and day out in the n the community: Clar-ce L. Halligan. In this , the authors tell how veloped, how the chil-emocracy live, how the nity worked together to c community.

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J. EDGAR HOOVER, Director, F.B.I.:

"The strength of a unified democracy has been demonstrated in this great World War against bigotry, persecution, and prejudice. Daily, however, the need grows greater for a rededication to the principles of justice and humanity that we may all live in peace and security. Creeds which advocate privileges for a select few to the detriment of others have no place in the American way of life. Our individual civil liberties are our most cherished possessions. Education to teach the preservation of these liberties and respect for the personal and property rights of others is truly democratic. People who know and understand each other are best equipped to live in the same community harmoniously."

CLARA SAVAGE LITTLEDALE, Editor, "The Parents' Magazine":

"There has been altogether too much talk about educating our children in better race relations and too little doing of it . . . such prejudices cannot live long in an atmosphere where friendliness, understanding and appreciation of differences is encouraged . . . There's nothing in the Springfield Plan that other schools can't copy and profit by. I believe the Springfield Plan will prove an inspiration to countless communities . . ."

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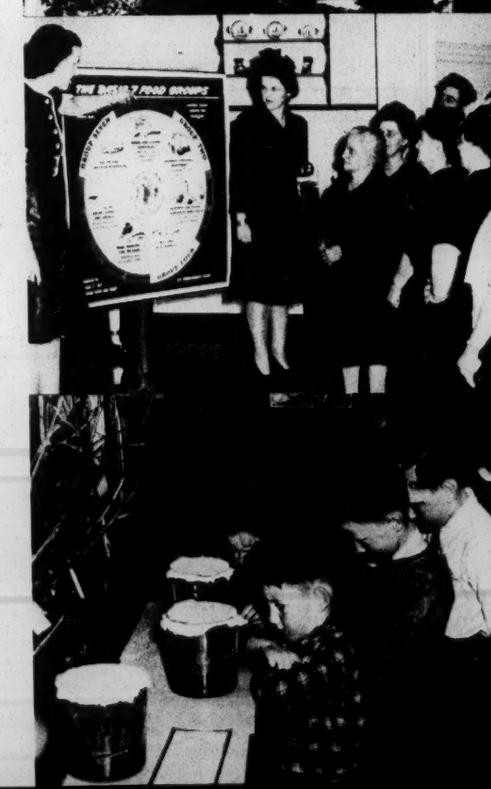

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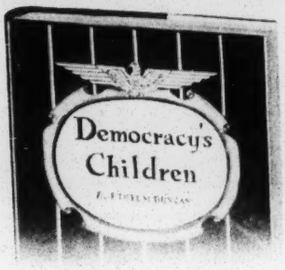

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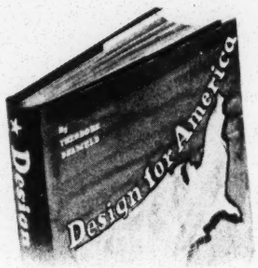

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How to Prevent a Race Riot, by Winifred Rauschenbush. 10 cents. 100 copies for $5.00.

Five Essentials of Brotherhood, by H. Richard Rasmussen. An eight-page leaflet suitable for general distribution. 25 copies free; 100 copies for $1.00.

Adventure in Brotherhood. The story of a successful interracial program involving rural white families and Negro children from nearby cities. Free.

Come Let Us Worship. A brief and interesting description of interracial churches of three kinds in three different communities. Free.

What Can the Jew Do? A brief challenging statement reprinted from the Saturday Review of Literature. Suitable for general distribution. 25 copies free; 100 copies for $1.00.

Nosing Out Prejudice, by Fern M. Colborn. A pamphlet telling how to discover prejudices in print, on the stage and screen and what to do about it. 10 cents.

Christian Social Action and Minority Groups, by John H. Elliott. Projects to develop understanding and appreciation toward Americans of Negro, Jewish and Japanese backgrounds. For all age groups in the church. 5 cents.

An Enemy of the People: Antisemitism by James Parkes. (Penguin Books) 25 cents.

Order above from any Presbyterian Book Store.

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Color and Community. A comprehensive guide for church groups who want to x-ray their community, discover the facts about race relations and plan for effective action. 10 cents. Order directly from the Department of Social Education and Action, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

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Manual for Official Committees. A handbook for community groups working in the field of race relations. 25 cents.

The Police and Minority Groups. A realistic and factual account of the successes and failures of the police in handling racial tensions, and "constructive practical suggestions on preventive policing in the field of interracial relationships." 25 cents.

Negro G.I.'s Come Back, by William Candill. A discussion of the problem of returning Negro veterans, equally applicable to G.I's of other minority groups. 10 cents.

State FEPC - What the People Say. A digest of testimony given at hearings on the Bill to establish an FEPC in New York State. Statements by people in all walks of life. 15 cents.

Negro Platform Workers. A survey of Negro transit workers in Philadelphia, Los Angeles and Chicago. Would be useful for leaders in any large city. 25 cents.

Hemmed In, by Robert C. Weaver. Pamphlet on restrictive covenants showing that neighborhood agreements concerning occupancy and maintenance standards are not only more democratic but can also be more effective in preserving good neighborhoods. Cleverly illustrated. 10 cents.

Facts About Japanese-Americans, by Setsuko Nishi. 1946. 50 cents.

Order from the American Council on Race Relations,
32 West Randolph Street, Chicago 1, Illinois

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Race Relations Balance Sheet, by Edwin R. Embree. An excellent summary of the strides that have been made toward justice for the American Negro, as well as what remains to be done. Specific and factual.

Our Conflicting Racial Policies, by Will Alexander. A discussion of our conflicting policies-- of educating Negroes for life in a democracy and of imposing segregation upon them.

American Negroes: A Handbook, by Edwin R. Embree. A comprehensive statement of the American Negroes' history and present status.

There are Things To Do, by Lillian Smith. A 15 page pamphlet describing specific things that individuals can do to improve race relations ranging from small acts of decent courtesy to the "Hard jobs for the brave and the wise."

Memorandum on Anti-Semitism, by Philip Wylie. A reprint from the American Mercury that has received wide distribution.

Single copies of the above are available free from the Julius Rosenwald Fund, 49-1 Ellis Avenue, Chicago 15, Illinois.

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The Races of Mankind, by Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish. Prepared by competent scientists and widely read throughout America.

The Negro in America, by Maxwell Stewart. A summary of Gunnar Myrdal's An American Dilemma.

Will Negroes Get Jobs Now? by Herbert R. Northrup. A recent and authoritative study of the prospects for Negro employment in the postwar world.

Race Riots Aren't Necessary, by Alfred M. Lee. A summary of his excellent book based on experiences in Detroit.

What About Our Japanese Americans? by Carey McWilliams. A comprehensive and documented study of Japanese-Americans and especially of developments during the war.

Single copies 10 cents. Order above from Public Affairs, Inc., 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, New York.

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Racial Aspects of Reconversion: A Memorandum Prepared for the President of the United States; a very comprehensive, factual and up-to-date statement. Single copies free.

Racial Problems in Housing. An analysis of the economic and social factors behind housing difficulties for Negroes and other minorities. 25 cents.

Adventure in Community Cooperation. A leaflet describing the National Urban League's program for volunteer interracial "Service Councils" in cities having no Urban League. Free.

Opportunity, winter issue 1945. The entire issue is devoted to a discussion of Negro participation in every branch of the armed forces. 25 cents.

Order above pamphlets from the National Urban League, 1133 Broadway, New York 10, New York.

* * * * * *

Christianity and the Race Problem, by Gonzalo Baez-Camargo. A thorough and basic study of race from the scientific and Christian points of view. 25 cents. Friendship Press, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, New York.

* * * * * *

Race? What the Scientists Say, by Caroline Singer. A brief statement on the basic facts about race, approved by three of the nation's leading anthopologists. Free. National Conference of Christians and Jews, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.

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The Church and Race Relations. An official statement of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. Adopted at Columbus in March of 1946. 5 cents.

Clinical Approach to Race Relations, by George E. Haynes. A manual to guide local groups in developing race relation's clinics. 35 cents.

Negro Churchmen Speak to White Churchmen. A courageous and deeply religious challenge to white churchmen signed by more than 100 Negro church leaders. 10 cents.

To End this Day of Strife. A plan to enlist for interracial brotherhood in the local church. $1.75 per hundred.

A Primer on Race. A well written, cleverly illustrated statement of the basic facts about race from the Christian point of view. Excellent for General distribution. 8 cents each, 5 cents in quantities.

Order above from Federal Council of Churches, 297
Fourth Avenue, New York 10, New York.

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The Truth About Anti-Semitism. The January, 1946, issue of Social Action. A keen analysis of Jewish-Christian relations and of the Christian's responsibility for anti-semitism, with suggestions for action. 15 cents. Order from Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, New York.

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Jews in American Life, by Jacob R. Marcus. A brief, interesting and well written history of the role of Jewish people as citizens in America. Order from American Jewish Committee, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, New York. Free

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Jewish Holidays - Do You Know Them? by Elise F. Moller. A very excellent account of the Jewish holidays and their significance. Also suggested activities for Jewish and Christian young people that are related to the Jewish holidays. Price 15 cents.

Step by Step With Interracial Groups, by Dorothy I. Height. A new manual for leaders working with interracial groups. Should be in the hands of every person who has any responsibility for interracial activities. 25 cents.

Order the above two items from the Women's Press,
600 Lexington Avenue, New York 22, New York.

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America's Tenth Man. An excellent detailed survey of the contribution of Negroes in many areas of American life. 10 cents. Order from Southern Regional Council, 710 Standard Building, Atlanta 3, Georgia.

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The White Christian and His Conscience, by Lillian Smith. A prophetic statement addressed to the white Christian. Excellent for general distribution. 5 cents each. South Today, Clayton, Georgia.

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Interracial Primer, by Bayard Rustin. Describes a great variety of activities for individuals or groups who wish to tackle the problem of discrimination. 15 cents. Fellowship of Reconciliation, 2929 Broadway, New York 25, New York.

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The Black and White of Rejections for Military Service. Statistics on the rejection for military service of colored and white men because of educational or mental deficiencies show that Negroes in 10 northern and border states out ranked white registerants in 7 southern states. American Teacher's Association, Box 271, Montgomery, Alabama.

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Is It American? Democratic? Christian? A discussion of restrictive covenants in relation to our democratic and Christian heritage. 5 cents. San Francisco Council of Churches, 220 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco 2, California.

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How Management Can Integrate Negroes, A handbook for employers and labor leaders.

The Negro Integrated. The composite experience of many large firms in New York where Negro workers have been successfully integrated.

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on Discrimination in Employment, Albany, New York.

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Seeking to be Christian in Race Relations, by Benjamin E. Mays. This author helps the reader to check his religious beliefs and to see how he can become Christian in his relationships with all races. 25 cents. Friendship Press.

Sense and Nonsense About Race, by Ethel J. Alpenfels. An anthropologist answers questions about race frequently asked in youth groups. 25 cents. Friendship Press.

Know - Then Act, by Margaret C. McCulloch. This pamphlet interprets race relations and describes types of effective action. Any concerned Christian can find here hints for things he can do. 25 cents. Friendship Press.

Discussion and Program Suggestions for Youth on the Christian and Race, by Elizabeth Nixon. 25 cents. Friendship Press.

The Jew Today, by Conrad Hoffman. An account of Jewish people in American life. 35 cents. Friendship Press.

Order above from any Presbyterian Bookstore.

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Christian Youth and Interfaith Cooperation. A discussion of principles and projects. 25 cents. United Christian Youth Movement, 203 N. Wabash Avenue, Chicago 1, Illinois.

Labor's Enemy, Anti-Semitism. Shows clearly how anti-semitism has been used as a political weapon by forces of reaction and bigotery. Free. Anti-Defamation League, 100 N. La Salle Street, Chicago 2, Illinois.

Periodicals

American Unity. New York: The Council Against Intolerance in America, 17 East 42nd Street. Monthly. Free on request. Articles on intercultural education in schools, and materials on minority groups.

Common Ground. New York: Common Council for American Unity, 222 Fourth Ave. Quarterly $2.00 a year. Stories and articles on racial, national, and religious minorities in the United States.

The Crisis. New York: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69 Fifth Avenue. Monthly. $1.50 a year. News and stories about Negroes.

Ebony. Chicago. Negro Digest Publishing Company, 5619 S. State St. Monthly. $3.00 a year. A new picture magazine, similar to Life, depicting Negro life in America. Very outstanding.

The Journal of Negro Education. Washington, D. C.: Howard University Press. Quarterly. $2.50 a year. Review of problems incident to the education of Negroes.

The Journal of Negro History. Washington, D.C.: The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc., 1538 Ninth Street, N.W. Quarterly. $4.00 a year. Articles on research in the field, and book reviews.

A Monthly Summary of Events and Trends in Race Relations. Nashville, Tenn.: Social Science Institute, Fisk University. A report of current developments affecting race relations, action programs, editorial opinion and pertinent publications. Free.

Negro Digest. Chicago: Negro Digest Publishing Company, 5619 S. State Street, Monthly. $3.00 a year. Patterned after Reader's Digest, this magazine of Negro comment contains articles, selections from books, humor, etc.

Opportunity. New York: National Urban League, 1133 Broadway. Quarterly. $1.50 a year. News about Negroes, with special emphasis on their accomplishments.

Books

An American Dilemma, by Gunnar Myrdal. Harper and Brothers, 1945. $5.00.

Annals of the American Academy of Political Science, March 1946. $2.00.

Beyond Prejudice: A Story of the Church and Japanese Americans, by Toru Matsumoto. Friendship Press 1946. Cloth $1.25, paper 75 cents.

Black Metropolis, by St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton. Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1945. $5.00.

Brown Americans, by Edwin R. Embree. Viking Press, 1943

Brothers Under the Skin, by Carey McWilliams. Little, Brown & Company. 1943

Blind Spots: Experiments in the Self-Cure of Race Prejudice. Revised by Henry Smith Leiper. Friendship Press. 1944. Cloth $1.00, paper 60 cents.

Civilization and Group Relationships, edited by R. M. MacIver. Harper and Bros., 1945. $2.00.

Getting Acquainted with Jewish Neighbors, by Mildred Eakin. Macmillan, 1944. $1.00

Man's Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race, by M. F. Ashley Montagu. Revised edition. Columbia University Press. New York. 1945. $3.25.

New World A-Coming, by Roi Ottley. Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1943. $3.00.

One Nation, by Wallace Stegner. Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1945. $3.75.

One God, The Ways We Worship Him, by Florence M. Fitch. Lothrop, Lee and Shepherd. $2.00.

Overcoming Anti-Semitism, by Solomon A. Fineberg. Harper and Bros. 1943. $2.00.

Prejudice - The Japanese Americans: A Symbol of Racial Intolerance by Carey McWilliams. Little, Brown and Company, 1944. $2.50.

Primer for White Folks, edited by Moon Bucklin. Doubleday, Doran Company, 1945. $3.75.

Probing Our Prejudices, by Hortense Powdermaker and Helen Storan. Harper and Bros., 1945. $1.00.

Portrait of a Pilgrim: A Search for the Christian Way in Race Relations, by Buell G. Gallagher. Cloth $1.00 paper 60 cents. Friendship Press.

Race Riot, by Alfred Lee and Norman Humphrey. Dryden Press, 1943. $1.50.

To Stem This Tide, by Charles S. Johnson. Pilgrim Press, 1943. $1.00.

The Story of the Springfield Plan, by Clarence Chatto and Alice Halligan. Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1945. $2.75.

Twelve Negro Americans, by Mary Jenness. Paper only, 60 cents. Friendship Press.

What the Negro Wants, edited by R. W. Logan. University of North Carolina Press, 1945. $3.50.

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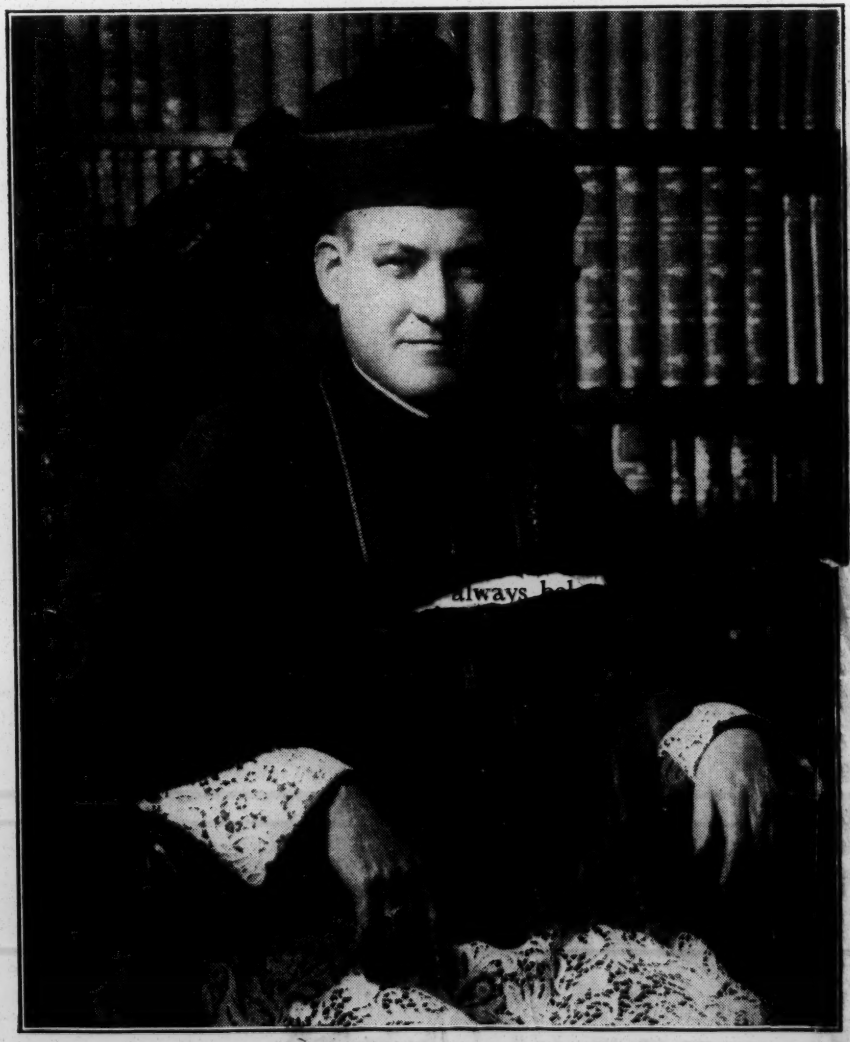
"I BELONG HERE"

by

MOST REV. RICHARD J. CUSHING, D.D.,

Archbishop of Boston



FOREWORD

The following pages contain an address delivered at the Ninth Constitutional Convention of the Congress of Industrial Organizations at Boston, Mass., October 13, 1947, by the Most Rev. Richard J. Cushing, D.D., Catholic Archbishop of Boston.

Congress of Industrial Organizations

PHILIP MURRAY, *President*

JAMES B. CAREY, *Secretary-Treasurer*

I am very grateful to you for the invitation to speak at this convention. I interpret your invitation as a compliment. I intend to pay you honor as best I can by being here this morning. When first your invitation came I found myself already confronted by an ecclesiastical program which was difficult to break. Nonetheless I broke it. I broke it because your invitation is an invitation from the people from whom I come, for whom I work, and to whom, personally and officially, I belong.

I am doubly glad to be here this morning because the invitation to speak which I received bore the signature of a great American—of a very great American—of a great American who has proved times beyond number both his Americanism and his greatness. I refer, of course, to the President of the CIO, Mr. Philip Murray.

I BELONG HERE

I am glad to come this morning because Mr. Murray invited me. But I am also glad to come because I belong here. I am a priest, an Archbishop. As such, I am by office and should be by my every personal action the representative of One Whom twenty centuries have hailed as their High Priest. To the eyes of other men, the Saviour appeared as a tradesman—a worker—and all those who share His priestly office should be found present wherever men are gathered who share in the labor which was the earthly vocation of Jesus Christ.

For this reason, priests have always belonged close to the ranks of labor, whether organized or not. In the Old World, as the late Pope once remarked, the tragedy of both religion and of labor for several generations has been that too many factors and forces came between some of the priests and many of the working people.

It is not my place to condemn those, who, consciously or unconsciously, fell victims of social and political systems which too often alienated clergy as a class from workers as a class. Neither do I intend to apologize for such systems. I hope that they are forever dead, and that all Europe has learned the lesson which a great English Cardinal tried to teach over

a half century ago. Cardinal Manning said: "A new task is before us. The Church has no longer to deal with parliaments and princes, but with the masses and with the people!"

THE WORKING PEOPLE

The masses to whom he referred were the working people of Europe, the ranks of labor. Men like Cardinal Manning, Pope Leo XIII and other churchmen sounded like revolutionaries, even to the devout of their time, when they announced what should have been clear from the beginning: that priests and prelates, though dedicated to the service of all men equally, must have a special interest in the problems, the persons, and the prosperity of those who labor.

Here in this country, in the New World, there has never been the cleavage between the working classes and the clergy against which Cardinal Manning raised his voice. Not long ago the present Pope speaking to a large gathering of Italian workers said: "Visit countries where the Church can live and act freely, even if its members are only a minority, as for instance in the United States of America. Penetrate there in the huge organizations of industrial life. You will not find any trace of conflict between the Church and working world."

SONS OF WORKERS

How could there be? In this country it has been working people who have built the seminaries in which our priests are trained. Our institutions have no princely patrons; they are monuments to human labor and to the generosity of hard-working men and women. Working men not merely built and paid for our seminaries, they sent to them some of their best sons. I have said this before, but it is important to repeat it here: In all the American Hierarchy, resident in the United States, there is not known to me one Bishop, Archbishop or Cardinal whose father or mother was a college graduate. Every one of our Bishops and Archbishops is the son of a working man and a working man's wife. That is one further reason why I belong here this morning.

I take it for granted that this convention, like all conventions of a like nature, is called primarily to check on your past

actions and to plan your future actions in the light of the aims and the purposes of your organization.

The aims of the CIO are those of the trade union movement and of organized labor generally. These are chiefly three: 1) the organization of the working men and women of America, without reference to race, creed, color or nationality, for mutual aid and protection; 2) the establishment of sound collective bargaining and wage agreements; 3) the promotion of legislation to safeguard economic security and social welfare, and to extend democratic institutions, civil rights and liberties.

UNIONS HERE TO STAY

For my own part, I cannot see how any man in his right mind, certainly how any American with the slightest comprehension of Christianity, can complain about those objectives. Moreover, I consider that, when all is said and done, the trade union movement in the United States is fulfilling these aims by means entirely within its rights and within the letter and spirit of our laws. The trade union movement has long since established its reputation for Americanism and its right to be heard. Whatever mistakes it may have made—and they are no more than those of other groups—to whatever excesses it may have gone—and these are easily balanced by those of its critics—the trade union movement is now a permanent part of the American picture. Labor is organized and it is organized to stay. Any one who has the slightest desire or dream to the contrary betrays by that fact a hopeless ignorance both of American history and of the American working man. Organized labor may have to meet criticism and a measure of opposition, but, I repeat, organized labor is here to stay.

I don't think organized labor should be discouraged when it is criticized. Everything that organizes arouses some one's resentment and some opposition. Organized religion does. Organized efforts of every kind do. An organized movement worth its salt welcomes criticism and thrives on opposition. When the criticism is reasonable, an organized movement profits from it. When it is not, sometimes the movement

profits even more because it develops that special strength, stamina and power to endure that comes from the sheer necessity of learning and increasing your own strength.

CRITICS OF LABOR

I know the criticisms which are made of organized labor and I know, as do most people, the "lines" currently used in the campaign against unionism. You know them even better than I do. Some of the current criticisms may have some foundation in facts. If they do, you are in a far better position than your critics to know what these facts are and how to remedy them yourselves. Many of the criticisms of organized labor, its power, its proposals, its principles, come from men who would stop at nothing to bring back days to them dear but to the rest of mankind happily dead.

In any case there are no problems arising out of American organized labor, no problems internal to the labor movement or external to it in its relations with the rest of the community, which American labor cannot solve in an American way within the framework of American law and in the best interest of the American people.

Here in America all groups, educational, industrial, management, labor, and, in a sense, religious, have a common monitor; the Law. Organized labor does not stand in any need of special monitors; there is no reason why the labor movement more than any other movement in the United States should be an object of suspicion, repression or special monitoring. Labor is perfectly able to set its own house in order and to run that house as well as any other house in the American community.

LOYAL TO LEADERS

When I hear the excited talk about this, that or the other problem allegedly created by organized labor, I remember a famous report Cardinal Gibbons filed with regard to one of the earliest efforts at labor organization in the United States. You know, in his day an effort was made to discredit labor organizations and even to bring about religious condemnation of

certain aspects of the labor movement. Men, professing to be the friends of law and order, when really they were the foes of both so far as working people were concerned, attempted to align the Church against the new labor organizations and the labor movement identified with them. The enemies of labor were powerful; they brought their case all the way to Rome. They knew then, as they would know now, that the great masses of American labor are loyal to their religious leaders and are inclined to hear with respect the voice of religion.

The Roman authorities asked Cardinal Gibbons what he thought of the dangers said to be present in the labor movement as of that time; the alleged danger that the wrong people might take over, the possibility of top-heavy power, the menace of political abuse and all the rest of it. The Cardinal was a calm man. He knew America and he knew Americans. He took a long range view of all questions involving the conflicts or competitions of the various groups which make up America and when that conflict was at its hottest he would point out that the lasting concord in a nation like ours can only come out of conflict fairly faced and honorably settled. So when they asked him whether the labor movement should be condemned because a lot of people had become upset about certain aspects of it, the Cardinal replied: "The American people behold with perfect composure and confidence the progress of our social contest, and have not the least fear of not being able to protect themselves against any excesses or dangers that may occasionally arise."

NO FEAR OF CRISES

I suggest that those who are disturbed by any crises in the labor movement, past, present or future, make their own the attitude of the great Cardinal. Genuine Americans are not afraid of crises. They do not condemn a movement because it runs into difficulties. They do not despair of an idea because it is challenged from without or hampered from within. Once they recognize that the essential idea of a movement is good—as the idea of the trade union movement is good—they go along with it through fair days and foul, confident

that its goodness will prevail and that they can take care of any passing evil by due process of law.

The genuine American does not seek condemnation by decree or by hostile legislation against contending forces. In the words of the Cardinal: "The American people behold with perfect composure the progress of our social contest, and have not the least fear of not being able to protect themselves against any excesses or dangers that may occasionally arise."

Let us apply all that to some of the charges hurled against labor unions.

Every one knows that there are racketeers eager to take over the labor organizations; there are in many other organizations. There are racketeers in the professions, in public life, in almost every human pursuit.

CAN SOLVE OWN PROBLEMS

Everyone knows that there are potential traitors to America and to our organizations in the labor movement; so there are in the universities, colleges, magazines, radio, movies, professions and public life. There is nothing special to the labor movement about all of this—and to the extent that the labor movement has problems of this or any other kind, I reaffirm my conviction—which is yours—that there are none of its problems which American labor cannot itself solve in an American way within the framework of American law and in the best interests of the American people.

Wherefore I express the confidence that this convention will proceed in a spirit of discipline and unity toward the statement and the pursuit of the positive aims of the trade union movement rather than wasting its time on negative or divisive matters.

In this same spirit, while not presuming on my position as a guest here, I should like to refer to two matters: one domestic, the other concerned with our foreign relations.

STEADY WORK NEEDED

I have read with interest some of the deliberations of both management and labor concerning the so-called Guaranteed

Annual Wage. I know labor's position on this proposal. The worry of the working man has traditionally been this: jobs today—but what will happen tomorrow? Up to now many millions of Americans have been unable to answer that question for themselves. As a consequence they live in a fear which God never intended should be theirs. A wage earner must have steady work and pay this week, next week and all the year round if he is to have security. Only an annual wage is an adequate wage. So runs the labor argument and it is a hard argument to answer.

There can be no doubt that some economic solution must be found so that a man may intelligently plan his future and make provision to discharge those responsibilities which has been placed on him by God himself. It must be an intelligent and fair provision which does not make him the unnecessary beneficiary of charity or cause him to lose pride in his daily work. It may or may not be the so-called "Guaranteed Annual Wage," but it must be something close to it and I hope that a fair exchange of views on this subject between management, labor and the representatives of the public will lead to an answer consistent with the needs and decent demands of labor.

FIGHT WITH FOOD

The other positive point toward which I would direct your attention is concerned with certain questions of foreign policy on which organized labor has already shown a willingness to declare itself. Unfortunately at the moment, attitudes toward foreign policy are complicated by what are called "conflicting ideologies." Now I do not know what an "ideoloy" is. I suspect the word of being a catch phrase, a "phoney" word which can't be defined and which is therefore used to describe something not worth defining. Now-a-days we hear a lot about fighting "ideologies," and, here too, I am not sure how you go about fighting an "ideology." But I know what hunger is—and I know how to fight that. You fight it with food. I know what poverty is. You fight that with money. I know what winter is. You fight that with coal and clothing. I

know what discouragement is. You fight that with friendship and friendly deeds. I know what fear is and defeatism. You fight them with faith.

I repeat: I do not know what the word ideology means. I do not know what the ideologies of the people of Europe and Asia are. I know what the ideologies of some of the political regimes are—but these are not the people. I know that all over Europe there is going to be hunger, poverty, cold, discouragement and fear. I know what these are and I know to what extremes they can drive decent, democratic God-loving people. I suspect that the best way to outwit or overcome evil "ideologies," whatever they may be, is by positive action of a non-political kind—by providing the things that fight hunger, poverty, cold, discouragement and fear—by providing as efficiently and as much and as quickly as we can food, money, coal, clothing, friendship and faith to the workers, to all the needy of the world who turn to us.

BACK WAR ON HUNGER

I am too grateful for your invitation to presume any attempt at undue influence on your deliberations. But this hope I do express: that an organization as powerful as the CIO—an organization with such great far-reaching prestige—will give sincere and solid backing to such points and plans of American foreign policy as will put our resources—food, money, coal, clothing, friendship and faith—behind the democratic—the human war on hunger, poverty, cold, discouragement and fear in the war-breeding areas of the world.

When we win that fight—a fight we can understand and can win—there will be less need for worry or talk or war about "ideologies."

I have deliberately chosen these two points to emphasize because one of them is concerned with your own interests and the other is concerned with the interests of other people, which interests, in the long run, are also yours. I have the same aspiration for organized labor in America that I have for my own Church in America, that I have for education in

America and for every other group activity in the United States. It is that these may be a blessing to ourselves and a beacon to others. We owe the Old World much; we have depended on it for its sons and daughters to be our fathers and mothers, for its centuries of past experience to be the school wherein we learn to build a better future. We are indebted to the Old World alike for its triumphs and for its mistakes; both have taught us how to live better and more freely here in America.

A CHANCE TO PAY

Now we are in a position to pay something of our debt to the Old World. Sometimes we have to pay a bit of it with blood; may those times never be renewed! More often we are called upon to pay with resources, with the fruits of our labor and the good things of our earth. That we should do gladly. But most of all we have a chance to pay with our example—to show the devout of the Old World how the faith can be practiced by a free Church; to show the youth of the Old World how happy lives can be lived by a democratic people; to show the working people, the disorganized labor of the Old World, how organized labor here in America under the protection of sound laws can accomplish the magnificent aims which band together you of the CIO—the organization of working men and women, regardless of race, creed, color or nationality, for the mutual aid, protection, security and social welfare of all.

May God bless your deliberations! May God the Father, Who gave you your strength, teach you how to use it! May God the Son, made man to work among us, be your model! May God the Holy Ghost, the spirit diffused through the hearts of us all, unite you with one another and with all others who love God!

Murray's Comment—

After hearing Archbishop Cushing speak, CIO President Philip Murray referred to his address as a "masterpiece of logic . . . a remarkable address, a great tribute to labor coming from the heart and soul of a great man—one of us."

Additional Copies of Archbishop Cushing's Address May Be Obtained From—

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II. THE LAYMAN'S STAKE IN EDUCATION: AS A MEMBER OF ORGANIZED LABOR VIEWS IT

MYLES HORTON
Educational Director of the United Packing House Workers Union, Monteagle, Tennessee

WE HAVE A WAY of making dreams come true and one of our great American dreams was of a free and universal system of education. Our forefathers dreamed of education that would provide for all people the enlightenment necessary for citizenship, "Free to the children of rich and poor alike."

Labor joined with other advocates of public education in launching a movement rooted in the needs and dreams of the people. "The vitality of the movement for tax supported schools was derived," said a historian of this period, "not from humanitarian leaders, but from the growing class of wage earners." Later, Beard was to state that organized labor took a lead "in demanding from the legislator the establishment of free and equal schools."

Labor people seldom attend a convention without being reminded of organized labor's role in establishing free schools in the face of opposition from the more respectable elements. The feeling is generally conveyed that public education is a dream come true, that public schools are a cure-all for whatever ails us. Labor, however, is not altogether uncritical. An effort was made to recapture some of the dreams of splendor by advocating vocational training of children of workers, a poor substitute for education for citizenship. On the whole, labor's role has been too much that of an outsider. This has certainly been true regarding

participation in secondary education.

Let us take a look at the development of high schools and of labor's *passive* role in their development. The high school is a young institution in American educational history and was not an immediate outgrowth of the movement for mass education. In fact, the early high schools prepared students for college and did little else. Even today most high schools are better fitted for educating the one out of five students who go to college than for educating the majority who go out to earn a living. The fact that most students go to work and not to college has had too little influence on the high school program.

Vocational education attempted to remedy this situation. It not only fails to give the student an understanding of the world in which he will have to live but does not even provide the training needed for a livelihood. Vocational training has never been more than a patch-work affair.

It is also worthy of note that the high schools became institutionalized and got set in their ways during a period when our philosophy was that of individualism, when education was keyed to getting ahead.

The high school was naturally a product of its time, tailored to meet certain limited needs of the day. But times have changed. The early program has lost much of its meaning. Today, students must be taught to unite with others in a common struggle for a decent standard of living and to stand together against bigotry and war. Only by working together can the individual become a worthwhile part of society.

High schools, your Association declares, "must promote the principles and spirit of American democracy." This forthright statement of purpose has a tug to it but not enough of a tug to off-set the force of practices that run contrary to the purpose.

What of the practices in high schools? Are the schools set up from top to bottom on a democratic basis? Are the policy-making bodies representative of the people in the community? Is the relationship of administrator to teacher and teacher to student democratic? Do all have a voice in policy making?

High purposes can be nullified by the manner in which the school is organized and administered. Democratic principles must be incorporated into the structure and conduct of every facet of school life. Gandhi said it this way, "The value we seek in the goals must appear in the means we employ."

The average school board members, for example, come from business and the professions. However, most students come from working families and homes of white collar employees. There are few children of employers simply because there are few employers. The presence of one or two labor people on a school board may be a friendly gesture or it may be window dressing but it can hardly be considered representative, especially in cities where about four-fifths of the children come from homes of workers.

If the administrator's primary concern is with buildings and budgets rather than with the democratic organization of people there will not be the kind of cooperation which is essential. Genuine cooperation is possible only when all affected by a policy share in making it.

The professional relationships of teachers must be democratic. They should have a union so they can practice the democracy they teach. "Our whole educational system suffers," says John Dewey, "from the divorce between head and hand, between work and books, between action and ideas, a

divorce which symbolizes the segregation of teachers from the rest of the workers who form the great mass of the community."

Students must be given the opportunity to learn from experience how the democratic process works. Teaching about democratic goals is not enough. Students learn far more from what they see and do, from the way they live, than from all the verbalizing to which they are exposed. The democratic principles should apply to the relationship of students one to another and with teachers and administrators. Students should certainly take part in making and carrying out school policies.

The high schools in many instances fall far short of the dream of democratic education.

What happened to labor? Why hasn't something been done about the situation? When the dream became a movement, labor was in the forefront but when the victorious movement resulted in the establishment of institutions, organized workers took a back seat. The infant's upbringing was left to the teachers and to the better educated citizenry. The high school teachers brought over their ideas from the private school, the only school they knew; and the better educated, being also the better off financially, shaped the schools to their own interest.

Labor, poorly organized and trustful, allowed the schools to drift into an alliance with the privileged. Labor's failure to follow through was not due to a lack of interest. Labor had failed to grasp the nature of institutions.

Labor's role in the movement for public education cannot be disputed but labor's failure to follow through and guide the destiny of the schools that it helped make possible is a different and less commendable story. Labor is becoming aware of this weakness but has not fully accepted the responsibility for doing a proper share of the day-by-day chores. Labor must help put life and vision in the institutional frame work.

While labor must accept its share of the blame, what of those to whom labor looked for guidance? The institutional side of the school which they neglected has absorbed too much of the attention of the school people. Too much time has been devoted to keeping the machinery of the institutions oiled and running. Too often sight has been lost of public education as a democratic movement. Spirit and purpose has been subordinated to framework.

Perhaps labor needs schools today less than the schools need labor. If the schools are to halt the present retreat and become truly democratic, understanding and constant support of labor is necessary. In the long run no other groups will have the will to fight off encroachments on democratic education. The basic interest of labor and the schools is the same. Educators should make it clear that the school needs labor's democratic strength; that labor should share in the policy-making and running of the schools.

"A school system," says the National Education Association, "which uses all the means at its command to create an understanding of the school's program and which invites the close cooperation of parents and other citizens in educational planning, will build a community-school relationship in which the popular mode of behavior is to support and befriend the schools, not attack them."

With Organized Labor and public education united in vision and in daily operations we would be in a position to make democracy a reality. No longer would distinction of class, of race, and of religion be tolerated. The schools could rise to the challenge of the day

and help in the creation of an army of democracy rooted in the struggles and traditions of the American people, an army so vast and so determined that nothing undemocratic could stand in its path.

1952 PROGRESS REPORT

United Packinghouse Workers of America - CIO
Education Department

Myles Horton, Director
Highlander Folk School
Monteagle, Tennessee

The aim of the Education Department, as originally stated, was to "see to it that leaders are developed and that a maximum of union education takes place on the job, in the union and in the community; and, that education is not something apart from the union program as a whole."

A memo to the educational representatives stated, "We have set a high goal and one that is different. Your employment was approved by the UPWA on the basis that we find a way to develop leaders capable of handling local affairs without the help of field representatives. Once we learn to develop leaders we will then have the means of carrying on an effective program of general union education based on problems and issues."

A staff of five educational representatives were selected, trained and assigned to five districts:

Hy Kornbluh	-	District 3
Rosalie Widman	-	District 4
Don Leveridge	-	District 6
Ernest Smith	-	District 7
Betty Jean Johnson	-	District 9 (on leave of absence, as of Sept. 18, 1952)

When the program was launched the first of the year, it was decided that steward training had proven to be the best approach for developing leaders provided the steward's job is given a broad interpretation. When the stewards and local union officials assume personal responsibility for the farmer-labor,

A-D, political action, and other programs, a live connecting link has been welded between the national and district officials and the membership. Such spokesmen for the rank and file are essential for there to be a democratic two-way communication.

This decision to emphasize steward training for its own sake as well as for leadership was based on the past educational activities of the union. Therefore, a major portion of the education representatives' time has been given to steward training. More than sixty local union steward training sessions, some covering a period of two weeks, and fifty-six conferences with steward councils and departments, have been held.

Among the results are a higher percentage of grievances settled in the first step, formation of steward councils, discussions of contract demands, break-up of all-white departments, and an increase in the number of Negro, Mexican, and women stewards.

Despite their importance, we felt that steward training classes, which had always absorbed a major portion of any educational program, could be handled by local discussion leaders or instructors, thus releasing time for the development of the union program as a whole. It should be possible also for the local instructors, once trained, to discuss current issues and general programs.

With this idea in mind, the Education Department started experimenting with local instructors and a manual of procedures and subject matter. It was hoped that, when completed, such a manual could be used for training local instructors who, in turn, could use the same manual in teaching steward classes. Since the manual was thought of primarily as a means of training instructors,

the content was limited to the fixed activities of the stewards and not program in general. Once trained, the instructors would be able to use materials prepared by those responsible for the various programs and departments.

The proposed Instructor Training Program was approved by the convention with the understanding that the plan would "enable the educational representatives to multiply themselves many times over and give the UPWA a direct educational contact with the stewards, and through them, with the membership."

Following the convention, the district directors were written: "We are in the process of testing a manual to be used in training the local union instructors. Once trained they will be used to present broader issues and for stimulating rank and file discussion on whatever problems confront the members. If we are to have a challenging educational program, a way must be found to put the program in the hands of the locals and that is what we have set out to do during the next few months."

We had hoped to have the procedures worked out by the end of 1952 and to have demonstrated the value of the local instructor program. This timetable was stepped up in District 3 where plans have been approved for spreading the program beyond the experimental stage with the cooperation of the field representatives. (See attached outline of procedures.)

In some respects the program is even further advanced. In District 4, where the director had previously expressed his desire to see instructors in every local, the instructors were also working on general union programs and

there was a high degree of coordination between the instructor program and the district schools. At the September Gravois Mills School, specific plans were worked out by all delegates to process A-D grievances in their departments on their return, and for the instructors to use the grievances as a basis for discussion of the A-D program both in the plant and in the community. Where there were no instructors to do this, they were to be trained immediately. This plan would have provided the follow-up essential to the success of any school.

None of these plans were carried out because of the temporary transfer of the educational representative to the organizing staff.

We are revising the manual again before putting it in final form. It will be ready for use by educational and field representatives and instructors sometime in February, and will be in looseleaf form so sections can be changed and material added without too much expense. Subjects covered will be: contract, grievance procedure, job classification and standards, seniority, role of the steward, program and policy, structure and constitution, and local union structure. A handbook on leading discussion has been prepared for the instructors and most of the procedures for carrying out the instructor training program are now in written form.

Instructors' present activities consist of: holding steward training classes, conducting sessions on grievances, contracts, job classification and rates, leading discussions at steward council, steward meetings, and union meetings. There were discussions by most of the instructors on contract negotiations and new contract provisions.

Although forty instructors have been trained and 75% have already conducted

steward training sessions for their own locals, the most important thing that has been done has been the working out of the program, and procedure for spreading the program.

In everything undertaken our aim has been to train people to do things for themselves. We have stayed in the background. Our efforts have been devoted to setting up a program that once in operation can move fairly rapidly towards activating the locals and developing local leaders. Immediate and limited results have been subordinated to the less spectacular job of taking the program of the UPWA directly and consistently to the stewards and through them to the membership.

Our conviction has grown that most of the problems must be solved in the districts where those responsible are in a position to know the situation and to follow through. Also, that it is imperative for us to reach deeper into the membership with a continuing program than has been done here-to-fore.

While all union program and convention mandates are necessarily subject to constant review, full use should be made of the authorized piece of educational machinery which has been hammered out at considerable cost and which is now ready to be fitted into the union structure. We have a volunteer service organization which, if supervised and developed properly, can make a lasting contribution to the welfare of the union.

INSTRUCTOR TRAINING PROGRAM, UPWA - CIO

DEVELOPING THE INSTRUCTOR PROGRAM IN A LOCAL

The Ed. Rep. and the Field Rep. lay out a plan together for handling the Instructor Program all through the following procedures.

I. Selection of Instructors

1. Ed. rep. and Field rep. (who is made thoroughly acquainted with the kind of people needed) confer as to person(s) in the local they could recommend as instructors based on qualifications, etc.

2. They decide how this recommendation should be made to local.

3. Local may do initial choosing depending on the situation; local always has the final approval.

4. Program and instructors (recommended by the Ed. rep, Field rep. and district director or the local) presented to local for approval.

   a. Should have endorsement of rank and file at a meeting, but the minimum requirement is approval by the executive board of the local.

II. Number of Instructors

1. Small locals may not be able to finance more than one.

2. In locals with two shift operations, there should be at least one instructor on each shift.

3. Large locals may prefer more than one, so the local will still have a program if an instructors leaves.

4. Where there is more than one instructor, they should work as a team.

5. In selecting instructors where there are a number in the local, they should be as representative of the different minority groups and other groups in the local, as possible.

III. Training of Instructors

1. Hold organized Training Conference of 3 - 4 days.

   a. Include 8 - 10 instructors.

   b. Staffed by Ed. rep. and Field rep(s) who share duties of running Conference.

2. Use of "Instructors Manual for Steward Training" at Training Conference.

   a. Instructors are required to read manual and other background materials, before coming to conference.

   b. Each has a chance to use the manual and lead discussions based on it. As staff man at Conference, field rep. also leads discussions based on manual, to familiarize himself with methods used.

3. Instructors should be trained as good discussion leaders, and be able to set up and carry out effective Stewards Training Program in locals.

IV. Follow-up and Supervision

1. Ed. rep. observes instructor at first Steward class; then holds meeting with instructor and field rep. to frankly discuss strong points and weaknesses and encourage instructor, etc.

2. Field rep. attends at least every other Steward Training session and meets with instructor afterward to review progress until program gets well under way.

3. When more than one instructor in locals, they can work as a team and may require less supervision.

4. Halfway through Steward Training Manual, a second Training Conference is held for the instructors.

   a. This is approximately as long as first one and conducted on an advanced level.

   b. It is staffed by the ed. rep. and field rep. with field rep. playing a bigger role this time based on his follow-up experience.

   c. Purposes of this second Conference are:

      1. Review and exchange of experiences and ideas.

      2. Constructive criticism.

      3. Training in second half of manual.

      4. Suggestions and discussion on broadening the instructor's role and function in the local following his completing the Steward's Training Course.

5. Instructor makes a report to the ed. rep. on all sessions and any other activities and requests and actions which result from them.

V. Certification

1. Instructor is certified after the completion of one Steward's Training Course with ed. rep and field rep's approval.

2. Certification should be formal, at a local meeting, by the district director, if possible. Should also include credentials, recognition, publicity.

VI. Field Rep's Role in Following Through With the Program

1. Field Rep. gives instructors guidance and backing in the local.

2. Field rep. works through instructors to further any program he is aiding the local in. He works out and plans with them how they can function in furthering particular program or handle a particular issue.

3. Field rep. helps arrange for selecting and training replacements, etc.

4. Field rep. advises on any special training for instructors needed to meet special needs and situations of local, and coordinates this with ed. rep.

5. Ed. rep. coordinates handling of special chain wide, International, District wide issues through field rep. to fit instructors into it.

6. Field rep. (with ed. rep. when necessary) will help and advise instructors in making use of local issues and immediate concerns such as negotiations, etc. in their program. Special materials from the national office, an Instructor's Bulletin to exchange ideas and materials from the Ed. Dept. will be channelled through instructor to further this.

7. Only as many instructors as a field rep. can effectively follow through with, will be trained in locals which he services or situations he is responsible for.

3-53

The Workers Education Bureau

By JOHN D. CONNORS

Director, Workers Education Bureau

THE question is often asked: "What is the Workers Education Bureau?" A very brief answer would be that the Bureau is the department of education of the American Federation of Labor. While it is only since late 1950 that the Bureau has been officially within the structure of the Federation, from its founding in 1921 it has performed the functions of a department.

The W.E.B. had the blessing of Samuel Gompers from the time it was projected. Said he in 1921:

"In view of the mounting costs of public education and the difficulties of obtaining funds, the volunteer energies of the American labor movement should be enlisted, particularly in the development of adult education, hitherto entrusted largely to struggling continuation schools.

"It may well be that organized labor, which took such a positive part in the establishment of popular education in the United States, will now take the lead in another movement of vital significance to the cultural development of this country."

The Workers Education Bureau was born in New York City at a meeting held at the New School for Social Research on April 2 and 3, 1921. Evidence of the interest in this new organization was the attendance at this conference called by a group of labor people and educators. Where twenty-five or, at the most, fifty persons were expected, since no funds were available for expenses, between 200 and 300 were present, many of the delegates coming from great distances.

Originally established as an independent organization for education of members of organized labor, the Bureau over the years gained greater and greater support, both moral and financial, from the A. F. of L., until by 1950 the Bureau was receiving an annual grant of thousands of dollars. In November of that year, pursuant to convention action, the Bureau was made an organic department of the American Federation of Labor, and in December was moved from New York to Washington.

In the period of a little over two years since that time, the work of the Workers Education Bureau has expanded to such an extent that greater space was required, and in January of this year we moved to the famous old Washington house at 1525 H Street, now owned by the A. F. of L. Labor's League for Political Education occupies the first floor of this building. The second and third floors were used as the headquarters of the National Association of Letter Carriers and the Postal Transport Workers, but when the Letter Carriers moved to their own new building near the Capitol, the second floor became available for the Workers Education Bureau. Here room is provided for the Bureau's educational work, including space for storing the films and filmstrips and visual equipment in its film library.

From its inception the Workers Education Bureau has served the organized labor movement as a clearing house of information and a coordinating agency in the field of labor education and related activities. As over the years it became more and more closely allied with the Federation, its chief function became more and more the stimulation and integration of union education in A. F. of L. organizations at all levels.

The Bureau now aids in planning nationwide programs, local classes and study groups, lecture courses, forums; advises on setting up scholarship award programs; helps develop public relations programs; assists in securing the inclusion of courses on labor in the public school curriculum, in gaining the cooperation of public libraries, in furnishing speakers, in furnishing materials for speeches and for radio and television programs.

In addition, it responds increasingly to requests for information, advice and materials on labor which come from colleges and universities, public school administrators and teachers, government agencies, libraries and other community organizations. Since establishing its film library in 1949, the Bureau has been very active in the visual education field, advising on and distributing labor films to labor groups and community organizations.

Our catalogue, "Films for Labor," has recently been revised and enlarged. This booklet lists A. F. of L. films and filmstrips and others useful to labor groups. It indicates what they are about, their length, their rental price, where they they may

Eagerness to learn is being shown by many modern trade unionists

be procured, etc., and also gives hints on showing films and securing equipment. (For a copy of this catalogue, as well as for other educational pamphlets, write to the Workers Education Bureau, American Federation of Labor, 1525 H Street, N.W., Washington 5, D. C.)

Let us now turn our attention to one or two of the workers' education activities being carried on in the field. One significant project is developing in the South.

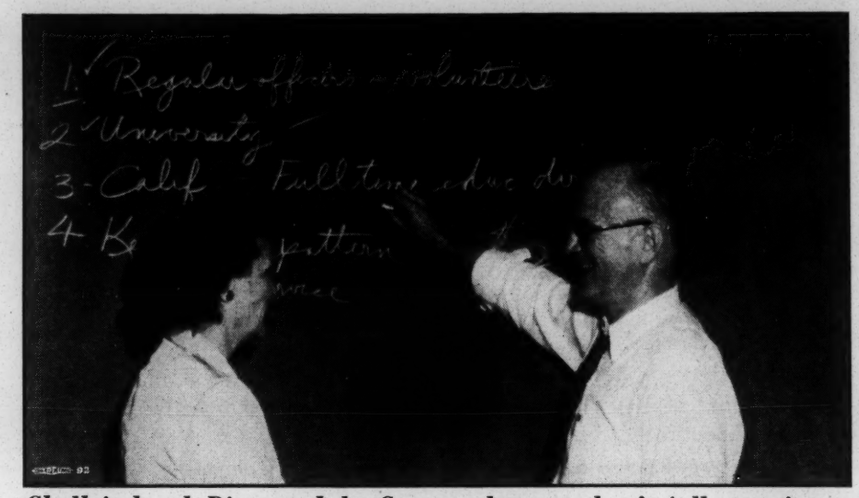
While over the years several of the State Federations of Labor in the South have sponsored sporadic labor institutes and various types of labor education programs, it was not until last year that a Southwide program was inaugurated. Sentiment for such a program had been building up for many years, and this came to fruition in October of 1952 with the holding of the first Southern A. F. of L. Labor School at Lakeland, Florida.

The fourteen State Federations of Labor in the area supervised by J. L. Rhodes, Southern organizing director of the American Federation of Labor, joined in sponsoring a five-day, intensive training program for officers of the State Federations and central labor unions in that section. The great success of the school was due largely to the months of preparation on the part of the board of control, composed of the presidents and secretaries of the State Federations in the South, with Edward H. Weyler of Kentucky serving as president and Stanton E. Smith of Tennessee as secretary-treasurer. Lew Rhodes and the author represented the A. F. of L. and acted as consultants.

The more than 100 officer-students who participated in this non-segregated labor school got intensive instruction in educational techniques, trade union theory, history, economics, political action and the increasingly important subject of labor's international relations.

Professor E. W. Waugh, Mississippi-born professor at the Michigan State Teachers College, headed the class in labor history. Here the delegates studied the history of the labor movement from earliest times down through the organization of the A. F. of L. and the gains won in the more than seventy years since the Federation's birth.

Dr. George Mitchell, director of the Southern Regional Council and a well-known student of the South and its problems, led the group through a detailed analysis of those problems and what is being done and needs to be done about them.



Chalk in hand, Director John Connors has a student's full attention

In my class the students worked on educational methods and techniques, and particularly those used in the programs of state federations, central bodies and international unions. Here I had the assistance of several guest lecturers—Russell Allen of the Paper Makers, Otto Pragan of the Chemical Workers and Sam Ezelle of the Kentucky State Federation of Labor.

Lew Rhodes was in charge of the class which discussed the functions of State Federations and city central bodies, and he, too, used guest speakers to explain how the Federation's policies and programs are implemented and coordinated by our affiliates.

The program of evening sessions started off with a world view when Serafino Romualdi, the A. F. of L.'s Latin American representative, described the Federation's work in combating communism throughout the world. Glen Slaughter, assistant director of Labor's League for Political Education, on another evening gave a picture of the current political situation. On the other evenings equally well-known speakers led stimulating discussions.

Already the hoped-for results of the Lakeland School have made their appearance in several parts of the Southland with the initiation of grassroots labor education programs, and a much larger Southwide school is being planned for this year by the board of control, now headed by E. H. (Lige) Williams of Louisiana.

This development in the South is but one of many examples which could be cited of the increasing interest in an educational program carried on *by* labor *for* labor.

Another area in which there have been significant developments recently as regards labor education is the field of higher learning. The number of colleges and universities —particularly state universities— which are cooperating in aiding workers through both extension and resident programs has lately shown a marked increase.

WE WELCOME the establishment of these university programs for workers, but we feel strongly that labor must have a voice in planning and carrying on these programs for its members. We feel that for each such program a labor advisory committee should be set up, with representatives chosen by the labor movement itself. Where this has been done, the result has always been a realistic and successful program, of benefit to our members, when the labor representatives have taken their assignments seriously and truly worked at them.

Eight of the universities participating in such programs have set up the Inter-University Labor Education Committee. This committee of sixteen members is made up of four representatives of the American Federation of Labor (President Reuben G. Soderstrom of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, Arthur Elder of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, Otto Pragan of the Chemical Workers and the writer), four from the Congress of Industrial Organizations and one representative

each from the eight participating universities. These are Cornell University, Rutgers University, the University of California at Los Angeles, the University of Chicago, the University of Illinois, Pennsylvania State College, Roosevelt College and the University of Wisconsin. The project, now in its second year, will continue through 1954, under an annual grant of $192,000 from the Fund for Adult Education of the Ford Foundation.

Those who have set up the Inter-University Labor Education Committee have in view the broadening and expansion of labor education activities. They also envisage the establishment of a firm basis for cooperation among all universities active in this field, as well as a closer relationship between labor and the universities.

The broad objectives are the expansion of labor's interest in three fields—foreign affairs, economics and community participation. It is hoped to accomplish this expansion by promoting and stimulating interest among such unions as have thus far made no significant effort toward education in these three areas, or no effort at all toward a continuing program of education. A second aim is the development—by the process of experimentation—of techniques and tools which will make our educational efforts more effective and lasting.

Specifically, the Inter-University Labor Education Committee is trying to find answers to the following:

(1) The most effective ways and means of stimulating interest in workers' educational and community activities. This involves, for example, an appraisal of the respective value of single lectures, weekend conferences, summer courses, discussions tied in with membership meetings, attitude surveys, questionnaire approach, opinion meters, workshop and work projects, labor education committees and labor education councils, films and filmstrips, training of rank and file and union officers as discussion leaders.

(2) The most effective tools and materials to increase and maintain interest. This involves the use of a variety of techniques as well as the preparation and testing of various types of materials, course outlines, fact sheets, discussion guides, regular quiz programs, films and filmstrips, and the development and testing of follow-up programs.

(3) The development of valid evaluation procedures so that the effectiveness of these educational efforts can be measured.

(4) The suggestion of ways and means by which educational work can be made to reach beyond the rank-and-file union member to his wife and other members of his family.

Although workers' education leaders are still firmly convinced that the ideal labor education is that conducted and financed by the trade unions themselves, a large number of A. F. of L. organizations throughout the country are actively cooperating with the Inter-University Labor Education Committee because they recognize the real contribution such a project can make to the extension and development of labor education.

Not only has our workers' educaton program expanded nationally but our activities in the international field have expanded in equal measure. The influx of teams and individuals visiting this country from all over the world to study our labor movement has brought us the duty and the opportunity of acquainting our brothers from other lands with the significant role which our labor movement plays in the American economy. Their interest is particularly in our organizational structure and the newer techniques we have developed for collective bargaining, public relations and education.

I am sure that many of the readers of THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST have had personal contacts, as have we of the A. F. of L. staff in Washington, with the constant stream of trade union officials, workers in special industries and labor education specialists who have come to our shores in the past few years.

In addition to those who are here by direct invitation of the Federation itself, an increasing number are being brought over under the auspices of the Mutual Security Agency and under programs sponsored by the United States Labor Department and State Department.

Even though the many interviews, lectures, planning of itineraries and entertainment, etc., for these visitors are time-consuming and upset our daily routine, we are only too glad to lend a helping hand to our friends from overseas in their efforts to build free democratic trade unions in their countries as the chief bulwark against the ever-present totalitarian and Communist menace.

Here, then, are one or two instances of our endeavors to make workers' education a functional and vital part of the American Federation of Labor program at all levels—local, national and international.

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Labor in Israel NEWSLETTER

VOLUME ONE - NUMBER SIX

June, 1953

Histadrut's cultural and recreational activities

Histadrut offers its half-million members a wide range of facilities for study and recreation. The membership of Histadrut is more than 50% of the total population of Israel, and Histadrut therefore plays a major role in all cultural activities within our State. These activities are directed by our Cultural Department which operates in three fields:

INFORMATION: Current events at home and abroad are presented through lectures in factories and over the radio. Special pamphlets and weekly seminars are additional means of keeping the Histadrut member well informed. Last year Histadrut sponsored about 80 study centers and classes for adults, and they were attended by about 3,500 workers. In Tel Aviv, about 400 workers attend a special evening high school, and a similar school is run in Haifa for hundreds of other workers.

EDUCATION: A network of people's colleges, a correspondence school, and special classes by arrangement with the Hebrew University are among the means of giving the workers a higher education. Histadrut libraries and cultural centers help raise the cultural standard in hundreds of communities. Each regional labor council and every immigrant camp has its own cultural committee which acts as liaison between the national center and the local groups. Local initiative is constantly encouraged.

ART: This division deals with all media of art expression. It publishes material on music (orchestral and choral), folk dancing, drama and other aspects of art.

What labor reads in Israel

Histadrut publishes its own newspaper, "Davar" ("The Word"), which has steadily gained in influence for a quarter of a century and has become the country's leading daily. Because of its high standard of news and comment and because of its reputation for authoritative and informed opinion, it is frequently referred to as the "The Times of Israel." It now publishes special women's and economic supplements, a popular illustrated weekly news magazine, a weekly children's magazine, and a special weekly trade union supplement.

In 1942, Histadrut founded its own publishing house, "Am Oved" ("Working People"), which publishes modern and classical literature, both fiction and non-fiction, drama, essays, poetry, pamphlets, and numerous other works, some in original Hebrew and some in translation from foreign languages, usually English. "Am Oved" has published translations of many books by leading American authors.

Interracial News Service

A DIGEST OF TRENDS AND DEVELOPMENTS IN HUMAN RELATIONS

BI-MONTHLY $2.00 FOR TWO YEARS

VOLUME 24 JULY-AUGUST, 1953 NUMBER 4

Segregation Walls Crumbling

In Arizona

On the basis of past decisions and present plans of independently acting boards of trustees, racial segregation in Arizona's schools will have been ended in all but two of Arizona's 14 counties by the beginning of the fall term of 1954—regardless of a pending State Supreme Court constitutionality.

By the fall of 1954, if the Supreme Court has not banned segregation, and hold-out school boards have not changed their minds, racial segregation will be practiced in less than a dozen school districts in Yuma and Pinal Counties.

The big break for exponents of racial integration came with decision of a majority of the Phoenix Union High Schools District Board to eliminate segregation with the opening of the 1953-54 scholastic year, next September. The Phoenix Union District was the last secondary schools district in the state to practice segregation. . . .

Neither school officials nor Negro leaders saw any likelihood of immediate mass shifting of Negro school attendance, and both felt that enforced integration would be the better way.

Elementary school board members explained their delay in integration of upper grades to be based not on reluctance, but on a practical approach to a complex economic and social problem. To the final solution they expected a study of a year's desegregation in the lower grades to contribute. The city is employing 70 Negro elementary school teachers, many or most of whom will be candidates for integration into the desegregated system.

The decision of the elementary schools board to desegregate on a two-step basis was unanimous. . . .

Majority members of the board poohpoohed suggestions of possible social reaction to such action taken on the local level. They pointed to the present apparent tranquillity in the school system of Tucson, the state's second largest city, which integrated its schools a year ago. (*The Christian Science Monitor,* July 24).

In Louisiana

Negroes, banding together as one, pulled a 90 per cent effective boycott . . . (in Baton Rouge, La.) and forced the end of absolute Jim Crow on the local buses of Baton Rouge, the state capital of Louisiana.

As a result of their unified fight, colored riders gained the right to sit anywhere on buses except for the two side seats in the front. White may sit anywhere on local transit lines except the rear seat across the back of the bus.

The city council of Baton Rouge in an emergency action approved the above plan which it considers an acceptable arrangement in an effort to end a week-long boycott of the Baton Rouge Bus Co., by Negroes.

The trouble all started two weeks ago when the city council passed ordinance ending segregation indirectly on the city buses in keeping with a campaign promise made by the city's mayor went into effect. Under the new law Negroes could keep their seats in the front of the bus if they boarded before whites did, and would not have to move to the rear as seats were emptied. They also could sit up front if no rear seats were available.

Because of this law, the company's white bus drivers refused to take their posts. They went on a four-day strike. This resulted in an opinion by Fred S. Leblanc, state attorney general, that the city ordinance violated the state segregation laws. When this ruling was announced, the white bus drivers returned to work.

This in turn drove the city's Negroes, who make up two thirds of the bus line's passengers, into action. They refused to ride the bus lines, making these demands:

1. The company abide by the new city ordinance.

2. The company hire Negro bus drivers or the city issue a separate franchise to allow Negroes to operate their own bus lines.

To demonstrate their intentions, the Negroes then organized what they called a "fair lift" free automobile service to replace the bus service. Under this program about 150 automobiles have been utilized to transport them.

Considering the Negroes demands, there is no assurance that the city council's compromise action will end the boycott.

Through the United Defense League, which is operating the fair lift, Negroes have raised more than $1,000 to support their cause. T. Roosevelt Smith is executive chairman of the Board of the UDL.

The Rev. T. J. Jemison, president of the UDL, said this action is not a boycott. He declared, "That's illegal. We're just not riding."

Aiding the Negroes in their fight were three service stations which sold gasoline to the fair lift at wholesale prices. The fair lift also organized a system of stations or pickup points for passengers.

The city ordinance was passed March 11, 1953, but became effective only recently.

Bus drivers were angered because Negroes refused to get up from seats in the front and move to the rear when white passengers boarded.

Action by colored people here is believed to be the first of its kind by Negroes against transportation Jim Crow, especially within a city. (*The Saint Louis Argus,* July 3).

In North Carolina

A showdown between Bishop Vincent S. Waters and the die-hards in the Catholic church of North Carolina appeared imminent last week over the prelate's order banning segregation of the races in all Catholic churches in the Diocese of Raleigh.

In the latest order on the controversial question of the segregation of the races in churches the bishop said "There is no segregation of the races to be tolerated in any Catholic church in the Diocese of Raleigh."

The bishop's statement came while Catholics who desire the segregation of the races were still angry and non-cooperative over the bishop's order for the merger of the white and Negro Catholic churches in Newton Grove several weeks ago. Though oppositions mounted week after week on the merger order, the bishop steadfastly has refused to waver.

Some white members have boycotted services at the Church of the Redeemer since it was merged with the Negro Catholic Church in Newton Grove.

Instead of rescinding his order, the bishop now has extended it to include all churches in his diocese. (*Chicago Defender,* July 4).

New Strategy

Delegates to the annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People were told today their organization was not planning any legal moves that would expand or improve separate facilities for Negroes.

Thurgood Marshall, chief counsel for the association, said the only aim of its legal staff was to start court actions leading to total integration of Negroes and white persons in every community in the country. . . .

In a special message read to the eve-

ning session of the convention, Gov. Thomas E. Dewey of New York declared that the struggle for equal rights was not one for colored people only. He said it was a national responsibility. (*New York Times,* June 25).

"Texas" In Kansas!

The O. R. Burden Construction Company, a pipe line company, operating out of Texas, found out that is could not draw the color line in hiring employes in the Kansas City area. The Company, through its superintendents, have continuously stated that they would not work with Negroes.

When the Company started to build a pipe line through the Kansas City district, Laborers Union 663 of Kansas City, Missouri, and Laborers Union 1290 of Kansas City, Kansas agreed to split the men working on the job between the two unions.

On July 1, the company called Local 1290 for five men, and Local 1290 filled the order from the rotation plan used by the Union by sending out the next five men who were to be sent out to work. The five men sent were Negroes. They reported to work at the O. R. Burden job at Lees Summit, and superintendent for the company, stated that he did not want the Negroes because he would not mix his crews. He added that if he did there would be trouble.

Robert Powell told the superintendent that Local Unions 1290 and 663 refused to recognize any color line and that any man, regardless of his color, was entitled to work on any job. He further suggested that they employ the two men or the Union would refuse to furnish any other laborers, because the Union would not be a party to racial discrimination. He referred the superintendent to the no discrimination clause in the Union contract. The men were immediately hired and on July 22, four other Negroes were hired by the Union. (*The Call,* July 14).

Housing In Toledo

Segregation in Toledo public housing units will be ended not later than October 23, according to a consent decree signed last week by Federal Judge Frank L. Kloeb.

The order was approved by (Toledo Metropolitan Housing Authority) counsel and attorneys for four Negro families who filed action seeking an injunction against the authority to compel their admittance to vacant units in three projects now occupied exclusively by whites.

The order, signed by Judge Kloeb follows a long controversy over TMHA's announced intention of ending segregation. The policy was announced originally in January, but immediately became a heated community issue.

East Toledo whites opposed integration. The Toledo Board of Community Relations asked T.M.H.A. not to put the policy into effect until it could study the situation. Subsequently, the board said, on the basis of economics and principle, TMHA had no alternative but to proceed with the implementation of its policy.

The court action was instituted when the controversy dragged on and opponents of non-segregation resorted to various maneuvers to stifle the policy. . . .

Judge Kloeb held that there was no question of civil rights involved in the case, since TMHA had announced its intention to eliminate the practice. He did say, however, that it was his duty to see that the policy was carried out in reasonable time. Accordingly, he fixed the October date.

TMHA administers seven projects containing 1,400 units. In the past, three on the east side of the city's Maumee River —the stream divides the city—have traditionally been reserved for whites. Those on the west, with slightly more than 700 units, have been earmarked for Negroes. (*St. Louis Argus,* July 3).

Atlantic City Schools

(Atlantic City's) integrated school system was recommended as a model for other cities by Dr. John P. Milligan, local superintendent, in a speech in St. Louis recently.

Dr. Milligan was invited to address a human relations workshop at Washington University in St. Louis . . .

He told the Missourians that the local school system has derived many benefits from integration of students of all races.

. . . Dr. Milligan told the human relations study group that no problem has arisen in the local school system as a result of a colored teacher's authority over white children.

Emphasizing how school integration saves the taxpayers money, the local superintendent pointed out to the Missourians that only one instead of two high schools, two junior high schools and two vocational schools are now needed here. (*Afro-American,* August 15).

ON THE OTHER HAND

In Illinois

The FBI today began a preliminary investigation of a race disturbance at a federal housing project after seven "Japanese mortar bombs" were confiscated from members of an unruly crowd and 30 persons were arrested.

The Chicago Crime Laboratory began tests on the "bombs" taken from the crowd . . . to determine how deadly they were.

Alfred F. Muench, regional attorney for the Public Housing Authority, (recently) requested FBI agent-in-charge Kline Weatherford to take a hand on the ground that $700 damage had been done to federal property.

Weatherford said that he would assign agents to make a preliminary investigation to determine if the FBI had jurisdiction.

Some 750 policemen have been working in three shifts, trying to keep order at the Trumbull Parks Housing Project since Sunday night (Aug. 9) when the first crowd of 3,000 persons assembled to protest the movement of a Negro family into the previously "all-white" project.

The family was that of postal worker Donald Howard.

A six-man police detail guarded the lives of Howard and his family, with two officers detailed to sit on the front step of his home. . . .

Police reported that hoodlums strung wire across alleys in the neighborhood and strewed nail-filled boards on streets to hamper squad cars. All taverns in the neighborhood were closed after five steel workers were cut by flying glass Monday while driving home from work through the area. . . .

Commissioner O'Connor said the disturbances were "almost completely a juvenile picture." . . .

O'Connor said 10 per cent of Chicago's 7,000 policemen were being used to protect the Howards and other residents of the project. (*New York Post,* August 12).

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An Illinois FEPC bill, endorsed by the Republican governor and having the support of several civic organizations, last week was defeated in the senate, 29-13. . . .

Although Gov. William Stratton, a Republican, supported the bill, most of the Republicans in the senate voted to uphold a senate industrial affairs committee's recommendation that it be killed. . . .

The bill would have established an Equality of Employment Opportunity commission. This body would have worked to end discrimination in employment because of race, religion, color, national origin, or ancestry. . . . (*The Call,* July 3).

In Florida

Francis M. McHale, Jacksonville attorney, made it known this week that he has been hired by the Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan to fight any siuts aiming to break down racial segregation in the state of Florida.

He said that he is not a Klansman, and would be available for court appearances in Georgia and Alabama, too.

— — —

Bill Hendrix, former Klan leader, who announced his disassociation with the Klan several months back announced here that 23 representatives from six states gathered in Columbus, Georgia, last weekend to form one strong Klan outfit.

Hendrix, who was just licensed as an evangelist in Leon county, described himself as imperial emperor of the new Klan.

He said that if the U. S. Supreme Court rules to kill the South's present segregation customs, that the Klan would be available to carry on a legal fight to preserve segregation, and to try to keep hot-heads from violent action.

He asserted that the new Klan would be a strictly educational organization. (*Jacksonville Chronicle,* June 26).

In New Jersey

The last remaining defendant in the case of the "Trenton Six" will be paroled from prison in November, the Parole Board announced today.

He is Ralph Cooper, 27, who was sentenced to 6 to 10 years in prison last

February when he entered a no defense plea to the charge that he helped kill William Horner, 72, on Jan. 27, 1948, in a $35 holdup.

Cooper was one of six Negroes arrested for the murder. . . .

The case attracted national attention when all six were convicted and sentenced to die. A new trial was ordered by the Supreme Court, but there was a mistrial when the prosecutor became ill.

At their third trial, Cooper and Collis English were convicted. James Thorpe, McKinley Forrest, Horace Wilson and John MacKenzie were acquitted. Another trial was ordered for Cooper and English, but the latter died in State prison.

Last February, Cooper appeared in court, accused all six of participating in the crime and was given a 6 to 10-year sentence. At that time the Princeton Committee for the Defense of the Trenton Six charged that Cooper had been coerced into a second false confession and that his reward was a minimum sentence that would permit a quick parole. (*New York Post,* August 11).

In Naval Installations

A Negro today said the Navy did not go far enough in modifying segregation policies for civilian workers in Southern Navy Yards.

Clarence Mitchell, Washington director of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, said the new policy "could mean ending segregation in 30 days or 30 years. Hence, there will be no cheers for the Navy until the last Jim Crow sign comes down."

The Navy plans to announce soon a change in policy stating that common, rather than separate, facilities for civilian employes is the desired goal. Base commanders will be required to report periodically on their progress toward integration.

The old policy tells base commanders to follow "local customs" in determining racial policies among civilian employes. (*New York Post,* August 11).

CIVIL RIGHTS

Buried in Congress

The 83rd Congress closed its first session . . . this week without having enacted a single civil rights measure, Clarence Mitchell, director of the Washington bureau of the NAACP, reported in a survey of congressional action.

"From the beginning when a Republican and Democratic coalition defeated an anti-filibuster rules change offered by Sen. Clinton Anderson (D., N. M.) by a vote of 70 to 21, the 83rd Congress made a determined and successful effort to avoid consideration of civil rights," Mr. Mitchell asserted. . . .

Senator Ives set hearings on FEPC legislation, but postponed them until January, 1954. No other committee of Congress definitely set hearings on civil rights bills.

The late Sen. Charles W. Tobey (R., N. H.) was studying anti-jim crow travel legislation in his committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and had agreed to hold hearings, but dates had not been set.

Although civil rights bills have been introduced in all major categories such as fair employment, anti-lynching, anti-jim crow travel and anti-poll tax, none of these is an administration bill.

Committee chairmen usually act on such legislation when the White House asks them to do so, Mr. Mitchell pointed out. (*The Afro-American,* August 15).

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A Resurrected Committee

President Eisenhower created a new fourteen-member Government Committee (Aug. 13) to prevent discriminatory employment practices in companies with Federal contracts.

The President issued an executive order that rescinded one by former President Truman. Under the new order, President Eisenhower will replace the present Committee on Government Contract Compliance with a new Government Contract Committee.

. . . The mission of the committee is to prevent discrimination against any employe because of race, creed, color or national origin. It is one area of the civil rights problem in which the President can act by exercising his own power to eradicate unfair practices. This power, however, is limited to work done for the Government under contracts that contain a fair employment practices clause. . . .

Negroes again will be members of the new committee. . . .

The essential difference between the old and the new committees is that the new unit will have definite operating functions. . . .

The new committee will:

Receive complaints of discrimination, forward them to the appropriate agency of Government for processing, and receive reports from these agencies on what has been done about the complaint.

Establish compliance machinery.

Stimulate educational programs aimed at eliminating the basic causes of discrimination.

Maintain cooperative relationships with state, local and non-governmental agencies.

In addition, it will have more public members than the old committee—nine instead of six—and more Government agency representatives—six instead of five. It is understood that although the order provided for eight public members, an amendment will raise this to nine. . . . (*New York Times,* August 13).

The matter in these pages is presented for the reader's information. It is not to be construed as reflecting the attitudes of the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations or of The National Council of Churches.

ON MEETINGS AND CONVENTIONS

The question of race segregation in convention cities threw the hitherto peaceable assembly of the international convention of the Disciples of Christ, in Portland's (Ore.) public auditorium, into an uproar . . . (recently.)

When the clamor had subsided, the delegates had voted overwhelmingly to support a resolution to hold meetings "only where there are facilities in hotels and other places of meeting that are open to all participants without discrimination . . ." and to have arrangements committees "press unremittingly for the achievement of the goal of a completely non-segregated convention."

Gaines M. Cook, executive secretary of the convention, explained that tentative arrangements in Miami include use of the auditorium on a completely non-segregated basis, and an understanding no meetings will be held where there is racial segregation; also, that there is a hotel, "equal in accommodations to any in Portland" which is available for use of Negro delegates. "We've been trying to get better arrangements if possible," he added.

The . . . feeling that ran through the crowded auditorium in no instance supported segregation. The delegation was apparently divided into those who felt that to go on with the Miami arrangements would be a denial of the non-segregation principle, and those who felt that to stay out of the South entirely, because of discrimination—some of it compelled by law—would amount to discrimination against the southern Disciples. (*The Oregonian,* July 8).

WHO IS WELCOME

"If Jim Crow's gaunt specter eventually is to be driven from the temple," writes Howard Whitman, . . . "young members of our churches must do it, for they are the ones with the strength and the desire for fair play. And make no mistake—the fight already has begun. But progress is pathetically slow."

Whitman cites the case of two Negro children in Minneapolis who came to church and were admitted to the Sunday school. He reveals that nothing was said to them until they were leaving at which time a deacon of the church reportedly drew them aside and stated calmly, "I don't think you'd better come back here any more. This really isn't your church, you know."

In Portsmouth, Ohio, according to the author, a Negro woman prominent in civic affairs was invited to speak at a "white" church. However, two weeks before the event was to take place, it was called off. The minister of the church haltingly explained that "some of his people" objected and that two women threatened to quit the church if a Negro came to speak. Ironically enough, the occasion for which the speech had been planned was Brotherhood Week!

Whitman commented:

"That is the pattern with, of course,

the exception of a few churches here and there which are blazing a new trail by opening their doors to all people.

"It is a pattern whose devious design shows up in every section of our country. Segregation is not a problem of the deep South only. In 1948, a survey of six denominations embracing 17,900 revealed that only four and one-eighth (correct figure is 4.8) per cent included Negroes.

"A current survey of three denominations embracing 13,597 churches shows that nine and one-eighth (correct figure is 9.8) per cent include either Negroes or some other racial minority.

"As for the Negroes themselves, it is estimated that less than one per cent find themselves in churches where they worship side by side with their white brothers."

Next is cited the example of discrimination on the part of ministers, as told by Rev. Julian J. Keiser, minister of a racially integrated church. He said one of his colleagues in Chicago has a kid-glove technique of segregation. Whenever a Negro family presents itself at his church, he says "You'll be welcome here. Yes, indeed. But wouldn't you be happier in one of your own churches?"

Whitman asserted, "That's all it takes. They never come back."

Such a technique, it is ably pointed out, enables church people to deny that they were insincere in their welcome. . . .

Many of the nation's ministers reportedly feel that the young people will guide the churches out of the religious morass of segregation. . . .

The Rev. Julian J. Keiser of Chicago reported on the feeling of his church in trying to practice what it preaches. After a flurry of opposition which accompanied the opening of its doors to Negroes a new spirit pervaded the Warren Avenue Congregational church. "It seemed to come right in through those open doors," Mr. Keiser reveals.

He stated further, "People feel relieved that they are now practicing what they preach and what their Gospel has been preaching for so long. They feel clean, honest about their convictions. They know it was un-Christian to exclude Negroes in the past, and they know they are doing right now. You can count more on Christian conscience than you realize."

In concluding his article, Whitman pointed out:

"The luxury of the gradual approach may not be available to us much longer. For we live in a world where colored people—the brown of India, the black of Africa, the yellow of Asia—are looking us over and appraising this product called democracy in which we are trying to interest them." (*The Call,* July 7).

SOUTH AFRICA

South African Prime Minister Daniel F. Malan has agreed to meet with representatives of the Colored People's National Union to discuss the vital question of the Colored franchise.

This may prove to be an historic meeting, for the rigidly pro-white government of Dr. Malan has broken off almost all contact with the non-white segments of the South African community.

The interview . . . (was) arranged for Aug. 14—five days before the joint sitting of both houses of Parliament is due to be resumed and a vote taken on the bill removing Colored voters from the common voters' roll.

George Golding, president of the union which claims a membership of 40,000, (said, among other things) . . .

"We feel the time has come to make a direct approach ourselves to discuss the whole question with Dr. Malan and explain our point of view."

The Teachers' Educational and Professional Association, a moderate Colored organization to which many members of the CPNU belong, has issued a memorandum protesting not only against the highly controversial proposal to validate the Separate Representation of Voters' Act which takes Coloreds off the common electoral roll, but also against the suggestion that the qualifications of Colored voters should be raised.

The memorandum states: "We have only one suggestion—that all existing educational and economic qualifications be abolished and adult suffrage introduced as for whites." . . .

Some Colored persons who are skeptical of the approach to Dr. Malan are apprehensive that the union may be tempted to bargain with the government or extract some promise from them in return for agreeing to an alteration in Colored franchise . . .

Some Nationalist MP's (Members of Parliament) are saying that concessions will eventually have to be made to Colored voters, but that such concessions are impossible while the Colored people share the electoral roll with whites.

The concessions being mentioned are the extension of the Colored franchise to the northern provinces of South Africa . . . the enfranchisement of Colored women and the right of Colored people to be represented by Colored MP's.

Such radical concessions, say the Nationalists. would sway enough right-wing members of the opposition United Party to vote with the Nationals and thereby create the necessary two-thirds majority of both houses needed to constitutionally pass the Separate Representation of Voters Act. (*Christian Science Monitor,* Aug. 6).

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THE TEST OF A DEMOCRACY IS ITS TREATMENT OF MINORITIES.

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Labor in Israel NEWSLETTER

VOLUME ONE - NUMBER SEVEN

September, 1953

I am renewing the monthly publication of our Newsletter after a break during the summer months. I was away from the United States, attending the Congress of the ICFTU in Stockholm as a member of our delegation and I was also home in Israel for three weeks prior to my return to this country.

The Histadrut delegation in Stockholm participated fully in the work of the Congress and thus had a chance to meet delegations from all the free trade union movement throughout the world. When the question of Histadrut's inclusion in the Executive Board of the ICFTU was raised in Stockholm, we were glad to find that our candidacy got the whole hearted support of the American and Canadian delegations of the AFL and CIO. We were gratified to find that both delegations regarded the presence of an Israeli representative on the Executive Board of the ICFTU, representing 500,000 members of trade unionists in the Middle East, as an asset for the young organization of free trade unions. Both in Stockholm and back in Israel, we felt that this attitude on the part of the American trade union movement strengthened the tradition of friendship and solidarity which has existed between our two movements for so many years.

After the Stockholm Congress of the ICFTU, an official delegation of the CIO visited Israel at the invitation of Histadrut. The delegation consisted of James B. Carey, Secretary Treasurer of the CIO and President of the Electrical Workers Union; Michael Quill, Vice-President of the CIO and President of the Transport Workers Union; and Arthur J. Goldberg, General Counsel of the CIO and the Steelworkers. We also had Phil Kramer of Boston, Vice-President of the ILGWU, as our guest. We hope that an official delegation of the American Federation of Labor will visit us soon.

Inflation Checked

I had been away from Israel for about nine months and was therefore able to observe some changes, although my stay was very short. Our State has doubled its population during the last five years and maintained a policy of full employment, even at the cost of inflationary budgets. Reduced government expenditure resulted in checking the inflationary process but at the same time created some unemployment. The last year brought with it some improvement in our economic situation but created hardships for the working population. Therefore Histadrut has been confronted by some serious problems; our funds are being used in order to create new jobs by giving loans to industrial enterprises or municipalities; unemployed workers in towns are being assisted to move into agricultural cooperatives; efficiency councils, established jointly by labor and management, help the young Israeli industry in producing more and better goods for export; Histadrut is mobilizing both manpower and financial resources to help develop the desert land of the South (Negev).

Labor in Israel NEWSLETTER

VOLUME ONE - NUMBER EIGHT

November, 1953

Arab Workers in Histadrut

Israel's Arab population is 175,000, about 10 per cent of the total population of the country. About 120,000 Arabs live in villages as small farmers and as farm laborers, about 35,000 are in towns and the rest are nomads (Bedouins). For many years Israel's Federation of Labor (Histadrut) tried to organize these workers into unions, but never met with more than partial success. The Arab farm laborer who worked for a Jewish employer showed some response to the idea of unionization, but it was practically impossible to organize the Arab farm worker who was employed by Arab landowners. This was chiefly the result of the Arab landlord's abuse of the bond of race and religion that existed between him and his employees, whom he was easily able to convince that union organization was an undesirable modern device or even a weapon wielded by the Jews for sinister purposes.

As early as 1927 Histadrut launched its first efforts to organize Arab workers, and created the "Palestine Labor League" for the purpose. Before 1948 this organization met with only fair success, but the establishment of the State of Israel in that year improved the prospects of reaching the Arab worker. Branches of the "League" exist in 53 villages and seven cities. Full success came last spring, when Histadrut invited all Arab workers to join its trade unions. In the eight months that have passed since this step was taken, about 16,000 Arab workers have joined Histadrut trade unions.

Many of the unions which Arabs have joined are in the predominantly Arab town of Nazareth and in the hills of Lower Galilee. They are clerical employees, Government workers, teachers, quarry workers and men employed in the building trades. Arab industrial workers in Haifa and Jaffa, including workers in automobile repair shops, have also joined Histadrut unions, as have railway employees in Lydda.

Establishing Cooperatives

Histadrut has had to use unorthodox methods in bringing the full benefits of the labor movement to the Arab workers, who have become accustomed to exploitation for centuries and have been kept on a standard of living well below what would in modern countries be called the subsistence level. Many of the Arab workers live in tiny primitive villages and are, at least theoretically, self-employed. Because of their environment and way of life, Histadrut believes that cooperation is the best way of raising their standard of living, and a number of cooperatives, both in production and services,

Labor in Israel NEWSLETTER

VOLUME ONE - NUMBER NINE

December, 1953

Vocational Training

Every one of the 750,000 immigrants who poured into Israel in the last five years is a consumer, and the country's consumption rate of manufactured goods has more than doubled. But only a tiny fraction of them were producers when they came, and the result was a badly unbalanced ratio of supply and demand. The country simply did not have enough skilled workers to produce the consumer goods needed by the population.

Industry needed both men and money. Since the State of Israel was created in 1948, a billion and a quarter dollars have entered the country as capital investment. But the growth of skills did not keep pace. Back in 1926, 57 per cent of new immigrants were skilled workers. In 1950, only 15 per cent of the newcomers were skilled, and this proportion has continued to this very day. There is consequently a drastic shortage of competent manpower in every branch of industrial production.

To supply the constantly increasing demand for skilled labor in industry, a nationwide program of vocational training was sponsored by the Ministry of Labor, the Histadrut (Israel's Federation of Labor), the Manufacturers Association and the Labor Exchanges (controlled by the unions). In the last two years, 20,000 unskilled men and women have attended training courses and have acquired industrial skills.

The first step in the training of the skilled worker is a full-time course on the basic elements of the skill being studied. These courses consist of seven hours of classroom instruction a week and forty hours of actual work at the trade. When he has completed this course, the worker has mastered the trade sufficiently to be able to get a job in industry.

Once he has begun to work in his new job, he can continue to study his skill in the evenings by attending advanced courses. These provide a staggered system of instruction from basic training through successive degrees of skill-improvement until the worker has reached the highest possible proficiency. Many an immigrant in Israel has completed his elementary training in a new skill and has then risen, helped by a succession of courses, to the highest levels in his trade.

Range of Courses

More than 100 different skills have been taught to immigrants. The most important of these have been the building trades (bricklayers, formsetters, iron-benders, plasterers, tillers, etc.); metal crafts and allied trades (locksmithy, tool-making, turning, riveting, welding); Diesel, auto-

Labor in Israel NEWSLETTER

VOLUME TWO - NUMBER ONE

January, 1954

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1953.

WAGE RISE AVERTS STRIKE BY ISRAELIS

Manufacturers Agree to Extend Cost-of-Living Accords—410,000 Will Benefit

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

TEL AVIV, Israel, Dec. 20—An agreement between industry and labor extending the escalator system of pegging wages to the consumer-price index was announced last night. A strike threatened by the General Federation of Labor (Histadrut) earlier this week thus was obviated.

The accord directly affects 60,000 employes in capitalist industrial enterprises, but the pay increases automatically will go to 350,000 other wage-earners, both organized and unorganized. Quarterly agreements between the Association of Manufacturers and the General Federation of Labor for the last fourteen years have been automatically fulfilled by all employers, including the Government and other public bodies, farmers, public utilities, and industrial enterprises promoted by the labor federation itself.

The new agreement contains a basic reform designed to rectify in part an acknowledged evil of the system—a tendency to level gross earnings despite differences in basic pay rates.

Basis of Payment Eased

In the future, rises in the consumer-price index will be compensated fully in basic monthly salaries of up to the equivalent of $69.44 instead of $44.44 as heretofore. However, full compensation will be paid only on index rises since the last agreement, on Aug. 15, when the index was at 201, compared with the September, 1951, base of 100. Since the index rose seven points in the last quarter, a worker with a basic monthly salary of the equivalent of $69.44 will receive a $4.75 cost-of-living compensation for this, in addition to the $44.89 that was the allowance under the old system. His gross monthly income thus will be the equivalent of $119.08, while it would have been $117.48 under the old system.

Although the agreement appeared to neutral observers to be a total surrender by industry, the manufacturers' association argued that it never really had questioned the justice of labor's position. What it had been trying to do, Shimon Klagsbald, chairman of the association's labor department, said tonight, was to force the Government to assume responsibility for spiraling wages, which the association regards as the main obstacle to price stabilization.

However, when the Cabinet declined earlier this week to adjudicate, there was no point in pursuing the struggle, Mr. Klagsbald said. He added that the trade unions had been "realistic and considerate of the economic situation in the country."

The industrialists and trade unions now will turn to negotiations for a renewal of their collective agreements. Labor will desist from demanding basic increases except in the form of premiums for higher output. However, the industrialists will propose reforms designed mainly to permit employers to dismiss workers on the basis of efficiency instead of seniority, as heretofore, and to expand the piece-work system.

The possibility of reform was viewed as remote. The labor federation, which adopted a wage-freeze policy after a hard fight with left-wingers, will find it difficult to make any concessions to industry. This was acknowledged by the employers.

CIO'S program to HALT UNEMPLOYMENT

Labor in Israel NEWSLETTER

VOLUME TWO - NUMBER TWO

February, 1954

Hanoar Haoved - Junior Trade Union

Israel's young apprentices have their own unique trade union affiliated with Histadrut (Israel's Federation of Labor).

This junior trade union, known as Hanoar Haoved (Working Youth), protects the wages, hours and working conditions of its 35,000 young wage earners. They enjoy the same benefits of trade union membership as their fathers and older brothers, plus a few which their elders do not have.

Hanoar Haoved is consulted by the government in the enforcement of the new Apprenticeship Law, which requires employers to hire apprentices to replenish the country's reservoir of skilled manpower. The wages of apprentices are regulated by a committee on which Hanoar Haoved as well as the employers are represented.

Adult worker training apprentices.

The law forbids employers to accept any payment for training these apprentices, and the Government Apprenticeship Officer can forbid any employer to hire apprentices if working conditions are unsuitable. The employer must appoint an older worker to be responsible for the young learner during his apprenticeship, and the apprentice must be put to work only on jobs which will help him to master the trade he is learning. The employer must also give the apprentice time off from work, without deductions from pay, to attend a recognized trade school.

Hanoar Haoved is in many respects a junior edition of its parent body, the Histadrut, of which it is an integral part. When Histadrut was organized in British-mandated Palestine in 1921, the country had practically no labor legislation of any kind. There was hardly any legal protection for youngsters who had to work and no safeguard that they could continue to get a general education and vocational training.

Labor in Israel NEWSLETTER

VOLUME TWO - NUMBER THREE

March, 1954

Haifa - "City of the Future"

Haifa's 190,000 citizens, Jews and Arabs alike, have adopted this slogan, and are working hard to bring the city's future closer --- sooner.

Histadrut, Israel's Federation of Labor, is taking the initiative in making the dream come true. Histadrut's 124,000 members in Haifa make up 61.8 per cent of the city's population as against 53 per cent in Jerusalem and 40 per cent in Tel Aviv. Haifa's reputation as a solid labor town has been earned. In 1948 there were only 43,000 Histadrut members --- an increase in five years of more than 150 per cent.

Famed since antiquity for her natural beauty, Haifa is built on the site of a seaside village that has been continuously settled for seventeen centuries. More recently, however, Haifa has expanded. She has climbed up the slopes of Mt. Carmel, rich in Biblical lore, where the "Place of Burning" commemorates the triumph of the Prophet Elijah over the priests of Baal. On this mountain, too, is the Carmelite Monastery, founded in 1156. The city extends from sea level at the coast line all the way up to the mountain peaks, providing vistas of great beauty.

Haifa's present overshadows her past. She is noted particularly for two things: her port and her industry. Her deep-sea harbor accommodates the world's great liners. The large bay is relatively free from storms, and offers safe shelter to ships all year round --- the best deep-sea port in the eastern Mediterranean. Through this gateway have arrived seven out of every ten of the 700,000 immigrants who have streamed into Israel since the state was established in 1948. Many of the new immigrants settled in and around Haifa. They hail from 37 different countries and speak 29 languages.

Haifa is the home port of Israel's growing merchant marine. It serves the Israel Navy. Israel is landlocked, with hostile Arab states on all her borders; Haifa is her chief link with the outside world. Haifa gives Israel her freedom of the seas.

Expanding Industry

The busy port has given impetus to Haifa's status as Israel's industrial center. Israel's key industries have grown and developed in this area: cement, iron and steel works, glass factories, oil refineries, the basic chemical manufacturing plants.

Among Israel's biggest industrial plants are the Nesher Cement Works with almost 1,000 workers and a production of about half a million tons of

12/27/61

Les:

Research

I thought I had this California case. I have finally found it.

It seems to have been sent me by Thurgood Marshall.

You need not return it, but I think it should be carefully filed and indexed.

M.A.W.

Mar. —
Interracial
Marriage

See Page 757 Mr. Marshall

ADVANCE CALIFORNIA REPORTS

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VOLUME 9, NUMBER 41

Lorna Nelley

New Translation!

Encyclical Letter

of

Pope Leo XIII

THE CONDITION OF LABOR

National Catholic Welfare Conference Washington, D. C.

~~Religion~~ + Labor

SIXTY YEARS AFTER

Father Marvin Bordelon
St. Matthew's Church
Monroe, Louisiana

It was with pleasure that I received recently a telegram from Mr. Harry Chalmiers reading, in substance, "Please write again for the Labor Leader." During the ten days allowed me for production of the article, I tried to glean from what is almost a superabundance of material a few salient, practical points, certain matters which can perhaps stand some emphasis and which might constitute this year's message. At the present writing, if we are to judge by the papers and commentators, there exists not a little doubt, confusion, chaos and hard feeling on the social front - - inflation, war, controls, strikes, blasts from various spokesmen for different interests. Despite the manifold accomplishments in the field of human relations and social solidarity, there exists in many minds and hearts today a deep temptation to despair of any effort to effect a reconstruction of the social order. Grim indeed and pessimistic would this be if we could see no further than present blunders and selfishness.

- - - Sixty Years After - - -

It is perhaps true to say today of constructive social teaching what Pope Pius XI said in 1931 in commemorating the fortiety anniversary of the encylical letter ON THE CONDITION OF LABOR, written by his predecessor, Leo XIII:

> "Despite this widespread agreement, however, some minds were not a little disturbed, with the result that the noble and exalted teaching of Leo XIII, quite novel to worldly ears, was looked upon with suspicion by some, even among Catholics, and gave offense to others. For it boldly attacked and overthrew the idols of Liberalism, swept aside inveterate prejudices, and was so far and so unexpectedly in advance of its time, that the slow of heart ridiculed the study of the new social philosophy and the timid feared to scale its lofty heights. Nor were there wanting those who, while professing their admiration for this message of light, regarded it as a Utopian ideal, desirable rather than attainable in practice."
>
> (Pius XI in Forty Years After, n.14)

We entitle this article SIXTY YEARS AFTER to pay tribute to the fearless stand taken by Pope Leo XIII in 1891 and to the noble social doctrine which he taught.

- - - The Why and Whither of Unions - - -

We have witnessed up to now a great insistence in the social field on the organization of workers. This insistence has made clear the right of workers to organize, the necessity and good effects of organization. Generally speaking, this insistence has been healthy for it gave strength to and secured rights for the weakest elements in the social structure. Generally speaking, too, it has resulted in a very fine movement. As Father R. A. McGowan of the Social Action Department, NCWC, puts it:

> "Our labor movement has its faults, like any other human institution. Basically, however, its mind and will are very sound, and it is probably the most constructive labor movement in the world."
>
> (NCWC Labor Day Statement, 1950)

While we continue to insist on the right of workers to organize and on the necessity for the extension of organization, we do not see a solution in that alone. Briefly, may we explain. The chief reason for organization has been to secure the rights of workers, to better their condition, to protect them against oppression by stronger groups seeking their own welfare at the workers' expense. If, in turn, workers have found strength in union and have thus bettered their condition, can they now use their strength solely for their own interests, regardless of the just demands of capital and management, of professional people, of farmers, of the general welfare of our own country and of other peoples?

- - - For a Purpose - - -

We continue to insist on the right of workers to organize; we continue to encourage the extension of organization to more and more workers; but we insist at the same time on a like right and necessity for organizations of management, agriculture and the professions. To propose anything else would be to endorse the baneful principle of individualism in the social structure. The Bishops of our country stated this very succinctly in 1947:

> "The Christian view of economic life supports the demand for organization of management, labor, agriculture and professions under government encouragement but not control, in joint effort to avoid social conflict and to promote cooperation for the common good."
>
> (Statement of the American Bishops,1947)

Economic life must be organized, but organized for a purpose, namely "in joint effort to avoid social conflict and to promote cooperation for the common good."

In 1948 the Bishops observed:

"Today we have labor partly organized, but chiefly for its own

interests. We have capital or management organized, possibly on a larger scale, but again chiefly for its own interests."

(Statement of the American Bishops, 1948)

Surely these segments of society may organize for their own interests, but more, they must be organized in such a way that they can be fitted together within the framework of economic democracy and not tyrannical individualism.

The principal problem today is not mere organization, but fitting the various organizations into the overall structure of social order.

Order, as St. Thomas well defines, is unity arising from the apt arrangement of a plurality of objects.

This unity of the various segments of economic life — capital, labor, agriculture, professions -- results in the tranquillity of order, which is peace. All else is disorder, strife, chaos.

Puis XI called the social question, a problem in human solidarity.

"Leo's encyclical letter, ON THE CONDITION OF LABOR, however, stood out in this, that it laid down for all mankind unerring rules for the right solution of the difficult problem of human solidarity, called the social question."

(Pius XI in Forty Years After, n.2)

In 1948 our Bishops repeated the same plea:

"What we urgently need, in the Christian view of the social order, is the free organization of capital and labor in permanent agencies of cooperation for the common good. To insure that this organization does not lose sight of the common good, government as the responsible custodian of the public interest should have a part in it. But its part should be to stimulate, to guide, to restrain, not to dominate. This is perfectly in line with our Federal Constitution which empowers government not only 'to establish justice,' but also to 'promote the general welfare.'"

(Statement of the American Bishops, 1948)

By this time surely someone will object. The organization of the economic order within a democratic framework is a fanciful dream, the cherished but unobtainable Utopia. The groups concerned are all too selfish. They seek their own interests only. There is not enough common decency among them to be concerned with the common good.

--- Is Order Attainable ? ---

Are not, we wonder, the demands of political democracy just as great? There can never be cooperation without some subordination. Yet, is it not achieved and are we not asked to sacrifice much for it in our political democracy?

If fear is the beginning of wisdom, is not the current "fear" of the "welfare state" a healthy sign? Day by day are not more people agreeing with the admonition of Pius XI:

> "For unless serious attempts be made, with all energy and without delay to put (these ideas) into practice, nobody can persuade himself that the peace and tranquillity of human society can be effectively defended against the forces of revolution!"
>
> (Pius XI in Forty Years After, n.62)

Even with the risk of burdening you with quotations, we think the following from Bishop Alter and Father McGowan quite helpful:

> "The solution offered by some is national planning with public ownership on the model of the British Socialist Labor Party. Others propose a managed economy along the lines of continental social legislation. Some are content with a further development of the Social Security Program of the 'New Deal' or 'Fair Deal'. Of course, there are some blind and stubborn reactionaries who will not learn the lesson of history and therefore think that we can return to the 'Laissez-faire' economy of the nineteenth century.
>
> There are others still, small in number, who reject the idea of further interference and control by the state and propose instead a democratic and functional system along the lines of the papal encyclicals."
>
> (INDUSTRY COUNCILS,
> Most Rev. Karl J. Alter, D.D.)

> "The elements of such a social order, in the form of a multitude of national trade associations of business and national organizations of labor, of farmers, and of professional people, are now at hand. They have only to piece themselves together into a working unity organized to promote the cause of social and economic justice. More and more they are beginning to speak the language of social responsibility."
>
> (NCWC Labor Day Statement, 1950)

The democratic and functional system of ordering the social structure which is here mentioned has been given much throught by social scientists. More is needed. Many, many practical difficulties exist. Many questions remain unanswered. But where there is a will there is a way. In too many cases it is more the will that is missing than the way.

In bringing this message to a close permit us to emphasize four things:

1. In this program for social reconstruction, it is most important that there be a genuine renewal of the Christian spirit among the people of the United States.

The best laid plans of the wisest men will not bring about this reconstruction, Pope Pius XI tells us,

> "unless men return openly and sincerely to the teaching of the Gospel, to the precepts of Him Who alone has the words of everlasting life, words which will never pass away even if Heaven and earth pass away."
>
> (Pius XI in Forty Years After)

2. There is need for more attention to the common good, for a greater emphasis on social responsibility and cooperation among various groups, while securing their own rights and interests.

3. We ask also a greater dedication to scholarship, especially with regard to the Industry Council Plan for economic democracy.

4. Finally we plead for unselfish dedication and effective leadership by all concerned in the problem of organizing and fitting the many functional groups of labor, management, farmers and professional people into the framework of organized economic self government.

THE Georgia

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Sincerely,

J. Wade Ruder

Manager

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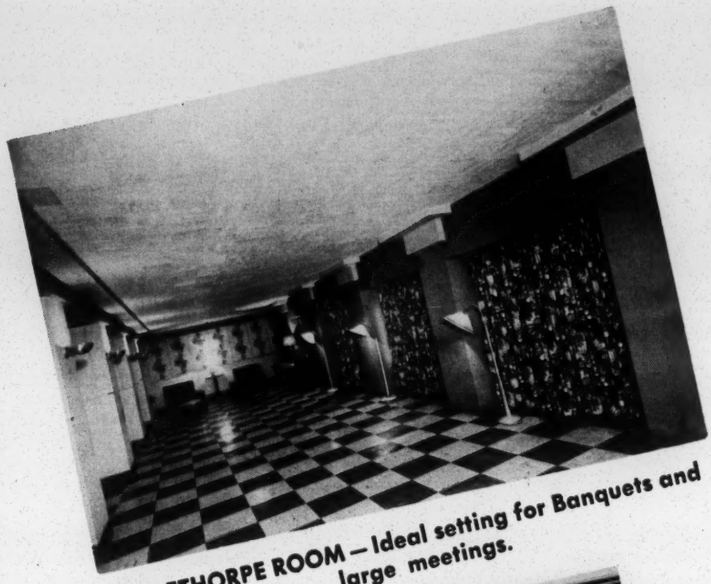

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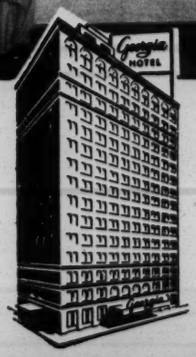

Labor Education

Highlander Folk School
Monteagle, Tennessee.

Dear Highlander friend,

Since the United Packinghouse Workers Union program has taken a considerable portion of my time during the past year, I thought you would be interested in the way the educational program is developing.

The enclosed is the school's report to the United Packinghouse Workers of America officials and board.

Parts of this program are being adopted for use by other unions, both CIO and AFL. It is being used pretty much as we have developed it by one of the labor leaders in the Phillipines.

The next stage of development will be for the educational representatives and instructors to assume more responsibility for the anti-discrimination, farmer, labor, PAC and other programs of the union.

Sincerely yours,

Myles Horton

Myles Horton

RECEIVED
DEC 6 1945
Southern Regional Council

NEGROES IN AMERICA

by

ROBERT C. JONES

(adapted from an article "Negroes in Latin America" by the author published in the September-October 1945 issue of Sociology and Social Research.)

Some twenty years ago I recommended to my friends in the United States who were interested in the study of interracial and intercultural relations that they should observe these in various parts of Latin America as well as in their own country. I felt from my experience that this would help them to develop a more exact understanding of the concept "race". A comparison of the greatly varying situations existing in different countries and regions would assist in making clear the character of race prejudice showing that the prevalent attitudes of different ethnic groups towards each other were the product of conditions which were constantly changing, that they are brought about through historical processes which can be traced and are subject to modification.

It had been my privilege to know personally a number of the Negro elite in the United States during my university days, but it was not until later when I had an opportunity to work for several years in urban communities largely settled by Negroes that I came to realize what a wide variety of background and experience exists among them and how serious a handicap discriminatory practices really are.

Even Negroes themselves and students of "race relations" generally expressed surprise a few years ago when they were told that there were probably twice as many Negroes in Latin America as in the United States. No exact enumeration of Negroes in all of America has, however, ever been even attempted. The great flexibility of the "color line" in some of the countries would make a statistician's nightmare out of such an effort. A very rough guess would be that there are close to forty million Negroes in the Western Hemisphere, located mainly on the coasts of the Atlantic Ocean. According to Census figures there are about thirteen million Negroes in the United States. There is perhaps about an equal number in Brazil. The next largest number is in the Caribbean area, where there may be ten million. The remainder are to be found in the Guianas, in the Pacific low-lands of Peru and Ecuador, with small scattered groups and individuals in all countries. Negroes thus constitute almost 15 per cent of the total population of the American continents.[1]

If we accept the verdict of professional anthropologists, students of the subject, that there are no fundamental differences in the inherent ability or mental characteristics of various races and ethnic groups, the question as to how many Negroes there are in America becomes largely an academic one but for the fact that large numbers of persons do not act on this premise. Subjective attitudes and concepts center themselves around Negroes and their relationships to other groups, and for that reason it is important to them as well as to others interested in their welfare to know their number and status. Race prejudice is to be found in all countries, although in greatly

---

1 Although Negroes have, in general, settled in areas where the Indian had a low cultural level and the population was small, the two races have mixed to some extent. Such mixed bloods, or zambos, have been included in the present estimate, but many might with equal or greater justification be included in estimates of the Indian population.

varying forms and degrees of emotional intensity. In those places where Negroes are treated almost as equals by other groups, such an enumeration tends to lose its importance and may, in fact, promote the continuation of distinctions rather than be an aid in promoting plans to equalize opportunities. What it is really important to know about ethnic and cultural groups in any country is the extent to which their members vary from the remainder of the population in cultural and economic standards so that practical programs to remove existing disadvantages may be inaugurated on a valid basis and an adequate scale.

As is well known Negroes are not indigenous to America. Millions were, however, brought to America from Africa to furnish labor for tropical and subtropical plantations. They were at first largely restricted to a comparatively small area but have tended to scatter. They made special contributions to the development of sugar and cotton production and later to the cultivation of bananas. They constituted much of the labor used in the building of the Panama Canal and they also made up a large proportion of the port workers in the harbors. Since they were brought in bondage and did not have a good opportunity to transplant their own culture, they have to a very large measure adopted European civilization, adapting it to the social and economic situation in which they have been forced to live. African cultures were much richer, however, than has usually been thought, and Negroes have no reason to be ashamed of their African ancestry.

Although Haiti is the only country in America in which Negroes themselves overthrew their European masters and rulers and founded a state of their own, they have made an important contribution to the independence movement of almost every country in this hemisphere. This was true even in Argentina, where an important contingent of Negro soldiers served under San Martin. Haitain soldiers helped the American colonists win their freedom in the United States.

Relations between races are not yet governed by democratic principles of respect for the individual person and the guarantee of relative equality of opportunity irrespective of ethnic background. Partly for this reason many Negroes have possessed a keen interest in freedom, for they knew that their own welfare was somehow bound up with the general problem of democratic living. As long as certain people are not given opportunities equal to others to possess an adequate standard of economic well-being, to secure an education, and to enjoy the best things which our culture offers because of difference in the color of their skin and other outer physical characteristics, we cannot say that we are genuinely and completely democratic. Even in the countries where the "color line" is most flexible the term "white" is to a considerable extent a designation of status rather than a purely physical classification. It is a concept colored by tradition and prejudice rather than one determined by reason and objective scientific investigation. What the continuing relationship of Negroes is to members of other groups is a test of whether our democracy is real or not in that it will indicate whether a minority group can rise from an exploited and submerged position to one of relative equality without there being a great deal of bitterness and serious conflicts. Responsibility for creating and maintaining a situation where peaceful progressive adjustment is possible must be shared by both minority and dominant groups.

Negroes should be interested not only in their own advancement and that of their group but also in the promotion of democratic processes in our entire society. Self-interest alone should recommend this to them, as studies have shown that the greatest feeling against them exists among the uneducated, underprivileged, and intellectually isolated. Nor have Negroes themselves kept free from racist attitudes as is indicated by the frequent existence of a color caste within the Negro population itself. Negroes cannot be said to be in any sense unified; those in different segments of society and

in different countries apparently have about as much difficulty as anybody else in understanding each other. A city Negro art group in the United States once asked the author for help in arranging an exchange of art work with Negroes in a Latin-American country such as Cuba or Brazil. It was difficult for them to understand that a collection of art secured from either of those countries would quite likely contain work by Negro artists but that it would not be very politic to ask for an exclusively Negro exhibit. Cuban and Brazilian Negroes are primarily nationals of their country of birth or adoption and are frequently not given to thinking of themselves in terms of their racial background. The general population takes pride in the contribution of outstanding Negroes who are known as eminent citizens of their respective countries on much the same basis as other leaders.

Little more than half of thepopulation of the western hemisphere can even pretend to be of purely European ancestry.[2] Recognition and graceful acceptance of this fact is of importance in determining the character of inter-American relations. Because of the greater tolerance existing in the Latin American countries the discriminatory treatment which Negroes receive in the United States is widely resented. Whites in countries where little segregation takes place frequently criticize such conduct as much as, if not more than, the Negroes themselves. Nevertheless United States tourists and other influences have affected some change in the attitudes and behavior of Latin Americans so that in effect race prejudice has been exported.

Although resolutions have been passed at a number of inter-American conferences favoring the promotion of democracy, better conditions for the working classes, and the abolition of discriminatory practices, the Inter-American Congress of Demography, held in Mexico City in October, 1943, was the first to openly consider the situation of the Negro in America.[3] The recommendations of the Commission on Ethnology and Eugenics of this Congress included the suggestion that the governments of America should enact laws which would promote educational programs intended to improve the condition of life of the Negro people and promote the removal of distinctions because of race or color in all human relationships. It was also suggested that the scientific study of the Negro populations be promoted so that information as to their condition, potentialities, general culture, and their contribution to the national and continental heritage might be adequately diffused in order to bring about better understanding between racial groups. The position was taken that the American governments should completely repudiate all policies and action of a discriminatory character, keeping in mind that the traits of racial classification which are scientifically valid indicate only hereditary somatic qualities without any implications of a psychological or cultural character.[4]

---

2. As has already been indicated, care should be taken in making estimates of the number of persons belonging to minority ethnic groups not to count the considerable number of persons of mixed blood more than once. It should be remembered that in several countries, contrary to the prevalent practice in the United States, persons of mixed ethnic background are considered to be White, particularly if they possess superior economic and cultural status.

3. The Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace held in Mexico City in February 1945 reaffirmed "the principle ---- of equality of rights and opportunities for all men, regardless of race or religion." and recommended "that the governments of the American republics.....make every effort to prevent in their respective countries all acts which may provoke discrimination between individuals because of race or religion." See- Final Act of the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace- February-March, 1945. Washington, Pan American Union, 1945. p.80.

4. Earle Harrison, "Inter-American Demographic Congress," Monthly Review (Immigration and Naturalization Service), November, 1943, pp.1-2. The complete resolutions of this Congress have not up to the present been made available in an adequate English translation.

As a result of increasing mutual acquaintance among scholars interested in the Negro people in America and of the interest expressed in studies relating to them at the Congress of Demography there was organized in Mexico City in October 1943 the International Institute of Afro-American Studies. It is the purpose of the organization to stimulate the study of the Negro population of America and collect, arrange, and distribute the results of these investigations, make reports regarding activities of other societies and study groups interested in the same subject, and carry on other related work. It is not only to encourage research but also to organize lectures, seminars, exhibits, and other public programs relating to the Negro. Its program is to be educational in character, and it is to serve as an inter-American clearinghouse for scholars interested in the Negro rather than be an action or pressure group. Eventually a magazine may be published and other publications issued from time to time as seen fit. The Institute may also function in an advisory capacity, furnishing information and making recommendations as requested by official agencies, private organizations, or individuals. Headquarters for the Institute were established, for the time being, at the National School of Anthropology of Mexico, located at Moneda No. 13, Mexico, D.F. So far, the Institute has been merely in the process of organization. Whether or not it becomes a vital project depends upon the amount of interest shown.

21 – Labor & Education

(*Reprinted from EDUCATION for January, 1946*)

Unions Fight Jim Crow *and* Racism

By MARK STARR
Educational Director
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

IN the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, men and women apply "learning by doing" in inter-cultural and inter-racial action in the best of all possible ways. When our organizers set up locals, they ask all the workers — colored and white, Jew and Gentile — to join. Instead of formally teaching tolerance, they endeavor to help men and women of varying racial and national origins to appreciate each other. One of our posters, which shows a *montage* of the varied nationalities in the Union, bears the caption, "Our races are many; our aims are one!"

Such united action is not confined to the organizing period when the Union is seeking support and new members. Once when the Medina Club in Chicago sent Negro delegates to the service elevator, the whole ILGWU Convention in protest left the place and transferred the convention to the Hotel Morrison. Solidarity on the picket line transcends the accidents of race and birth, and workers who have set up a union as a result of their blood and sweat and tears have an inter-cultural solidarity which is not easily forgotten.

In union meetings and classes, in the union chorus and in the union basketball teams and other similar activities, our members meet as members without discrimination. White officers and managers and Negro officers and chairladies accent the positive things which they have in common and forget the minor things which differentiate. That, of course, does not mean that our Italian members must delight in sour cream and *gefulte* fish or that our Jewish members must indulge in spaghetti feasts. There is no attempt to standardize such things. Much of the life and color of our work is created by the inter-mingling of men and women whose ancestors came from many diverse parts of the world. One of the union songs expresses the idea:

"We're sisters and brothers, no matter
our birthplace,
The colored, the white man, the Gentile, the Jew,
Our races are many, our aims are the
same ones,
So stand together in the I-L-G-W-U."

In the early months of 1945 a women's delegation was being chosen to visit Great Britain. President Green of the American Federation of Labor asked David Dubinsky, head of the ILGWU (which is seventy-five per cent female in its composition), to suggest a member who would represent the American labor movement. Mr. Dubinsky nominated Mrs. Maida Springer, a Negro woman with an outstanding record of union activity, and she filled with distinction the role of representative and reporter.

This fall Harvard University agreed to let the ILGWU send women to the Trade Union Fellowships operating there for the fourth year. Mabel Durham, a Negro chairlady in Local 62 and currently in the WAC, was one of four members sent on the basis of their records. These things speak

louder than words and written declarations, and the ILGWU is proud to put such a pattern of fair play and good sense before other affiliated AFL unions.

Because early founders of the ILGWU had suffered from racial and political persecution in Europe, the union naturally has fought Jim Crow and other forms of racial discrimination. Other AFL unions and the United Mine Workers have had similar policies. Some unions, however, have been influenced by existing prejudices. LABOR AND AMERICA (a high school textbook) lists twenty-one unions which still discriminate by rule or custom, but their number is decreasing; in October, 1945, eighteen locals of the largest union, the International Association of Machinists, proposed at its Conference that the "white" qualification for membership should be dropped from the IAM Constitution. So far as I know, there is only one small and insignificant union which has an anti-Semitic rule in its membership qualifications.

It would be a mistake, however, to think that men and women who join the trade union movement automatically accept the progressive traditions of such unions as the ILGWU. Our Educational Department works continuously to eradicate beliefs which have been built up by decades of miseducation. To combat racial prejudice, we use every educational agency and method. When our Southern members, for example, participate in the annual institute at the University of Wisconsin, we are at pains to show them how un-American is their disinclination to eat and study with their Negro fellow-members, and usually we succeed in persuading them to slough off their misconceptions. We use movies and have made good use of the filmstrip, "We Are All Brothers," based on the pamphlet, RACES OF MANKIND.

Some locals have classes to deal with inter-cultural education and to study specific problems of racial misunderstanding in the shops. Articles are supplied from time to time to local union journals. Most recently we have distributed the pamphlet, LABOR AND ANTI-SEMITISM. Posters, our own and those supplied by other agencies, are freely used. The Educational Department of the ILGWU was the first to distribute the TRUE COMICS, "They Got the Blame." Later the AFL (and the CIO) distributed hundreds of thousands of these colored illustrated magazines. We know that in some instances these comics were carried home with good effect upon the juvenile relatives of the union members.

ILGWU locals in various cities have participated in conferences which have been set up to institute an intercultural fire brigade in order to stop the fire of racial hate before it starts. We have cooperated with both the Workers' Education Bureau and the American Labor Education Service in running such conferences to discuss these dangers.

AFL unions still have much to do. But they are beginning to have an awareness of the danger of racism and nationalist biases. Both by union word and deed these evils must be overcome.

Editor's Note: Mr. Starr has discussed the policy of the ILGWU and mentioned some of the materials used to implement its policy of non-discrimination. Readers interested in learning about the policies of CIO unions can write directly to George L-P Weaver, Director of the National CIO Committee to Abolish Racial Discrimination, 718 Jackson Place, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

(Additional copies may be obtained from the Educational Dept., I L G W U, 1710 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y.)

21- Labor education

Reprinted from "Progressive Education", January 1946

LABOR UNIONS EDUCATE—

Against racial discrimination; for political action and social responsibility

By Eleanor G. Coit

Director, Labor Education Service

New York City

● The part to be played by the labor movement in the postwar era, both on the economic and the political fronts, is recognized as being of strategic importance to the entire community. In looking forward to the year ahead, therefore, and to the organization of our educational facilities to meet the challenge of this period, the labor movement's educational program holds special interest. This program is important not only because through it labor is able to equip itself for its task, but also because the program has made, and continues to make, a vital contribution to educational techniques, particularly in the field of progressive education.

Labor's educational program is a broad and realistic one. The part labor has to play in our democratic society must grow out of the thinking and activity of all members of the labor movement; its educational activities cannot be divorced from the experience of its membership. Workers' education as it is carried on today is not conducted in a detached manner, but rather is it part of the whole pattern of the labor movement. The study and discussion grow out of very real needs on the part of the members to understand and cope with the problems confronting them. The labor movement has extended its horizons to include more than dealing with problems of collective bargaining, with technical problems of industry, and with the operation of its own program: Today labor is involved in matters that concern the entire community — housing, education, child care, social security, etc. — as well as in government affairs and in the international scene, and its educational program reflects these varied interests. Labor education is dynamic, it is experimental, and the campus is as broad as the area of interest of those who participate.

The broad program of study on the part of the United Steel workers, for example, has been described by Clinton Golden in *Dynamics of Industrial Democracy*,[1] where he shows how the union members in their study of technical problems, how to work with other people in the union, and how to deal with ma agement, have been carrying on a program of education in all areas of their work and activities. The PAC has conducted a comprehensive educational program all over the country with members of the CIO, which has necessitated study of public issues and has involved concentration on how to make the work of the labor movement an integral part of community activity. Along with the PAC regisration drive went an educational program on election laws and national and state campaign issues, as well as a broad study program concerned with community problems

● There has been increasing recognition by labor groups of the problems of discrimination against minority groups. The labor movement, along with other groups in our society, is beginning to perceive that unless we discover how to develop democratic procedures in our everyday life and strengthen the position of minority groups both in trade unions and in community life, the present world conflict will have been to no avail. All types of labor organizations are working on this question, including auto, steel, and electrical unions, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and the CIO Committee to Abolish Discrimination.

In a recent meeting where methods of carrying on educational work related to this problem were discussed, such questions as the following were raised: the participation of the general membership in policy making, responsibility of the leadership in carrying out policies democratically arrived at, and liberalization of undemocratic union constitutions. Suggestions were made and case stories of successes and failures were presented for discussion. It was pointed out that "the new influential position of organized labor in the community made democratic practices imperative both for its own sake and for the sake of the nation. The labor movement should be a leading force — perhaps *the* leading force — to strengthen democracy during the present world crisis."[2]

● The American Labor Education Service, a national labor education organization, recently has cooperated with several labor bodies in setting up a series of conferences in various parts of the country to help focus attention on this problem. A study of techniques for dealing with attitudes on minority questions, however, called for more than conferences. Therefore, in one state L.E.S., acting as consultant to the CIO, has organized workshops without walls, through the operation of which anti-discrimination committees, shop stewards, and education committees are studying the minority problems that exist within the unions in that state, and are trying to devise methods for making the whole CIO union membership more conscious that you can't sell democracy in theory, but rather by putting democratic principles into practice. For example, as pointed out by the L. E. S. field work, the union members understand the union contract per se, but it is important to the democratic process that the principles involved in the rights of minorities be given expression in the way the contract is used. The groups participating are attempting to break down resistances, on the part of union members and to dramatize the problem in order to startle many members into new thinking about discrimination. Material is made available and members of the committees must learn how to become discussion leaders, directing their discussions to every type of interest on the part of their fellow members to stimulate them in an analysis and study of this problem, and eventually to new attitudes and new patterns of action.

● Another illustration of an important type of responsibility around which programs of labor education are now organized is the necessity to equip labor for its new role in gov-

[1] *Dynamics of Industrial Democracy*, by Clinton S. Golden and Harold J. Ruttenberg, Harper Brothers, New York, 1942. 358 pp.

[2] For a more complete story of this discussion of the unions and their relation to veterans' problems, as well as of the discussion of minority problems, see the findings of "Midwest Workers' Education Conference," published by the Labor Education Service, 437 West 59th Street, New York City.

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ernment. The packinghouse workers, for example, recently have issued a pamphlet telling of their study in preparation for presenting cases before the WLB. In classes in New York City, which are now being organized by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and which are held for officers of the union, are discussed topics relating to many aspects of labor's role in government. Recently a conference of labor and government representatives was held in Washington (under the auspices of Labor Education Service with the cooperation of the CIO Education and Research Department and the Workers Education Bureau) to plan for more effective relations between government and labor education bodies.

Labor's wide interests and its recognition of the need to plan its educational work in relation to these interests were manifested in another conference held under the auspices of Labor Education Service in the midwest section of the country. The committee planning this annual conference is made up of persons who have had experience in various unions and who represent several states. In planning for this conference, they tried to list topics which represented difficult problems confronting the labor movement today. Among them were: A Program of Action Looking Toward Full Employment; The Role of Workers Education in Meeting the Problems of the Demobilized Soldier; Problems of Conversion from Wartime to Peacetime Economy; Political Action; Labor's Stake in Planning a Sound International Policy; Cooperation Between Labor and Government in a Postwar World; The Extension of Democratic Practices in Trade Unions; and How To Maintain Labor's Gains. With democratic participation not only in the planning of the program but also in the work of the entire conference, the study was conducted through discussion and the use of resource persons who could give background and meaning to a discussion period. Every effort was made on the part of the program committee to involve, both in planning and in carrying out the work of the conference, as large a group as possible representing a cross section of the labor movement in the middle west. The effectiveness of this project is measured largely in terms of how far new programs of study have developed out of the work of the conference.

Some of the suggestions for follow-up work may illustrate further the procedure. The group discussing the role of workers' education in meeting the problems of the demobilized soldier, emphasized the need for trade unions to put more attention on veterans' problems and stressed the close connection between these problems and the need for full employment or jobs for all. The group pointed out that the returning soldier must be made to realize that the unions at home have had constantly in mind their welfare when they return to industry and postwar jobs. The session discussed the problem of unemployment after the war, which can be solved only as job opportunities are made available for returned veterans and for those who worked on the home front. In recommending follow-up programs, it was suggested that veterans' conferences on postwar employment and on job security questions be held; that every opportunity be made to promote equal educational opportunities for veterans and non veterans in the community; that the unions must be active in, and keep in touch with, all community agencies; that unions should set up committees to work with general existing educational institutions and to press these institutions into adapting their postwar curriculum to meet the problems and experience of soldiers who are returning to this country; and that workers' education committees should be established in communities to work on a total program of education for all workers.[2]

Other phases of the conference program pointed toward closer cooperation between labor and farmers, stronger political action on the part of workers' groups and a strengthening of the trend toward a broad union program and closer integration of this union program in the community.

• Among other interesting educational projects now being organized are those which grow out of labor's interest in community problems. Of interest are the counseling services recently sponsored by labor war relief agencies, the United Automobile Workers, the United Electrical Workers, and many other unions. Members of the unions have assumed new responsibilities as liaison officers to keep their fellow members in touch with social agencies, and acquaint them with the fact that their services are available to all labor members. In whatever fields the labor movement is functioning, there the educational program must be worked out, and resources for this work must be developed. Of special interest are the libraries established for seamen by the maritime unions; union papers; and resident workers' schools, that are used by many international unions not only for the study of their own technical problems, but also for a discussion of tool subjects such as public speaking, parliamentary law, and always for the discussion of current social and economic issues.

• Today many problems confront those responsible for organizing and carrying on an educational program within the labor movement. There is not adequate recognition of the need for the educational job that must be done, either on the part of the public educational authorities or on the part of the labor movement. The many new trade union members must have a broad and real understanding of the history of the labor movement and of their own industry before they can participate most effectively in more specialized educational activities. Qualified teachers and other resource persons who have indentified themselves with the labor movement are few in number. Pamphlets written in terms of the special experience of workers' groups, and new visual and graphic material are seriously needed. New funds are necessary for all such work and these need to be made available not only by the labor movement but also by public educational authorities.

Workers today are looking toward social security, toward full employment, toward adequate living and working standards, toward democratic participation and toward a world cooperation. Organization, leadership, and technicians are needed. A broad education of the leadership and of the rank and file is essential to the attainment of these ends, which must be carried on with the aid of all available community resources.

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21- Labor Education

AMERICAN WORKERS WANT A LABOR EXTENSION SERVICE!

COMMITTEE FOR THE EXTENSION OF LABOR EDUCATION
2117 PENNSYLVANIA AVE., N. W. — WASHINGTON 7, D. C.

BULLETIN NO. IV July, 1947

A T L A S T !

THE BILL IS IN CONGRESS . . . S 1390 - H R 4078

H E L P G E T I T P A S S E D !

H E L P !

Your Committee has a big task ahead . . .

W E N E E D F U N D S A T O N C E

D O Y O U R S H A R E !

C O N T E S T

$300.00 prize for best simple statement on ...
"WHY I AM ASKING MEMBERS OF CONGRESS TO VOTE
FOR THE LABOR EXTENSION BILL
S 1390 H R 4078
(30 grand prizes)

Read the story inside . . .

OUR BILL IS IN CONGRESS! S.1390 and H.R.4078

The American Labor Movement presented its own challenge to Congress when the Labor Extension Service Bill was introduced in the United States Senate on June 5th by Senator Elbert D. Thomas (D) of Utah and Senator Wayne Morse (R) of Oregon, and in the House of Representatives on July 2nd by Representative Thor C. Tollefson (R) of Washington State and Congressman Ray J. Madden (D) of Indiana.

The Bill, which is officially endorsed by AFL, CIO, Railroad Labor and other independent unions, seeks to establish a broad system of instruction for wage and salary earners on industrial relations and other subjects. By use of facts and reason, labor itself proposes, in this Bill, that education be regarded as a primary tool for permanent improvement in management-labor relations.

A challenge is sounded to those in Congress who claim to favor reasonable and peaceful solutions for our industrial and public issues. They are asked to back up their words by supporting this Bill and assuring American wage earners that they are still considered Americans on a par with businessmen and farmers.

A Labor Extension Service

The new Bill would extend to some 42 million wage and salary earners a program similar to that carried on by the Agricultural Extension Service for six million farm families. Instruction would be provided at times and places and in forms convenient for wage and salary earners. Teachers would be provided by institutions of higher learning cooperating in the program. Requests by groups of workers for classes would be worked out with these institutions and presented to State Boards for approval. Approved requests would be incorporated in a state plan and budget to be presented to the Secretary of Labor for his approval. Federal funds would be supplemented locally.

For Use in Speeches, Radio Messages and Publications

Excerpts from Senator Thomas' speech in support of the Bill. (Congressional Record for June 5, 1947, page 6586.)

"Throughout this session, we have heard that Labor has refused to come forward with a constructive proposal for the improvement of industrial relations. Well, here is a constructive proposal, endorsed by all of Labor. Labor is united in asking us to enact this legislation.

"This Bill is not spectacular. It is not advertised as an overnight cure for inflamed industrial relations, nor for all the many human, mechanical, economic and other problems that arise daily in relations between employers and employees. But it is a gradual, sure and lasting remedy...

"Not by prohibitions, nor injunctions, nor by rules and regulations, but by equipping wage earners with a better and more up-to-date knowledge of the world, the Nation, the state and the community in which they work and live, with a better knowledge of the economic facts about their own industry and plant and their relation to other industries, plants and to the entire economy of the Nation.

"Equipped with this knowledge, and with training in its use, labor can negotiate more effectively and more reasonably with employers and better meet its citizenship obligations...

"I think the Congress should accept this challenge. I propose to urge that consideration be given this Bill at the very earliest possible date after we return from the summer recess. I wish that hearings might be had and action taken before we adjourn...

"Today, more than fifty universities and colleges throughout the Nation have established labor extension services. I am informed that the expressed and demonstrated need far outruns the resources of unions and of institutions of higher learning. This presents the Congress, it seems to me, with a priceless opportunit to bring aid to an educational process that can serve both the cause of industrial peace and the national welfare. As has been said, we are all in a race between education and catastrophe. New knowledge, new facts, new techniques, new decision flood in on us so fast as to exceed our ability to understand, evaluate and act intelligently. Education is the only road to wisdom for an individual, a group or a nation. It is a slow road, but a sure one, to fair dealing between man and man, between employers and employees, between and among nations.

"Labor is willing and eager to travel that road."

YOUR COMMITTEE FOR THE EXTENSION OF LABOR EDUCATION HAS A BIG TASK AHEAD! WE NEED YOUR HELP!

The immediate work of this office now includes:

Publicity on the Bill, through
- Labor press, newspapers, and magazines
- Labor institutes
- Unions in all branches of the labor movement
- Interested colleges and universities
- Community agencies
- An essay contest, approved by this Committee

Intensive finance work to raise a budget of $3000 a month, covering
- Office rent
- Salaries for staff (2 executives and 3 secretaries)
- Nominal fee for legislative consultant
- Printing and publicity, postage, office supplies
- Occasional short trips

State contacts
- To reach members of Congress and enlist their support
- To start work leading toward State organization, in order that when the Bill is passed funds shall be spent as authorized and qualified leadership may be found.

Hearings to be arranged
- In both Houses of Congress, and in the new Joint Committee related to the Taft-Hartley Labor Management Relations Act. (An approach has been made to Senator Taft for this purpose.) These hearings will probably not take place until after the Congressional recess, but meanwhile testimony must be built up and witnesses secured.

DO YOU WANT THIS WORK TO GO FORWARD? IF SO, DO WORK WITH US!

Funds from the organized labor movement for the work so far total about $12,000. The Special Services Committee, since December 1945, has contributed $23,000, including its last and final grant to carry the program through this summer. In order to capitalize on this substantial investment and carry the Bill through to successful enactment in Congress, funds must be secured at once. The money on hand will carry the program only through August.

For the Year Ahead, a Budget of $50,000 is Needed

A sum of $6,000 is needed for two months ahead -- September and October.

Finance work will go on steadily each month.

This Committee has come a long way in the past year, building on the definite needs expressed by the labor movement for a broad educational service with all the resources of the unions, the universities, the States, and the Federal Government.

This need becomes more urgent, as labor faces the complicated situations inherent in the recent labor legislation.

We must not stop in mid-stream in our efforts to meet this need.

Can You Help in Any of the Following Ways?

1. Help secure union and individual contributions immediately. Every check will help.

2. Make speeches, write articles, talk about the Bill to your co-workers and neighbors.

3. See your Senators and Representatives during August or write to them asking them to support the Bill. (S.1390 - H.R.4078)

4. Get as many workers as possible to take part in the contest for statements on "Why I Am Asking Members of Congress to Vote for the Labor Extension Service Bill, S. 1390."

WIN $300.00!

It's Easy . . . . . Anyone Can Try

Write a Simple Statement *Today*
"Why I Am Asking Members of Congress to Vote for the Labor Extension Bill, S.1390"

30 Grand Prizes!

1st — $300.00	4th — $50.00
2nd — $100.00	5th — $25.00
3rd — $ 75.00	25 prizes — $10.00

HERE'S WHAT YOU DO:

1. Any union member or other worker in plant, mine, mill, factory, or office can participate,—*but* the contest is not open to fulltime, paid union officials.
2. Your statement should be about 250 words.
3. Write in ink, or type, on one side of paper.
4. Your work will be judged on facts and ideas, *not* on style, grammar or spelling.
5. Send your paper in *by October 15th* to this Committee. Awards will be announced on November 15th. No papers will be returned.
6. Do *not* write your name on your statement. Use a separate piece of paper for name, address, union or other affiliation.

Clip or pin this to your statement. Mail to the Committee for the Extension of Labor Education. When your paper arrives in Washington it will be given a number. Your statement when given to the judges will carry a number instead of your name.

Copies of the Bill and other explanatory material may be secured from union officials, community leaders, or by writing this Committee.

HERE'S WHY YOU DO IT:

The Labor Extension Service Bill (S.1390) has been introduced into the United States Congress with the united support of the entire American labor movement. Through cooperation with colleges and universities the Bill provides for educational services to wage and salary earners, including classes, institutes and forums, research studies, moving pictures, exhibits, conferences, information and library services.

Your paper stating your own ideas about such a service may win $300 and help pass S.1390.

Sponsored by

COMMITTEE FOR THE EXTENSION OF LABOR EDUCATION

2117 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.

Washington 7, D. C.

Note: The prize money has been contributed for this special purpose and is not taken from the funds of the Committee.

JANUARY, 1948
Vol. II, No. 3

GWES NEWS

Georgia Workers Education Service

353 COURTLAND ST., N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GA.
WALNUT 1961

RUMORS OF FERMENT DOWN ON THE FARM!

We came across a recent Gallup report the other day that struck us as pretty important. Maybe it was because it was a poll of farmers this time.

It appears from the report that the farmers who have been enjoying the highest prices in their history are beginning to get awfully worried about their all-time high income. They apparently have an awfully insecure feeling and know that sooner or later high farm prices must tumble down.

Also according to the poll, only 4% of the farmers feel that it is easier to make both ends meet than it was a year ago, while 58% think it is more difficult. Farmers have found their operating costs zooming from 9 to 25 percent a year since 1939.

Few farmers, remembering the depression of the thirties, can ever forget the wholesale farm foreclosures, the evictions, and the farm strikes.

FARM CO-OPS ATTACKED

The farmers who are organized into Farm Co-operatives don't like the big business attacks on Co-operatives in general and on Farm Co-operatives in particular. During the early part of December, between 3 and 4 thousand farmers gathered in St. Paul, Minnesota, to attend the annual stockholders' meeting of the Farmers' Union Grain Terminal Association. This is the largest Grain Co-op in the world and this was a record attendance. The grass root rumblings might hold real political significance in the 1948 elections.

Homer Ayres, of the Farm Equipment Workers Union, in his bi-weekly farm column, has reported a number of new political alliances between labor organizations and farm organizations in the Midwest and Northwest. Farmers have never liked monopoly and the attacks on their Co-operatives could build up a mighty opposition to big business Congressmen.

Talking about Farm Co-operatives reminds us of a most encouraging report from the Motor City Co-op. (Detroit to you). The Motor City Co-op is backed by AFL, CIO, Railway Unions and other Community Organizations, and it is now launching a drive to establish warehouse facilities in order to supply Co-op Stores as soon as they get started.

The whole Co-op movement in Detroit has flowed from a food distribution program from union halls. The UAW's Co-op Department estimates that the case-lot food distribution is saving UAW members $15,000 weekly on $125,000 a week business. That ain't peanuts, brothers and sisters.

The warehouse program would be available to all state outlets. In addition a retail outlet for food, electrical appliances and other merchandise would be operated in connection with the warehouses.

In Georgia, there is a real and growing interest in Co-operatives, as Program Leader Haskins and Hank Dyer found in their December Co-op Workshops in south Georgia. A Co-op Warehouse and Wholesale, if they could be established in this region, would be a sound way to build union Co-ops in Georgia.

* * * * * * * *

SPECIAL DOINGS IN SOUTH GEORGIA

Field Program Leader Haskins and Director McCallister have just returned from a whirlwind of graduation ceremonies in South Georgia towns. Director McCallister awarded 75 Certificates of Merit to union members in 3 towns who have regularly attended and participated in a course for union training.

On January 8, in Americus, certificates were awarded to ACWA Local 226 members in an "Economic Problems" class. They were: Sisters Finch, Bessie Peek, Annie Thompson, Elizabeth Van Agnew, and Jeannette Holley.

On January 9, in Albany, McCallister awarded certificates to 34 lady members of the Packinghouse Workers who had completed a course in "How to Make the Union Work". These sisters were: Esther Bynum, Ida Evens, Lizzie Anthony, Julia Wall, Lonny Brown, Luella Williams, Gertrude Williams, Mary Jenkins, Renella Jefferson, Ida Williams, Johnny Cobb, Lovina Nealy, Estella Williams, Mary Whaley, Carrie Marmon, Anna Thomas, Amelia Charles, Jerry McKam, Rubalea Parker, Rosalea Linkhorn, Sally Brown, Verdell Hudson, Jessie Fulton, Essie May Glandon, Rebecca Boynton, Elerine Mosley, Gertrude Johnson, Essie May Brown, Annie Taylor, Ethel Powell, Mary James, Annie Hall, Willie Mae Bruce, and Rosalea Holmes.

On the same evening he awarded certificates to 22 Packinghouse and Woodworkers members for completion of their class in "Union Problems", taught by M. F. Adams. Names of these students will be carried in next month's issue, since they will arrive too late for inclusion in this.

On January 9, also in Albany, 14 AFHW Local 168 members were awarded their certificates. Class members were: Curtis Arthur, Clinton Ray, James M. Hall, Jack Hall, E. V. Long, Jr., E. H. Cantrell, R. J. Howard, William T. Bentley, James Tidwell, Charlie Bentley, Mrs. Elsie Mills, Eunice Cantrell, and Philip Carter.

In Camilla, 4 ACWA'ers completed their class with Elizabeth Van Agnew in "How To Make The Union Work". They are: Cordelia Monroe, Georgie Smith, Elsie Warsham, Mary Smithwick.

In between all this, Frank and Olive met with the Americus Inter-Union Council, which is thriving and active.

Olive and Frank returned covered with red mud and pleased smiles.

* * * * *

NEW PROGRAMS UNDER WAY

In Brunswick: Staffmember McKinstry reports from his bailiwick that the Central Labor Union began its six weeks' course on January 7, in "Your Job, Your Union and Your Pay" under the able instructorship of M.E.Colley. Class meets at the Boilermakers Hall two hours a week. Brother Colley and Staffmember Warren are working on movie programs for the class.

In Savannah: Ed also tells us that the Longshoremen began a class on January 12, called "Know Your Union". It will run for three weeks, meet two hours each time on Wednesday night at the Boilermakers Building.

State, County and Municipal Workers will be seeing GWES movies at their bimonthly meetings and are talking about a Parliamentary Law class, too.

The ILA Local 1475 saw "Good Men and True" and will be featuring movies and filmstrips at regular monthly meetings hereafter.

In Augusta: Ed showed "Good Men and True" at the January 7 meeting of the Central Labor Union and goes back on January 28 with "Labor's Challenge".

In Athens: TWUA Local 940 had lively discussion with Staffmember Warren after seeing film "Men Who Grow Cotton". May have monthly movies.

In Atlanta: UPWA Local 325 held its first Parliamentary Law class as part of its regular membership meeting on January 13. There are no nodding heads in the "Economic Problems" discussion groups for Local 111 and 325, Staffmem-

ber Piercey reports, despite the fact that the evening meeting brings to a close a long work-day that starts at 5: A. M.

* * * * *

STARTING SOON

In Atlanta: ILG'ers to put heads together in a "Parliamentary Procedure" class late in January, says Staffmember Warren. Also song leading for regular monthly meeting of the members - Ruth to show movies at New Members class.

Laundry Workers have mapped out ambitious program of three classes: "Stewards' Training", "Parliamentary Procedure", and "Citizenship".

In Albany: Packinghouse Workers, who seem to be tireless about these things, will meet every Friday, starting in February for a class in "Union Administration". Wives of Woodworkers and Packinghouse Workers will get together for "Hints for Better Homekeepers".

* * * * *

INSTITUTES AND CONFERENCES

In Atlanta: UAW 34 with UAW Regional Education Director Ed Coffey to hammer out program with GWES, maybe January 16, maybe January 23rd.

February 2, ACWA Education Director Bob Levin finally making Atlanta to plan program for newly created ACWA Georgia Joint Board. Bob and GWES to confer mightily.

Atlanta Federation of Trades deep in plans with Staffmember Piercey for a one-day Institute, February 7, on Taft-Hartley and Georgia Labor Laws. Will be a full review of Act and Rulings to date. Georgia AFL "Big Wigs" among the participants. More later.

Planning for a Community Housing Institute also under way. Idea to get varied community sponsorship for serious tackling of what, whys and hows of Housing.

In Camilla: One-day Workshop for ACWA'ers on their new contract.

In Albany: Two-day Co-op Workshop for Hosiery, and Packinghouse Workers - Hank Dyer to lead the Workshop activities.

In Cordele: Late in February, a one-day Workshop for the Hosiery Workers on "Community Relations".

* * * * *

SPECIAL EVENTS

In New York, January 7, 8, 9, TWUA Education Director Rogin held Staff Training Institute. GWES Program Leader McCormick who works with TWUA Locals in North Georgia attended for an inside approach to education for TWUA'ers.

Frank spoke to Atlanta AVC on January 14 on "What Should Our Foreign Policy Be" - Hope the State Department was listening in.

Also to the new semester students at University of Georgia School of Business Administration on "What Labor Wants".

On January 30, 31, in Birmingham, Steelworkers to hold a two-day Education Institute for their three Southern Districts. Director McCallister was asked by Steel's Emery Bacon to assist with audio-visual end of the Institute (films and filmstrips to you).

On February 6 and 7, Frank will be meeting with the Committee of the South of which he is a Vice President, to consider the report which Governor Broughton announces is now ready for the Committee's study. Report is on "Effects of Mechanization of Agriculture and Industrialization of the South".

At the end of February a one-day Workshop on the CIVIL RIGHTS REPORT will be held. Southern Regional Council is the sponsor, with GWES and other cooperating agencies. Planning Committee meeting regularly. Several hundred Southern church leaders and others expected for the Workshop.

In Atlanta, on January 7, the Georgia Power Company made its request for raise in transportation fares. On February 11, the public will get its chance

to testify on same before the Public Utilities Commission. GWES Research Director Leake, Chairman of the Public Utilities Committee of the Atlanta Consumers Council, urges fellow Georgians to testify before the Commission and send their gripes to the Committee. You can address her at our office. Remember February 11. It means 3 cents more or less in your pocket, everytime you ride a bus.

* * * * *

ANNOUNCEMENT

AVAILABLE TO UNIONS! EXHIBIT PORTRAYING LABOR'S FREEDOM HERITAGE.

GWES has prepared a series of facsimiles of precious documents which have increased labor's rights and liberties over the years. Among them are the First and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution, the Wagner Act, the Norris-La Guardia Act. You can request the exhibit for regular membership meetings, directly from our office or from your GWES Representative.

AROUND THE CRACKER BARREL

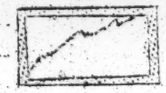
HAVE YOU READ? Machines in the Cotton Fields by Arthur Raper?

An excellent pamphlet published by the Southern Regional Council which tells the story of what mechanization will mean to the Southern cotton farmer and the cotton farm. You can order in quantity directly from the Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, Atlanta, or we shall be glad to send you one free copy.

HAVE YOU SEEN? Men Who Grow Cotton?

This is a new 16 millimeter film, in color and sound about cotton growers in the South east. Made especially for our region by the United States Department of Agriculture. Excellent. Ask your GWES Leader to show it at your next union meeting or class, or write us direct for use.

DID YOU KNOW?



That the GWES staff has adopted a German trade union youth school and that we by paying an extra nickel for our lunches at the office each day have been able to send so far one CARE package of food, and one CARE package with blankets? We are now starting nickels toward our third package. We'll be glad to send you the name of another trade union school if your local would like to adopt one. This is a good way to help rebuild a democratic trade union movement in Germany for their sake and for ours.

* *

Georgia Workers Education Service
353 Courtland Street, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Sec. 562, P.L.& R.

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Bldg.
Atlanta, Ga.

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AMERICAN WORKERS WANT A LABOR EXTENSION SERVICE!

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BULLETIN NO. V
FEBRUARY, 1948

ACTION AT LAST. . .

WE'RE ON THE SENATE SCHEDULE FOR HEARINGS!

HEARINGS which have been mentioned so often in bulletins and correspondence on the subject of the Labor Extension Bill are definitely scheduled in the Senate.

They will be held before the Senate Subcommittee on Education starting Monday, FEBRUARY SIXTEENTH for five days. Senator Aiken of Vermont is Chairman.

There will be time for a full discussion of the Bill, its purposes and the operation of the proposed Labor Extension Service. The first session will open at 10 A.M. on Monday, February 16, in the Hearings Room of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, on the second floor of the Capitol, in the Senate Wing. Here is the list of members of the Senate Subcommittee on Education.

Chairman, George D. Aiken (R) Vermont
H.Alexander Smith (R) New Jersey
Forrest C. Donnell (R) Missouri
Irving M. Ives (R) New York
Elbert D.Thomas (D) Utah
Allen J. Ellender (D) Louisiana
Lister Hill (D) Alabama

Twenty or more witnesses who believe that this legislation is needed are being asked to testify. Others will undoubtedly be heard in opposition. This sponsoring Committee is serving as a clearing house to secure witnesses on behalf of the Bill and to make sure that briefs are prepared well in advance of the hearings. Witnesses are on the list from every branch of the labor movement, colleges and universities which are conducting labor extension programs or would like to do so, employers concerned with fair and peaceful industrial relations, and representatives of community organizations. We expect soon to be able to announce the dates of hearings in the House.

This office continues to receive favorable comment on the nationwide broadcast entitled "Can the Use of Facts and Reason Help in Industrial Peace" given on December 21 on the NBC Program "America United." This broadcast was sponsored by the CIO and included in the discussion Congressman Tollefson, one of the sponsors of the Bill in the House; Kermit Eby, Director of Education and Research of the CIO; and Hilda W. Smith, Chairman of this National Committee. Copies of this broadcast are available in this office.

The Committee has been conducting a survey of labor education activities in colleges and universities during 1947. To date, 65 of these institutions have expressed interest and have returned detailed information on their extension programs, labor institutes and special services to workers, as well as constructive suggestions for a Labor Extension Service.

Funds to support the work of the National Committee for the Extension of Labor Education continue to come in from International Unions, State and local labor organizations. Sources of recent contributions include: 7 Steelworker locals in Ohio, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, Wisconsin and Illinois; 3 Auto Worker locals in Michigan; 1 Farm Equipment local in Iowa and a local of the Rubber Workers in Cadillac, Michigan, Lenawee County and Greensburg, Pennsylvania Industrial Union Councils; 1 Communications local in Texas; Int'l Office of the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers; Michigan, Ohio and Minnesota State Federations of Labor; and a number of Central Labor Unions and AFL locals in Minnesota.

YOUR HELP IS NEEDED FOR IMMEDIATE ACTION

At the end of the hearings, February 20, communicate with Members of the Senate Subcommittee listed above.

Ask them to report the Bill (S.1390) favorably to the full Committee on Labor and Public Welfare and to the Senate.

SEND CONTRIBUTIONS FOR THIS LEGISLATIVE CAMPAIGN TO THIS COMMITTEE!
FUNDS ARE URGENTLY NEEDED! WE HAVE LESS THAN A MONTH'S MINIMUM BUDGET AHEAD.

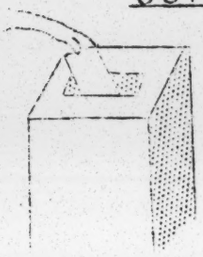
FEBRUARY, 1948
Vol. II, No. 4

GWES NEWS

Georgia Workers Education Service

353 COURTLAND ST., N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GA.
WALNUT 1961

CUTTING TAXES - PENNY WISE AND POUND FOOLISH?



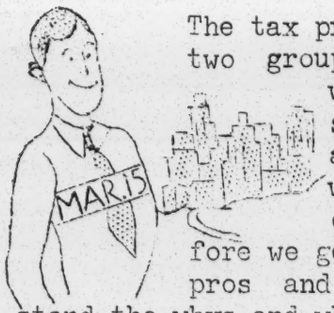
Just in case you haven't heard about it, this is an election year. Sure sign is the Battle of the Taxes now going on in Congress. I suspect that most of us barely read the news headlines about tax bills. We think this business of Federal and State taxation is way above our heads anyway, and it might as well be left to some experts to figure out.

Furthermore, since all the hullabaloo seems to be about "cutting taxes" and "reducing Federal expenditures" that sounds like horse sense, and we think we're for it, anyway.

But is it "horse sense"? Should we be in favor of tax reduction at this time? Let's take a look at current tax proposals. Let's find out:

1. Whose taxes are being cut?

2. Can we afford to reduce Federal taxes and therefore Federal spending at this time?



The tax proposals fall into two groups - those which would reduce personal income taxes, and those which would reduce taxes on businesses. Before we get too involved in pros and cons, let's understand the whys and whats of TAXES.

TAXES are nothing more than the prorated cost of things and services which we can buy only from government, whether it is city, county, State or Federal. Within the State, our taxes pay for such things as schools, fire and police protection, health and sanitation, traffic regulations and the like.

On the Federal level, taxes pay for administration of social security, foreign relations, conservation of natural resources, agricultural services, Army and Navy, and the like. If too little revenue is raised through taxation, then it means that such essential services cannot be provided or decently paid for. Taxes are a necessary part of our whole system of government, and we must have them. But we must be sure that taxes are raised fairly in accordance with the ability of citizens to pay their share, and in sufficient amounts to provide the best possible services for all the people of the State and Nation.

How does all the to-do in Congress stack up against these requirements?

Pretty badly, friends, pretty badly! In Congress both Republicans and Democrats, contrary to the President's recommendations, and with loud noises about "economizing" are proposing "tax reduction bills" which would reduce Federal revenues by $6\frac{1}{2}$ billion, through cuts in personal income taxes and business taxes.

Actually the income tax cuts would benefit most persons with high incomes, while low-income workers would be thrown a few crumbs in the form of minor tax cuts.

President Truman would have left the tax bill as is for persons with an income of over $7,000, excepting for a flat reduction of $40 for everybody. The House Bill, although allowing a slight cut for low income persons, would actually give bonuses to the upper income boys. It would save the $10,000-a-year man, about $300 in taxes. It would save the million dollar-a-year man, some $94,000.

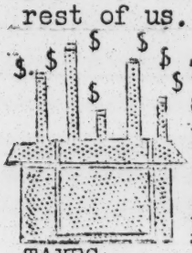
Now it's plain as plain can be that the person with a $10,000 a year income can

pay $300 in taxes to his government far more easily than the $1,000-a-year man can pay $50-$60 in taxes. Actually these proposals let those persons who least need the money keep it in their pockets or in their banks, while at the same time they decrease the amount of revenue which would be given to the government to provide those necessary services we talked about before.

Take the "Community Property Tax" plan. This is a plan, whereby, if the husband in the family is the only one working, he can divide his annual income in half - let his wife pay income tax on one half and he on the other. Result: Income taxes this way on two supposedly separate incomes are much less than that of just one family tax return. This again works to the disadvantage of the working man, in whose family usually more than one person is the wage-earner.

AF of L man, Matthew Woll, and his tax-advisor, Arthur Elder of Michigan, declared in their statement to Congress that this plan would save $6,194 in taxes for persons with incomes of $50,000 but only $76 for persons with a $5,000 income. And below that level, which is where most of us are, nothing at all would be saved in tax money.

See what we mean? That's why we ask "Tax Cutting for Whom?" Tax gravy for the taxpayers in the top brackets, who represent only 3½ percent of all taxpayers, and only bare bones for the rest of us.



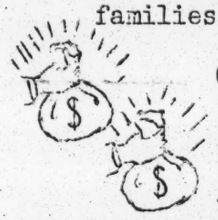
The same tender regard is shown for "the big boys" in the numerous proposals to cut down or eliminate altogether, various forms of BUSINESS and CORPORATION TAXES.

The House Committee proposed as well that present EXCISE TAXES be continued. Excise taxes which are placed upon essentials and luxuries are levied against all consumers, with no regard for ability to pay. Just like the SALES TAX, these fall more heavily on the low-income person who spends relatively more of his earnings for necessities.

Labor's tax experts, Woll and Elder, made several proposals to Congress. Said they: If you are really concerned with reducing taxes for the benefit of all, here's what you can do:---

1. Cut 4 billion dollars, instead of 6½ billion by cutting out 1½ billion from those excise taxes which affect every day necessities, and

2. Cut 2½ billion more by raising the personal income tax exemptions for all the low-income tax families.



Congress ignored these proposals completely. Instead, it has pushed for all kinds of tax cuts which would help only the big-income boys, and at the expense of needed services for the country's low-income wage-earners.

Many public minded tax experts question altogether the wisdom of tax reduction at this time. They point out that the Federal Government needs more not less revenue, if we are to carry out our commitment for foreign aid. They point to our staggering war debt, and say that the time to pay it off is now while incomes are high, instead of passing it along to less prosperous periods. They point out, too, that high taxes at this time can serve as a brake against inflation. And most important of all, they point out that the money for all of this can come, without privation, from those most able and most unwilling to pay - the upper bracket income boys and the profit-swollen industries of all kinds.

SO WHAT DO WE DO ABOUT IT?

We have to realize that the kind of tax bill Congress is planning to pass is a direct blow to labor. If a cut in taxes were applied to wage-earners, it would be like an increase in the pay check of millions of workers.

A hundred dollars put in your pockets this way can buy as many groceries as $100 won on the picket line and with less suffering. It means sounder economic policy, too. Let's get after our Congressmen and Senators. Write to

House and Senate Committees on taxes. Let them know you are on to their tricks. You can see the wolf under Granny's bonnet, and Little Red Riding Hood (that's you and me) doesn't intend to be swallowed whole again.

NEW PROGRAMS UNDER WAY

In Atlanta: Staffmember Piercey meets in a work session every Monday with Education Committee of UAW Local 34. Result, first issue of UAW 34 Headlight now on the press.

In Atlanta, also, Staffmember Warren reports ex-staffmember Naiman is teaching a Parliamentary Law Class for LWIU, Tuesday evenings at 7:00 at Union Hall.

Staffmember Douty doing likewise for ILG gals every Tuesday at 4:30.

LWIU Citizenship class got off to a flying start with Dr. Walter Chivers of Morehouse College. Miss Madrid Turner of Spelman to share teaching job with him.

In Columbus: A "How to Read and Write" class for IWA, Professor Brittain teaching.

In Cuthbert: Staffmember Haskins teaching IWA group "How To Run A Union," Thursdays at 7:30.

In Talbotton: IWA meeting on "Union Administration" with Professor Thomas.

In Rome: TWUA Joint Board every Tuesday at 7:30 for an "Arbitration Workshop" with union officers officiating, reports Staffmember McCormick.

Also, UAW-CIO Local 1103 meeting with McCormick every Wednesday at 5:30 for "How To Run A Union Meeting."

In Savannah: Association of Firefighters, Local 574 getting some technical instruction from Staffmember McKinstry in "Simplified Hydraulics for Fire Departments" at Firehouse. When the fire bell rings, the class disappears down the pole.

STARTING SOON

In Buena Vista: Olive setting up class for IWA in "Union Administration."

In Columbus: Newly organized textile workers getting together to find out about "Union Administration."

Postscript: We did not have the names of all graduates for last issue, so we hasten to include them now.

In Macon: Local 4037, Steelworkers, held a super-duper graduation with Mayor of Macon officiating. Pictures in the Macon News and all the trimmings - Steel man, Ernie Starnes, the spark plug. Those who received certificates were: William Harbin, Bill St. Clair, W. H. Arera, M. H. Burden, Terry Davis, R. F. Harbin, W. D. Hopkins, Thomas Peyton, A. J. Russell, E. F. Wynn, Jack Cowan and R. E. Starnes.

In Albany: 24 members IWA and UPWA members who received their certificates were: B. C. Cutts, M. C. Mayo, Reley Kelsen, Dan Taylor, Jr., Dave Orange, Charley Kelsey, Silas Green, Joe Williams, Morris Williams, J.C. Anderson, Charley Shackleford, Willie Lee Parker, Sol Malone, T.J.Steward, Arthur Malone, Charley Brown, James Wallace, Ralph Williams, Solomon Green, Hamp Malone, Rufus Alexander, Jessie Wallace, Will Armstrong, and Jessie Walker.

INSTITUTES AND WORKSHOPS

Armed with charts and the Co-op movie "Here is Tomorrow," Hank Dyer did a five-night stand in Americus with ACWA, and Railroad Trainmen, and with Hosiery Workers and Railroad Trainmen in Albany. Hosiery Workers actually considering buying a store.

In Atlanta: February 7 saw 200 A. F. of L'ers from 17 Georgia towns crowd into meeting hall at the Auditorium for whole day session on "Taft-Hartley Act, and Georgia Labor Laws." Staffmember Piercey pleased with both quality and quantity of Institute. Speakers and panel members were: Henry Chandler, John Piercey, Warren Hall, Fred Meyers, Carmen Lucia, Ernest Collier, Y. F. Geeslin, George Googe, Joe Jacobs. Brother McCallister, presided.

OUR RESEARCH FRONT

Research Director Pauline Leake stole the show at the Public Utility Hearing on February 11. She was cross examined for an hour, but did not wilt.

At odd moments supplied cost-of-living

and wage data for wage negotiations to Packinghouse, and for United Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers.

Her article prepared for LPA on "America's Dispossessed" received wide circulation and much favorable comment.

SPECIAL EVENTS Director McCallister to present testimony on February 20 before the Senate Committee considering the Labor Extension Bill. Using the Union response to GWES as ample proof that Georgia Workers want and need this type of education, and have as much right to expect Federal financing as do businessmen and farmers for theirs. Goes on from Washington to take part in annual ALES Washington's Birthday Conference in New York.

He reports a turnout of 125 Steel delegates at Birmingham Education Meet for 2 hard working days of meetings classes under direction of Vin Sweeney and Emery Bacon.

Staffmembers McCallister, Warren and Douty took part in successful ILG's banquet for New Members.

On February 29, URWDSE to hold 1 day Union Training Institute. Staffmember Piercey and Regional Director John Schulter arranging. Expected to be present, National Educational Director, Martin Kyne.

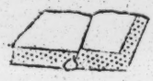
March 4, 5, 6, Piercey to take part in UAW Education Institute in Memphis.

Week of March 12, 13, 14, similar one to be held in Atlanta revolving around UAW Wage and Pension Demands, Ed Coffey, UAW Education Staff, directing program.

GWES arranging meetings on March 1 for Labor M. P. Harry Wright Wallace. Two at Emory University, a reception, and a meeting with Atlanta labor leaders. First time British Labor Party man has told his story in Atlanta.

AROUND THE CRACKER BARREL

HAVE YOU READ? The Report of the special Tax Study Committee to the Committee on Ways and Means, House of Representatives? That's where we got all our information on the labor proposals for tax policy this year. Write to your Congressman for a copy. He will send it to you free and it makes good reading, so, believe it or not.



VE YOU SEEN? Millions Of Us? A good, moving film about a prospective strike breaker and what he learns about labor solidarity. It's not new but Staffmember Warren reports that it is still one of our most popular films and always on call. Ask for it, if your Local hasn't seen it.

DID YOU KNOW? That as a result of our little news item last month about GWES staff having adopted a German trade union school, Pat Knight, TWUA Southern Education Director, asked for two others because two of her locals were interested? More available for the asking.

Georgia Workers Education Service
353 Courtland Street, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Sec. 562, P.L.& R.

RECEIVED MAR 4 1948 Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
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APRIL, 1948
Vol. II, No. 6

GWES NEWS

Georgia Workers Education Service

353 COURTLAND ST., N. E.
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WALNUT 1961

S.1390 TIME FOR ACTION ON THE LABOR EDUCATION BILL IS NOW H.R.4078

Spring and especially the Atlanta Spring which is so pretty this year makes it awfully hard to be serious about anything but new clothes and house cleaning. As usual, however, there's the usual flood of "must-be-done" items for labor folk to turn their hands and minds to.

First on the order of business is this Labor Education Extension Bill. In the Senate, it is S. 1390. In the House, it is H. R. 4078. In case you have forgotten, this bill-if passed-would set up a workers' education division in the U. S. Department of Labor with $10,000,000 the first year for classes, movies, institutes and library services for American wage earners. In other words, this bill would finance the same kinds of educational services which GWES has been carrying on for union locals all over Georgia.

WHY FEDERAL AID FOR WORKERS EDUCATION? Maybe, at first blush, that rings a little strangely, but actually the Federal government has been financing educational services for all groups excepting labor groups for many years. Through the Department of Commerce, business men are serviced. Through the Department of Agriculture, farmers are serviced. But to date, the organized worker has, as usual, been left out in the cold.

To remedy this, the National Committee for the Extension of Labor Education has been working hard and long for the past three years to get the bill introduced and passed.

At the moment, the Bill is before the House sub-committee for hearings which started April 13. The Senate sub-committee held its hearings in February. A favorable report is momentarily expected from the Senate Committee.

In the Senate, several members of the full committee "The Labor and Welfare Committee" have already assured their support of the bill when it gets to the committee and to the Senate floor. These Senators are: James Murray of Montana, Claude Pepper of Florida, and Lister Hill of Alabama. We are glad to note that 2 out of the 3 are Southerners.

From all over the country, workers education people appeared to speak for the bill. Among them at the Senate Committee hearing was Frank McCallister, director of GWES. Using the experience with Georgia workers as an example, McCallister assured the Senators of the real response and interest of Georgia workers to a real kind of education. In part, he said:

"Our resources are tapped to the utmost ...The workers of Georgia, some 250,000 people, with little education because of the poverty of the state, need to know and understand the problems of their state and their role in solving them as part of the community, the state and the Nation." ..."If this is to be accomplished successfully, a broader, more comprehensive program must be spread throughout Georgia which will reach every one of these workers just as the program of the Agricultural Extension Division reaches all the people who live on farms in Georgia."

He pointed out that combined Federal and State aid for agricultural and home economics education in Georgia for 1947-48 would total 1½ million dollars. For workers' education, only a mere $60,000 expended through GWES was available to meet the needs and wants of Georgia's industrial workers. He urged a correction of this unfair condition by a speedy passage of S. 1390.

Similar hearings before the House Committee heard testimony from leading CIO and AFL spokesmen, George Googe, of

Georgia, among them. Vice Chairman of the National Committee for the Extension of Labor Education, Frank Fernbach, made a most forceful answer to the expressed fear of Congressman Keran that the workers would be "propagandized." Said Fernbach:

"The process of education grows out of disagreement and the clashing of ideas. Labor in this program does not want propaganda. Labor wants facts."

There is a strong feeling in Washington that the Labor Education Extension Bill can be passed in this session. That will depend in large part on what you do to help push it through.

TODAY: GET BUSY

1. Spread the word about the bill through the local, the council, and friends of labor.

2. Have letters and wires written to your Congressmen and Senators asking their support of the bill. Ask teachers, ministers and others in your town to do the same.

3. Send a personal contribution and get the local to send a check to the National Committee. It needs help now. It would be a shame if lack of funds now should stymie the Committee when it is so close to getting results.

Send your contributions to Miss Hilda Smith, National Committee for the Extension of Labor Education, at 2117 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.

NEW PROGRAMS UNDER WAY

Atlanta: ACWA Joint Board meeting in Bremen drew out the local people as well as good discussion, led by Director McCallister on "How a Trade Union Functions."

UAW-CIO, Local 34, has organized a soft ball team and is entered in the Dixie League. Watch out, Georgia Crackers! Headlight, Chevrolet local's shop paper, continues to come out full of news and views - not so polite - about the Boss.

New chairman of the Education Committee is H. N. Attaway, one of our most faithful students at the Georgia People's School.

Buena Vista: The tireless Woodworkers began a new series of classes in "How To Make The Union Work," with W. M. Thomas of Columbus, as instructor.

Dawson: Packinghouse workers meeting for the same purpose, with the Reverend Johnson, of Dawson.

STARTING SOON

Olive reports plans under way for an intensive 5 day get together of Albany textile workers on "How To Run A Union." Starts May 2. This group has just petitioned for an election. Good luck to them.

GRADUATION CERTIFICATES flying around like winter snowflakes these days-Last issue we had to leave out the names of the Savannah policemen who completed their classes. Police officers were: W. J. Logan, Lohmon Bowen, L. O. Way, William Cleveland, H. L. Strange, Hartford Hickman, Loran Bishop, Hal Willett, H. C. Berne, H. J. Wells, Carlton Young, T. J. Ryan, J. N. Edenfield, C. W. Weber, George Tice, John Tanner, Oscar Bass, P. G. Farris, Patrick Levin, Warren Love, P. K. Heiden, Daniel Bland, Eugene Coursey, B. F. West, B. J. Bennett, Johnny Christian, M. H. Brady, W. N. Horne, L. C. Higgs.

Atlanta: Laundry Workers received their certificates at the April membership meeting. Eleven members received them for successful completion of classes in "Citizenship" and "Parliamentary Law." They are: Emma Sue Blunt, Lina Byrd, Janie Dillard, Irene Greene, Emma Hicks, Evelyn Riggins, Nattie Wiggle, Idella Taylor, Johnnie Walls, Alberta Goodson, Ella Mae Gaylor.

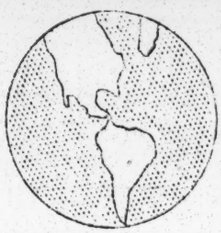
ILGWU: Local 122 members held a special meeting on the occasion of National Education Director Mark Starr's visit to Atlanta. Mark came to speak at the final session of the GWES International Relations Institute. Mark awarded our Certificates of Merit to nine members who had successfully completed their course in "Parliamentary Law." They were: Ola Thomas, Ruby Wear, Louise Davis, Elizabeth Gault, Clara Rawlins, Beatrice Henderson, Clara Sauter, Gertrude Boyd, Nell Bennett.

ACWA: Ten members of the Joint Board completed some specialized training in a one-day institute on "Getting Out A Shop Paper." Four towns were represented - Atlanta, Bremen, Douglasville and Buchanan. "The Quadrangle" will be the result - a newsy, breezy sheet. The ten Joint Board'ers are: Leora Barfield, Pauline Melton, Annie Belle Swaney,

Gladys Dollar, Milton Watson, Odel Kirk, Cora Ann Lee, Mary Couthen, Reba Daniels, Edith Burnett.

South Georgia: Staffmember Haskins has just mass produced another assembly line of graduates. Awards were made to 47 IWA members in Cuthbert; 11 UPWA members in Albany; and 46 IWA members in Talbotton. Congratulations to all of them and to their instructors.

GWES INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS INSTITUTE



Last month we told you about our program and our speakers for this institute. Now we can look back on it with real satisfaction. Each exciting session brought out an average of 100 attendants. The session on Russian expansionism was a particularly hot one. We are grateful to all the speakers for their stimulating contributions, and give special bouquets to Chinese student, T. Ho, and Korean student, Charles Song, of Emory University, for their participation in the final session. Tremendous audience applause for Director McCallister's proposal that we might initiate a regular monthly forum in the Fall.

Our very special thanks to the Reverend Harrison McMains who so generously allowed us the use of the auditorium of the First Christian Church.

RADIO HI-JINX During the Institute our speakers appeared on several radio programs, including "Coffee with Maggie." Toni Sender, Mark Starr, Max Bond, George Baldanzi all were interviewed over the air. The Atlanta Central Trades held a dinner reception for Miss Sender, the A.F. of L's consultant to the Economic and Social Council of the U. N. Miss Sender gave a most informative address to the A.F. of L'ers on how the Council functions.

SPECIAL INSTITUTES Macon: 100 A.F. of L. delegates turned out for discussion of Taft-Hartley.

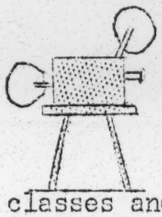
Columbus: Same subject brought out 125.

Atlanta: The second in the "How To Do It" series for CIO staff took place on Monday, April 19, at GWES. Subject: "Labor Use of Audio-Visual Aids."

The morning session heard C. D. Cauble of the University of Georgia, and Staffmember Warren on how to plan for and use educational movies.

In the afternoon, delegates learned to run movie equipment with the help of representatives from Calhoun Films. The March "How To Do It" on "Labor and the Press" heard Dr. G.M. Sparks, President of Georgia Evening College; Lee Rogers, Managing Editor of the Constitution; Tom Nowell of CIO and Jim Loring.

REPORT FROM THE FILM FRONT!



Staffmember Warren checked our film showings this year. From September 1, 1947 through March 22, 1948, GWES has shown films to 6,792 Georgians in union meetings, classes and special film showings. They divide thusly: A.F. of L - 1,633; CIO- 4,497; Independent - 298; non-union - 464.

Films seen by the largest number are: 11 showings of "Millions Of Us" to close to 1500 people; 7 showings of "United Action" to 1100 people and 6 showings of "Brotherhood of Man" to 400 plus.

Among the filmstrips, "Labor's Challenge" had 9 showings to 500 people, and "Good Men And True" to 230. 18 other films were also in curculation as well as 8 other filmstrips, but these were our most-in-demand products. We feel like a major distributor these days.

Incidentally, Staffmember Warren has been up to her small ears in Anchor-Rome strike activity from running off leaflets to helping to arrange program for strike meetings seven days a week.

SPECIAL EVENTS Director McCallister in his usual turly-burly of speeches.

To Agnes Scott Alumnae Club on March 23, at the home of Mrs. Ernest Rogers on Workers Education. Showed "Education For Living" as part of his talk.

To Student Assembly at Oglethorpe University on Wednesday, April 28, against UMT.

To Macon and Columbus Institutes of A. F. of L.

Participated in Atlanta Film Council Luncheon for Floyd Brooker of the U. S. Office of Education, who did a magnificent job of pointing out the inadequacies of the American educational film field.

On April 23, took part in the Atlanta

Personnel Institute as a member of the panel on "Labor Relations."

GOOD NEWS DEPARTMENT Pauline Leake, our Research Department, in between all kinds of deadline research assignments, found time to apply for one of the eight full scholarships offered by the British Universities for special summer work at the University of Leeds. Pauline (lucky gal - lucky England) was awarded one of them and is off on the high seas early in June for an eight week stay in England and the continent. Her project - a study of the textile industry under British Labor Government Management. Wonderful, isn't it?

To add to the general gratification [illegible] GWES, Doris Naiman, former program leader, gave birth to a 7½ pound girl. Mother and child doing well, thank you, and Daddy Naiman still gurgling with pride.

AROUND THE CRACKER BARREL

HAVE YOU READ? "LABOR UNIONS IN ACTION" by Jack Barbash? Harper's 1948 - $3.50. Here's a sound, down-to-earth book, interpreting how and why labor unions function as they do, written by a man who knows American unions inside out. It should be on every union shelf and in every library. Ask for it at your neighborhood library. Buy one for your union library, if you have one. It's good, simple reading, besides.

HAVE YOU SEEN? "GATEWAY TO FREEDOM?" A beautiful, technicolor movie about the building of Palestine. It shows how the Histadrut which is the Palestinian federation of labor, built the land out of the desert [illegible]h its skilled and devoted workers. [illegible]ilable from GWES for showings at union meetings. Ask or write us for it within the next few weeks while we have it on circuit.

DID YOU KNOW? That in Atlanta the A.F. of L. and the CIO have formed an Atlanta Council for Labor Palestine? Its job is to spread understanding among our unions of what the issues are in Palestine and to build labor support for the Jewish organized workers of Palestine in the Histadrut.

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FINAL ACT OF BOGOTA

(Signed on May 2, 1948, at the Ninth International Conference of American States, Bogota, Colombia)

(Provisional and Unofficial English Translation)

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F I N A L A C T

The Ninth International Conference of American States, composed of the Delegations of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panamá, Paraguay, Perú, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela met at the City of Bogotá, the Capital of the Republic of Colombia, as provided for in Resolution CVIII of the Lima Conference, on March 30, 1948, the date fixed by the Governing Board of the Pan American Union in agreement with the Government of Colombia.

The accredited Delegations were the following, in the order of precedence established at the preliminary session:

HONDURAS

Chairman of the Delegation:
His Excellency Marco Antonio Batres

Delegates Plenipotentiary:
His Excellency Ramón E. Cruz
His Excellency Virgilio R. Gálvez

GUATEMALA

Chairman of the Delegation:
His Excellency Enrique Muñoz Meany,
Minister of Foreign Affairs

Vice Chairman of the Delegation:
His Excellency Jorge García Granados

Delegates Plenipotentiary:
His Excellency Luis Cardoza y Aragón
His Excellency Virgilio Rodríguez Beteta
His Excellency Manuel Noriega Morales
His Excellency José Luis Mendoza
His Excellency David Vela
His Excellency José María Saravia

CHILE

Chairman of the Delegation:
His Excellency Juvenal Hernández

Delegates Plenipotentiary:
His Excellency Julio Barrenechea Pino
His Excellency Ernesto Barros Jarpa
His Excellency José Ramón Gutiérrez
His Excellency Rear Admiral Danilo Bassi Galleguillos
His Excellency Walter Muller
His Excellency Gaspar Mora Sotomayor
His Excellency Enrique Bernstein
His Excellency Rodrigo González Allendes

URUGUAY

URUGUAY

Chairman of the Delegation:
His Excellency Dardo Regules

Delegates Plenipotentiary:

His Excellency Juan F. Guichón
His Excellency Carlos Manini Ríos
His Excellency General Pedro Sicco
His Excellency Ramón Píriz Coelho
His Excellency José A. Mora Otero
His Excellency Esteban Bacigalupi
His Excellency Pedro Chouhy Terra
His Excellency Hector A. Grauert
His Excellency Nilo Berchesi
His Excellency Ariosto D. González
His Excellency Blanca Mieres de Botto

CUBA

Chairman of the Delegation:
His Excellency Guillermo Belt

Delegates Plenipotentiary:
His Excellency Oscar Gans y Martínez
His Excellency Ernesto Dihigo y López Trigo
His Excellency Carlos Tabernilla
His Excellency Ricardo Sarabasa y González
His Excellency Guy Pérez Cisneros
His Excellency Emilio Pando y Machado

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Chairman of the Delegation:
The Honorable George C. Marshall,
Secretary of State

Delegates Plenipotentiary:
The Honorable Willard L. Beaulac
The Honorable John W. Snyder
The Honorable W. Averell Harriman
The Honorable Norman Armour
The Honorable Charles F. Brannan
The Honorable William D. Pawley
The Honorable Walter J. Donnelly
The Honorable William McC. Martin
The Honorable Paul C. Daniels

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Chairman of the Delegation:
His Excellency Arturo Despradel

Delegates Plenipotentiary:
His Excellency Manuel A. Peña Batlle
His Excellency R. Paino Pichardo
His Excellency Temístocles Messina
His Excellency Joaquín Balaguer

His

His Excellency Joaquín E. Salazar
His Excellency Carlos Sánchez y Sánchez
His Excellency Emilio Rodríguez Demorizi
His Excellency Héctor Incháustegui Cabral
Her Excellency Minerva Bernardino
His Excellency Luis Julián Pérez

BOLIVIA

Chairman of the Delegation:
His Excellency Javier Paz Campero

Delegates Plenipotentiary:
His Excellency Eduardo Montes
His Excellency Alberto Salinas López
His Excellency Alfredo Alexander
His Excellency Humberto Linares
His Excellency Humberto Palza

PERU

Chairman of the Delegation:
His Excellency General Armando Revoredo Iglesias, C. A. P., Minister of Foreign Affairs and Worship

Delegates Plenipotentiary:
His Excellency Víctor Andrés Belaúnde
His Excellency Luis Fernán Cisneros
His Excellency Juan Bautista de Lavalle
His Excellency Gonzalo N. de Arámburu
His Excellency Ernesto Alayza Grundy
His Excellency Edgardo Rebagliati
His Excellency Brigadier General José del Carmen Marín
His Excellency Captain Pedro Mazuré, Peruvian Navy
His Excellency Colonel José C. Villanueva
His Excellency Luis Echecopar García

NICARAGUA

Chairman of the Delegation:
His Excellency Luis Manuel Debayle, Minister of Foreign Affairs

Delegates Plenipotentiary:
His Excellency Guillermo Sevilla Sacasa
His Excellency Modesto Valle
His Excellency Major Anastasio Somoza H.
His Excellency J. Jesús Sánchez R.
His Excellency Antioco Sacasa
His Excellency Rafael A. Huezo
His Excellency Diego Manuel Chamorro

MEXICO

Chairman of the Delegation:
His Excellency Jaime Torres Bodet, Secretary of Foreign Affairs

Delegates

Delegates Plenipotentiary:
His Excellency Roberto Córdova
His Excellency Luis Quintanilla
His Excellency José María Ortiz Tirado
His Excellency Pablo Campos Ortiz
His Excellency Antonio Carrillo Flores
His Excellency Eduardo Villaseñor
His Excellency José Gorostiza
His Excellency Gabriel Ramos Millán
His Excellency José López Bermudez
His Excellency Ernesto Enriquez
His Excellency Mario de la Cueva
His Excellency Manuel Sánchez Cuen
His Excellency Francisco A. Ursúa

PANAMA

Chairman of the Delegation:
His Excellency Mario de Diego, Minister of Foreign Affairs

Delegates Plenipotentiary:
His Excellency Roberto Jiménez
His Excellency Ricardo J. Alfaro
His Excellency Eduardo A. Chiari
His Excellency Narciso Garay
His Excellency Pedro Moreno Correa
His Excellency Emilio Clare

EL SALVADOR

Chairman of the Delegation:
His Excellency Héctor David Castro

Delegates Plenipotentiary:
His Excellency Héctor Escobar Serrano
His Excellency Joaquín Guillén Rivas
His Excellency Roberto Canessa

PARAGUAY

Chairman of the Delegation:
His Excellency César A. Vasconsellos, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Worship

Delegates Plenipotentiary:
His Excellency Rear Admiral Ramón E. Martino
His Excellency Cesar Romeo Acosta

COSTA RICA

Chairman of the Delegation:
His Excellency Emilio Valverde

Delegates Plenipotentiary:
His Excellency Rolando Blanco Solís
His Excellency José Miranda Monge

ECUADOR

ECUADOR

Chairman of the Delegation:
His Excellency Antonio Parra Velasco, Minister of Foreign Affairs

Delegates Plenipotenitary:
His Excellency Homero Viteri Lafronte
His Excellency Pío Jaramillo Alvarado
His Excellency Alberto Puig Arosemena
His Excellency Luis Larrea Alba
His Excellency Humberto Garcia Ortiz
His Excellency Benjamín Peralta Páez
His Excellency Guillermo Pérez Chiriboga

BRAZIL

Chairman of the Delegation:
His Excellency João Neves da Fontoura

Delegates Plenipotentiary:
His Excellency Arthur Ferreira dos Santos
His Excellency Gabriel de Rezende Passos
His Excellency João Henrique Sampaio Vieira da Silva
His Excellency Antonio Camillo de Oliveira
His Excellency Jorge Felippe Kafuri
His Excellency Elmano Gomes Cardim
His Excellency General Salvador Cesar Obino

HAITI

Chairman of the Delegation:
His Excellency Joseph D. Charles

Delegates Plenipotentiary:
His Excellency Colonel Gustave Laraque
His Excellency Joseph L. Dejean

VENEZUELA

Chairman of the Delegation:
His Excellency Rómulo Betancourt

Delegates Plenipotentiary:

His Excellency Carlos Morales
His Excellency Manuel Pérez Guerrero
His Excellency Simón Gómez Malaret
His Excellency Mariano Picón Salas
His Excellency José Rafael Pocaterra
His Excellency Luis Lander

ARGENTINA

Chairman of the Delegation:
His Excellency Juan Atilio Bramuglia, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Worship

Vice

Vice Chairman of the Delegation:
His Excellency Enrique V. Corominas

Delegates Plenipotentiary:
His Excellency Pascual La Rosa
His Excellency Pedro Juan Vignale
His Excellency Saverio S. Valenti
His Excellency Roberto A. Ares
His Excellency Orlando D. Maroglio
Her Excellency María E. López Cabanillas de Ivanissevich

COLOMBIA

Chairman of the Delegation:
His Excellency Eduardo Zuleta Angel, Minister of Foreign Affairs

Vice Chairman of the Delegation:
His Excellency Carlos Lozano y Lozano

Delegates Plenipotentiary:
His Excellency Roberto Urdaneta Arbeláez
His Excellency Luis López de Mesa
His Excellency Antonio Rocha
His Excellency Domingo Esguerra
His Excellency Miguel Jiménez López
His Excellency Jorge Soto del Corral
His Excellency Guillermo León Valencia
His Excellency Carlos Arango Vélez
His Excellency Silvio Villegas
His Excellency Gonzalo Restrepo
His Excellency Augusto Ramírez Moreno
His Excellency Cipriano Restrepo Jaramillo

The United Nations and the Pan American Union were represented as follows:

UNITED NATIONS

The Honorable Byron Price, Representative of His Excellency the Secretary General

Alternate:
His Excellency Alfonso García Robles

Advisors:
The Honorable Julio A. Lacarte
The Honorable Miguel Albornoz
The Honorable Alfonso de Rosenzweig-Díaz Azmitia

PAN AMERICAN UNION

His Excellency Alberto Lleras Camargo, Director General of the Pan American Union
The Honorable William Manger, Assistant Director of the Pan American Union

The Honorable

The Honorable Charles Fenwick, Chief of the Department of International Law and Organization of the Pan American Union

His Excellency, Doctor Mariano Ospina Pérez, the President of Colombia, formally opened the Conference, which held its inaugural session on the date mentioned above in the National Capitol, which was chosen as the site of its labors.

The post of President of the Conference was originally filled by His Excellency Laureano Gómez, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Colombia, and subsequently by His Excellency Eduardo Zuleta Angel, who succeeded him in the aforesaid Ministry.

In accordance with the Regulations, the Government of Colombia appointed His Excellency Camilo de Brigard Silva as Secretary General of the Conference.

The Program and Regulations of the Conference were approved by the Governing Board of the Pan American Union at its meetings of July 23, 1947, and March 6, 1946, respectively.

Pursuant to the rules established by the Governing Board and by the Conference, there were created, in addition to the Committee on Credentials, the Steering Committee, the Committee on Coordination, and the Drafting Committee, provided for in the Regulations, the following Work Committees:

Committee I. - Organic Pact of the Inter-American System.

Committee II. - Organic Pact of the Inter-American System.

Committee III. - Settlement of Controversies and Collective Security.

Committee IV. - Economic Matters.

Commitee V. - Social Matters.

Committee VI. - Juridico-Political Matters

As a result of its deliberations, the Conference approved, in addition to the Charter of the Organization of American States, the American Treaty on Pacific Settlement, the "Pact of Bogotá"; the Economic Agreement of Bogotá; the Inter-American Convention on the Granting of Political Rights to Women; and the Inter-American Convention on the Granting of Civil Rights to Women; the following Resolutions, Declarations, Recommendations, Agreements, Votes, and Motions:

Dissemination

I

DISSEMINATION OF AND ACQUAINTANCE WITH THE CHARTER OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES

WHEREAS:

The Organic Charter of the Organization of American States, as approved and signed by the Ninth International Conference of American States, is the basic instrument of American solidarity;

Its text contains all the doctrines, principles, purposes, practices, and accomplishments that have governed the peaceful relations of the peoples of America, and constitute the advanced form of international law that the continent has contributed to the furtherance of juridical and political culture in the world;

Inasmuch as the Charter is based on the purest and noblest democratic sentiments, which the peoples of America with deep conviction profess, it should be given the widest possible dissemination and as the most effective means of putting democracy into practice among those peoples;

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES

RESOLVES:

1. To recommend that the member states take steps to assure the most widespread dissemination and knowledge of the Charter of the Organization of American States in their respective countries, thus ensuring that the teaching of the Charter will not be limited to educational and cultural circles, but rather will be extended to all the people, by such methods of instruction and publicity as are appropriate in each case.

2. To recommend that, through the Inter-American Cultural Council, the Council of the Organization and the Pan American Union carry out this Resolution and take all necessary measures for the realization of the aim and spirit thereof.

II

INTER-AMERICAN JURIDICAL COMMITTEE

WHEREAS:

The Inter-American Juridical Committee of Rio de Janeiro has performed valuable and praiseworthy service in the discharge of its specific functions;

The Charter of the Organization of American States provides that the Inter-American Juridical Committee of Rio de Janeiro shall be the Permanent Committee of the Inter-American Council of Jurists;

In virtue of the foregoing provision a new procedure is established for the constitution of the Inter-American Juridical Committee of Rio de Janeiro, such procedure, however, may be put into effect only when the next inter-American conference meets;

It

It would not be advisable to interrupt the work at present being performed by the Inter-American Juridical Committee of Rio de Janeiro, and, too, it is necessary to ensure the permanence of that organ so that it may perform the duties assigned to it, as provided for by the Charter of the Organization of American States,

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES

RESOLVES:

That the Inter-American Juridical Committee of Rio de Janeiro, as the Permanent Committee of the Inter-American Council of Jurists, shall continue, as now organized, to perform its duties until such time as the provisions of the Charter of the Organization of American States pertaining thereto are carried out.

III

SURVEY OF INTER-AMERICAN SPECIALIZED ORGANIZATIONS

WHEREAS:

The Governing Board of the Pan American Union has submitted a Report on the Inter-American Organizations, the status of which should be considered in accordance with the provisions of Chapter XV of the Charter of the Organization of American States, which establishes the conditions to be met by the Inter-American Specialized Organizations;

The excessive number of official and semi-official organizations represents a burden on the American States and, in many cases, makes the effective realization of their aims more difficult;

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES

RESOLVES:

1. The Council of the Organization of American States shall, as soon as possible, make a complete survey of the status and activities of the existing Inter-American Organizations in order to adopt, with the authorization of the governments, the necessary measures for the discontinuation of those whose maintenance serves no useful purpose, and in order to strengthen, adapt, or merge the others, as may be appropriate.

2. The Council of the Organization shall set up a "Register of Inter-American Specialized Agencies" for the inscription of agencies that meet the conditions stipulated in Article 95 of the Charter.

3. The Council of the Organization may also conclude the agreements provided for in Article 53, paragraphs c) and d) of the Charter.

In the case of agreements concluded in accordance with Article 53, paragraph d), the Council of the Organization shall set up a special register.

IV

INTER-AMERICAN STATISTICAL INSTITUTE

WHEREAS:

It is necessary to have adequate statistical information in solving any problem of national planning or of economic and cultural cooperation;

The technical and promotion problems which the Inter-American Statistical Institute carries on for the purpose of improving the methods and primary sources of statistics are of particular importance and usefulness to the American nations and to the Organization of American States;

Several international conferences have endorsed the work of the Institute and have called for the intensification of its program; and

The two resolutions on financing approved at the first session of the Inter-American Statistical Institute, held at Washington in 1947, and transmitted to the governments represented at this Conference, requested the Ninth International Conference of American States to take a favorable decision in regard to the problem of financing the Institute, in order to provide it with the necessary funds for its work of preparation for the Census of the Americas in 1950;

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES

RESOLVES:

1. To express its high regard for the work carried on by the Inter-American Statistical Institute and its interest in the preparatory work for holding the Census of the Americas in 1950;

2. To recommend to the American Governments that they consider the desirability of increasing the quotas for financing the said Institute, in order to provide it with the necessary economic means for the best realization of its purposes;

3. To recommend, likewise, that the Council of the Organization examine the possibility of concluding a special agreement with the Inter-American Statistical Institute establishing the relations that should exist between the Organization and the Institute, including the basis for financing the latter.

V

INTER-AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF MUSICOLOGY

In view of the proposal presented by the Delegation of Uruguay referring to the creation of the Inter-American Institute of Musicology,

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES

RESOLVES:

To recommend to the Council of the Organization that it include the Inter-American Institute of Musicology in the survey which it has been directed to make of the status and activities of the inter-American specialized organizations.

VI

IMPROVEMENT OF THE SYSTEM OF FINANCING THE PAN AMERICAN UNION

WHEREAS:

In accordance with Article 54 of the Charter of the Organization of American States it devolves upon the Council to establish the bases for financing the Pan American Union, taking into account, among other factors, each country's ability to pay;

The bases for financing that were decided upon by the then Governing Board of the Pan American Union for the fiscal year 1948-49, although representing an improvement over the system used previously, can be improved technically through further studies,

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES

RESOLVES:

The Council of the Organization of American States shall take into account the progress of the methodological economic studies being carried on by the United Nations and specialized organizations on the definition, analysis, and evaluation of the factors influencing the ability of the countries to pay, in order to ensure the continued technical improvement of the bases of financing the Pan American Union and in order to confirm the decision of the countries to contribute their just share toward its support.

VII

BUDGET OF THE INTER-AMERICAN DEFENSE BOARD

WHEREAS:

The Charter of the Organization of American States has stipulated the procedure for the approval of the Pan American Union budget;

By decision of the Conference, the Inter-American Defense Board shall continue to function,

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES

RESOLVES:

The budget to which Article 54 of the Charter refers shall include the funds required by the Secretariat of the Inter-American Defense Board in addition to the expenses of the Pan American Union, the Council and the Organs of the Council.

VIII

SPECIALIZED INTER-AMERICAN ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

In view of the fact that the consideration of the economic problems of the Hemisphere is one of the vital aspirations of the countries that constitute the Organization of American States; and in view of the fact that the Conference of Rio de Janeiro considered advisable the convocation of a

Conference

conference on specifically economic problems, in which all the Member States of the Organization would be represented, and which would be held in the second half of 1948,

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES

AGREES:

1. To convoke an Economic Conference of the Organization of American States, to be held in the City of Buenos Aires during the last quarter of 1948, on a date to be determined by the Inter-American Economic and Social Council. The Inter-American Economic and Social Council may, for reasons of extreme importance only, postpone the convocation of the Conference until the first quarter of 1949;

2. The Inter-American Economic and Social Council shall propose the respective topics for the agenda of the above-mentioned Conference;

3. To recommend, in order that the Conference may have proper significance, to the Member States of the Organization that they be represented at this Conference by the Ministers of Finance, Development, or Economy of their respective governments, or by other responsible persons prominent in the economic life of their countries;

4. To recommend to the Inter-American Economic and Social Council, in order that the Inter-American Economic Conference may study the more immediate problems facing the economy of the American States and the latters' participation in joint plans of economic expansion, that the Inter-American Economic and Social Council prepare a questionnaire for submission to the governments of the American States that will permit the Council to compile data on the needs and possibilities with respect to the equipment, basic commodities, raw materials, capital, and credit of the aforesaid economies. In this way, the Inter-American Economic and Social Council will be able to submit an objective study of the needs and possibilities of the American countries.

IX

INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCE ON THE CONSERVATION OF RENEWABLE NATURAL RESOURCES

WHEREAS:

1. The peoples of the Americas depend on the natural resources of the Continent for their means of survival;

2. Experience in many parts of the world has demonstrated that natural resources may be permanently exhausted if they are subjected to wasteful exploitation;

3. The wasteful exploitation of such resources as forests, grasslands, soil, water, and wild-life has already resulted in their partial depletion in all the American republics;

4. Continued depletion of such resources, by progressively reducing the potential supply of food, water, and raw materials, would eventually weaken the economies of the American republics;

5. The

5. The final effect of continued depletion would be permanently to impair the standard of living of all the American peoples;

6. To determine the best means by which the natural renewable resources of the Continent may be effectively exploited without being permanently depleted, the American republics, on the initiative of the Organization of the American States and in accordance with a resolution of the Third Inter-American Conference on Agriculture, will meet at Denver, United States of America, in an Inter-American Conference on the Conservation of Renewable Natural Resources from September 7 to 20, 1948; and

7. The objective for which this Conference has been called is vital to the permanent economic security of the American peoples;

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES

RESOLVES:

1. To call the attention of the American Governments to the fact that the continuing destruction of the Continent's renewable natural resources is incompatible with the objective of a higher standard of living for the American peoples.

2. To recommend to the American Governments that they make the fullest possible preparation for their participation in the Inter-American Conference on the Conservation of Renewable Natural Resources, to the end that it may deal effectively with the problem of how the renewable natural resources of the Continent may be productively exploited without being permanently depleted.

X

DIVISION OF FUNCTIONS BETWEEN THE ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR LATIN AMERICA AND THE INTER-AMERICAN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

WHEREAS:

The functions assigned to the Economic Commission for Latin America created by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations in its meeting of February 25, 1948, are essentially similar to those of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council, approved by this Conference;

In order to prevent duplication in the organization and work of the two organizations,

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES

RESOLVES:

The Inter-American Economic and Social Council shall appoint a Committee of not more than three members, to meet with the Economic Commission for Latin America in Santiago, Chile, next June, to draft an appropriate formula for the functioning of the two organizations, and to outline their respective fields of activity and their general programs, including liaison between the two organizations, so as to avoid the aforesaid duplication in organization, personnel and functions.

The

The results of this joint meeting shall be submitted for approval to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations and the Inter-American Economic and Social Council. Pending their approval, any concrete study planned by the Economic Commission for Latin America or the Inter-American Economic and Social Council relating to organization, personnel, or substantive undertaking, should be carried out only after detailed consideration by the joint meeting of consultation mentioned above.

XI

TOURIST TRAVEL

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES

RECOMMENDS:

1. Declaration of Principles. That the governments of the Republics, as a national policy, promote and facilitate the legitimate travel of nationals of the American Republics, as bona fide temporary visitors for legitimate purposes in the territory of all the American Republics.

2. Elimination of all except reasonable control procedures. That the governments of the American Republics, in their laws, regulations and administrative practices governing international travel of persons, refrain from adopting and hereafter discontinue all control procedures which needlessly impede or delay the travel of nationals of the American Republics who wish to move from one American Republic to another as bona fide temporary visitors for legitimate purposes, and that said governments adopt or retain only reasonable control procedures, namely, those which are strictly necessary and truly effectual for the prevention of the admission of persons whom they wish to exclude or for the preservation of security, public order and health.

3. Economic Importance of Travel. That the governments of the American Republics take due cognizance of the economic importance of travel as a source of foreign exchange and for the promotion and development of trade.

4. Diffusion of Travel Information. That the governments of the American Republics take all appropriate steps to facilitate the diffusion of information of interest to the nationals of the countries of the Americas who travel as temporary visitors.

5. Participation in Third Inter-American Travel Congress. That the governments of the American Republics give full support to and participate actively in the Third Inter-American Travel Congress which is to convene in Buenos Aires during the current year.

6. Objectives of the Third Inter-American Travel Congress. That the governments of the American Republics through their representatives at the Third Inter-American Travel Congress, when studying and recommending technical measures for the simplification of travel formalities:

a) Give

a) Give due consideration, on the one hand, to the need for adequate restrictive measures for the identification and control of international travelers and, on the other hand, to the repugnance of measures that unnecessarily impede the free movement of nationals of each of the American Republics in the territory of all the American Republics as bona fide temporary visitors for legitimate purposes, in order to reconcile, in specific, technical recommendations, the requirements of public order and national and continental security with the promotion of continental travel, and

b) Recommend specific, technical measures prescribing reasonable travel control procedures for the American Republics which, in so far as they apply to the travel of nationals of each of the American Republics, as bona fide temporary visitors for legitimate purposes in the territory of all the American Republics, provide, in particular, for:

i) Expeditious and inexpensive procedures for the issuance of identity documents such as passports by governments to their own nationals, because the proper identification of travelers is a reasonable control procedure;

ii) The elimination, wherever they constitute unreasonable control procedures, of requirements that are a condition to granting permission to enter, with particular reference to certificates of health and good conduct, and reduction and standardization of others, such as the submission of photographs;

iii) The curtailment and standardization of the visa requirement and its elimination wherever this practice does not actually facilitate reasonable control procedures;

iv) The curtailment of exit formalities, which, in most cases, are unreasonable control procedures;

v) The curtailment and standardization of formalities governing the sojourn of travelers.

XII

FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT AND ELIMINATION OF PASSPORTS

WHEREAS:

Freedom of movement helps promote the economic and social relations of nations;

Personal acquaintance with the inhabitants, customs, traditions, and culture of the American nations will make their solidarity more effective;

This can be achieved by simplifying travel formalities and eliminating the use of passports;

THE NINTH

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES

RESOLVES:

1. To recommend that the Inter-American Council of Jurists and the Inter-American Economic and Social Council prepare a draft agreement to eliminate the use of passports and establish an American identification certificate not requiring consular visas and fees.

2. To recommend to the American Governments that, until the draft agreement referred to in the foregoing paragraph is prepared, they enter into administrative agreements through the exchange of notes, or bilateral agreements for the purpose of eliminating the use of passports for tourist travel by citizens of the American Continent.

XIII

TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILWAYS

WHEREAS:

The Second Meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics recognized the vital importance of the Santos-Arica Transcontinental Railway for purposes of continental defense;

The Amazon Railway is equally important;

Both railways will contribute to the intensive development of economic relations among the American States and to their greater commercial and industrial progress,

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES

RESOLVES:

1. To affirm the importance and usefulness, to America's economic development, of the Amazon Railway and the Santos-Arica Transcontiental Railway across Bolivia.

2. To recommend the completion of these enterprises and the financing thereof by the states concerned or by other American States in a spirit of financial cooperation, and provided that assistance is requested by the former.

XIV

INTER-AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF IMMIGRATION

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES

RESOLVES:

1. The Inter-American Economic and Social Council shall, through a committee of technical experts, study the possibility and the advisability of creating an Inter-American Institute of Immigration, in accordance with the proposal to that effect presented by the Delegation of Peru.

2. The

2. The Inter-American Economic and Social Council shall submit to the forthcoming Inter-American Economic Conference, to be held at Buenos Aires, the studies of the committee to be set up in accordance with the present resolution, and, if necessary, the draft convention and the draft statutes thereon.

XV

CREATION OF AN INTER-AMERICAN BANK

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES

RESOLVES:

I. The Inter-American Economic and Social Council, through a committee of technical experts, should study the possibility and advisability of creating an Inter-American Bank or an Inter-American Development Corporation, or both;

II. In case the above-mentioned studies show that it is advisable to do so, the Inter-American Economic and Social Council shall revise the Convention and Statutes of May 19, 1940, and the project presented by the Delegation of Venezuela on the Inter-American Development Corporation, and shall consider any proposals presented or which may be presented by the American countries on this subject, and any project dealing with functions that might be performed by the Inter-American Bank and/or by the Inter-American Development Corporation;

III. The Inter-American Economic and Social Council shall present to the forthcoming Inter-American Economic Conference, which is to meet at Buenos Aires, the studies made by the Committee to be set up according to the present resolution, and, if necessary, the new draft convention and draft statutes.

XVI

INTER-AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF COMMERCE

WHEREAS:

The problems involved in the proposal presented by the Delegation of Peru concerning the creation of an Inter-American Institute of Commerce should be considered in detail;

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES

RESOLVES:

To direct the Inter-American Economic and Social Council to study the above-mentioned proposal, in order to present to the forthcoming Inter-American Economic Conference the conclusions that it reaches and the proposals that arise from such study.

XVII

XVII

THE COMMERCIAL CREDIT POLICY OF THE AMERICAN STATES

WHEREAS:

A policy of ample commercial credit is essential for the sound development of international commerce,

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES

RECOMMENDS:

1. That the Inter-American Economic and Social Council study measures to facilitate international trade by means of commercial credits, granted by lending institutions, that will remove the obstacles now hindering such trade;

2. That the Inter-American Economic and Social Council submit to the forthcoming Inter-American Economic Conference the results of the studies assigned to it, together with the projects drafted as a consequence of such studies.

XVIII

TOPICS FOR THE AGENDA OF THE INTER-AMERICAN ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

WHEREAS:

At the forthcoming Inter-American Economic Conference it will be advisable to include in the agenda matters relating to transportation and communications,

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES

RESOLVES:

1. Topics on Maritime and River Transportation, Railways, and Communications in general be included in the agenda of the forthcoming Inter-American Economic Conference.

2. That the Bolivian proposal on Freedom of Transit and the Peruvian proposal on Transportation and Communications, presented to the Ninth International Conference of American States, also be included, and that the application of the principle established in Chapter IX of the Economic Agreement of Bogota be made subject to regulation.

3. That, for the purposes of the preparation of the aforesaid agenda, the Governments of the American countries transmit their points of view to the Inter-American Economic and Social Council.

XIX

CONDITIONS OF WORK, HEALTH AND COOPERATIVES

WHEREAS:

The common goal sought by the American States is the establishment of democracy on political, economic and social foundations that will serve to strengthen the peace of the continent;

The

The Economic Charter of the Americas, signed at the Mexico City Conference in 1945, states in substance that "the well-being of the people should be the principal aim of all economic activity";

The numerous resolutions approved at specialized congresses and conferences, principally Resolution XLIX of the Buenos Aires Conference of 1936, should be taken into consideration;

The American Republics have already made most praiseworthy efforts toward improving the living conditions of working classes, and it is desirable to facilitate the dissemination of information on the progress made in this field and to coordinate means of providing for the well-being of the greatest possible number of American workers,

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES RECOMMENDS:

1. The creation within the Pan American Sanitary Bureau of an office that will be concerned especially with finding suitable means to give the working classes the benefit of all advances made in the prevention and cure of disease;

2. The creation within the Inter-American Economic and Social Council of a special office responsible for gathering and disseminating all information relating to the establishment and development of cooperative societies.

XX

DEVELOPMENT AND IMPROVEMENT OF SOCIAL SERVICE

WHEREAS:

The concern of the American Republics for providing assistance to all elements of their population in meeting problems of poverty, ignorance, malnutrition, and disease;

Governments have a major responsibility for providing social welfare programs for meeting these problems including social assistance and services, social insurance, health, education, and other services related to the well-being of the individual;

The American Republics in developing and improving their social welfare programs will require technical assistance and exchange of information, knowledge, and skills, by means of bilateral programs, and through inter-American organizations, the United Nations, and its specialized agencies,

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES RECOMMENDS:

I. That the governments of the American Republics establish sound social welfare programs within their own countries, including social assistance, social insurance, and other programs providing services contributing to the conservation of family life, services to children and youth, and social services to special groups and areas.

In recognition of this responsibility governments should establish official national agencies so constituted as to be able to initiate, develop, and administer sound programs in

the field

the field of social welfare, including provision for the training of personnel.

II. That the governments of the American Republics develop and expand international programs for mutual assistance and interchange of technical knowledge, information, and skills in the field of social welfare, by the following means:

1. Bilateral Exchange of Information, Knowledge, and Skills among the American Republics

The American Republics should continue and expand cooperative programs of consultation and inter change of information, technical knowledge, and skills, initiated as a result of resolutions and recommendations of the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, Buenos Aires, 1936, and of the Eighth International Conference of American States, Lima, 1938, in such fields as social assistance and services, social insurance, family and child welfare, health, nutrition, education, labor standards, and the training of technicians and specialists.

2. Cooperation through the Inter-American Specialized Organizations

Special consideration should be given by the inter-American organizations concerned with social matters to the types of services needed by countries of the hemisphere; these organizations should receive support from the governments and collaborate with them providing such services; and their activities should be so related as to contribute to the continuous and balanced development of their services.

3. Consolidation of the Facilities and Services of the Pan American Union

a) The Pan American Union should bear in mind the desire for social progress of the American peoples and its program of work should give due emphasis to matters related to the field of social welfare.

b) The staff of the Pan American Union and particularly of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs should be strengthened, as may be necessary, to enable the Union to give effective leadership in connection with the development and improvement of social welfare services, and its facilities for exchange of information in this field should be increased.

c) The Pan American Union should undertake, in consultation and cooperation with the governments, appropriate agencies, and specialists, a study of the more urgent social needs of the American countries and ways of meeting them.

d) The Pan American Union should study the facilities available through the inter-American specialized agencies for assistance to countries desiring to develop and improve their social welfare services and ways in which they should be strengthened, coordinated, or supplemented.

e) The

e) The Pan American Union should actively promote direct cooperation and mutual assistance between the American Nations in connection with the development and improvement of social welfare services.

4. Cooperation with the United Nations and Specialized Agencies

The Member States of the Organization of American States should, as far as possible, coordinate their efforts in carrying out the above-mentioned principles and programs with similar efforts in the social field made by the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

AND REQUESTS:

The Inter-American Economic and Social Council to make studies and recommendations as to the implementation of this resolution.

XXI

ORGANIC STATUTE OF THE INTER-AMERICAN COMMISSION OF WOMEN

WHEREAS:

The Inter-American Commission of Women is an official institution created by the Seventh International Conference of American States of Montevideo of 1933, and established on permanent bases by the Eighth International Conference of Lima of 1938;

The Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace, held at Mexico City in 1945, expressed the desire that the Inter-American Commission of Women be included among the institutions composing the Pan American Union;

The Charter of the United Nations reaffirms faith in the equal rights of men and women;

The Eighth International Conference of American States entrusted to the Pan American Union the preparation of an organic statute to regulate the functioning of the Commission, and furthermore directed the Union to submit such statute to the Ninth International Conference of American States for approval,

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES RESOLVES:

To approve the following Organic Statute:

CHAPTER I

THE INTER-AMERICAN COMMISSION OF WOMEN

Article 1. The Inter-American Commission of Women is a permanent entity attached to the General Secretariat of the Organization of American States.

CHAPTER II

CHAPTER II

FUNCTIONS

Article 2. The functions of the Inter-American Commission of Women are as follows:

a) To work for the extension of civil, political, economic, and social rights to the women of America; to study their problems and propose means of solving them;

b) To suggest to the Governments that resolutions approved at international conferences in regard to the interests of women be carried out;

(c) To serve as an advisory body to the Organization of American States and its organs in matters relating to the aims of the Commission;

d) To establish close relations with inter-American organizations, and also with those of world scope, whose objectives are related to those of the Commission;

e) To send reports to the Council of the Organization of American States on the main activities that have been carried on in connection with the work of the Commission;

f) To submit official reports to the Inter-American Conferences on the civil, political, social, and economic status of women in America and also on the problems that should, in its opinion, be considered; and to submit to those conferences any resolutions tending to solve them.

CHAPTER III

MEMBERS

Article 3. The Inter-American Commission of Women is composed of one Delegate for each one of the American Republics, appointed by the respective Government;

When for any reason a Delegate is unable to perform her duties or to attend a meeting of the Commission without good cause, her Government may appoint an alternate. When a Delegate fails to attend two consecutive meetings, she shall automatically cease to hold office and her position shall become vacant;

The appointments of Delegates and alternates shall be transmitted to the Commission through the Secretary General of the Organization of American States;

Both Delegates and alternates should be nationals of the country they represent;

The Secretary General of the Organization of American States shall request the Governments to appoint their respective Delegates to the Inter-American Commission of Women whenever such representation is lacking;

The honoraria, traveling expenses, and other funds required by the Delegates for attendance at the Assemblies and for other activities of the Commission shall be supplied by the respective Governments.

CHAPTER IV

CHAIRMAN

Article 4. The Inter-American Commission of Women shall elect its own Chairman, who shall be chosen from among the Delegates composing that Commission.

The Chairman shall be elected by an absolute majority of the Delegates composing the Commission. The first election shall take place at the annual meeting to be held by the Commission after approval of this Statute by the Ninth International Conference of American States.

The Chairman shall hold office for a period of four years and may not be reelected for the ensuing term. In case the office of Chairman becomes vacant, the Vice Chairman shall replace her during the unexpired portion of the term, and she may be reelected if the vacancy occurs during the second half of such term. The Chairman shall perform her duties at the headquarters of the Commission.

The expenses of representation shall be borne by the Government of her country, with due regard to the importance and responsibility of her position.

CHAPTER V

VICE CHAIRMAN

Article 5. The Vice Chairman shall be elected in the same manner and for the same period as the Chairman of the Commission.

She shall replace the Chairman in case of the latter's absence, resignation, or removal from office.

Upon becoming the Acting Chairman, she shall receive compensation from her Government and shall assume all the rights and duties of the office.

In case the office of Vice Chairman becomes vacant, the Executive Committee shall appoint a Delegate to replace her until the end of the term.

CHAPTER VI

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Article 6. There shall be an Executive Committee at the headquarters of the Commission, composed of the Chairman and four Delegates, who shall be elected by the Assembly of the Commission for a term of two years. In case it is impossible for a Delegate to reside in the city where the Commission has its headquarters or attend the meetings of the Committee, the Government of her country shall appoint a substitute.

The appointment of Delegates to the Committee shall rotate among the different countries, and none may be re-elected until representatives of all countries have been members thereof.

When the first four members of the Executive Committee are elected, two shall be chosen for one year and the other two for two years, in order to assure continuity in the work of the Committee.

During the interval between Assemblies, this Committee shall take the necessary decisions on all problems presented to the Commission, the prompt solution of which does not permit consultation with all the Delegates. Such decisions shall be made in keeping with the general policy established by the Commission and shall be subject to its subsequent approval, after the Committee has reported to the Commission.

In case the offices of Chairman and Vice Chairman become vacant, the Executive Committee shall appoint an Acting Chairman, who shall serve until the end of the term.

CHAPTER VII

PERMANENT SECRETARIAT

Article 7. The Permanent Secretariat of the Inter-American Commission of Women shall function at the offices of the General Secretariat of the Organization of American States, within the limits of an agreement concluded between the Council of the Organization and the Commission.

CHAPTER VIII

MEETINGS OF THE COMMISSION

Article 8. The Commission shall hold annual and special Assemblies on the dates and under the conditions to be determined by the Regulations. These Assemblies shall formulate the policy and outline the program of the Commission.

At the request of the Chairman, the Executive Committee, or a majority of the Delegates, the Secretary General of the Organization of American States shall, a reasonable time in advance, ask the Governments to send Delegates to the regular and special Assemblies.

The meeting

The meeting place of the Assemblies of the Commission shall be determined by the Executive Committee. This meeting place should rotate among the countries comprising the Commission.

The Commission shall hold a special Assembly to fill definitively and in accordance with the provisions of Articles 4 and 5 of the present Statute for vacancies in the offices of Chairman and Vice Chairman. This special meeting shall be held not more than ninety days from the date of the double vacancy.

CHAPTER IX

INTERNAL REGULATIONS

Article 9. The Inter-American Commission of Women shall prepare its own internal regulations, which should conform to the provisions of this Statute.

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XXII

SOCIAL JUSTICE

WHEREAS:

One of the primary objectives of the state is to achieve social peace;

Social peace can be achieved only through equilibrium between the various social classes, arising from their respective well-being;

The moral and material well-being of individuals or social groups can be brought about only by eliminating the coexistence of great wealth and extreme poverty;

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES

DECLARES:

Its firm and definite determination to attain a state of social justice that, through the joint action of all national factors and the necessary progressive legislation, will eliminate extreme poverty and the neglect and exploitation of man by man, and will ensure the dignity of labor and the humanization of capital.

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XXIII

ECONOMIC STATUS OF WORKING WOMEN

WHEREAS:

The raising of the standard of living of the working classes, of which women form a very important part, is an aspiration of the American States that has been solemnly proclaimed in the Economic Charter of the Americas and in the Inter-American Charter of Social Guarantees;

Governments

Governments and workers' and employers' associations have the right to have at their disposal a comprehensive analysis of the economic situation of working women;

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES

RESOLVES:

To direct the Inter-American Commission of Women to carry out studies and investigations on the economic status of working women in the American republics, as well as of the rights that they enjoy in each republic during the maternity period. Such studies and investigations shall be made with the financial aid of the Pan American Union; and

RECOMMENDS:

a) That the studies and investigations referred to be carried out in cooperation with the Inter-American Economic and Social Council, the International Labor Office, the Committee on the Status of Women of the United Nations, the Inter-American Conference on Social Security, the Inter-American Statistical Institute and any other agency interested in the subject;

b) That these studies be submitted to the Tenth International Conference of American States so that it may consider them in dealing with problems relating to rights and protective measures granted to workers.

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XXIV

PROGRAM AND ACTIVITIES OF THE INTER-AMERICAN CULTURAL COUNCIL

WHEREAS:

The value of cultural interchange among the peoples of America in enriching the national life of each country and in promoting harmony and collaboration among them all has been demonstrated in their cooperation in the past by means of such interchange;

The Charter of the Organization of American States provides for the creation of an Inter-American Cultural Council to promote, intensify, and expand cultural interchange and to develop other activities of a cultural nature in this hemisphere; and

In order to guarantee the prompt achievement of these ends it is necessary for a new study to be made of existing programs for cultural cooperation and the principles upon which these are founded and for extensive preliminary activities to be initiated,

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES

RESOLVES:

That in planning and carrying on the work the Inter-American Cultural Council shall furnish whatever is necessary for the following activities:

1. To evaluate

1. To evaluate the existing inter-American cooperative agreements and programs for the purpose of recommending means of putting them into effect as a whole and promptly, or of modifying them when this is judged to be necessary.

2. To formulate recommendations for the future development of programs of interchange in cultural, folklore, scientific and educational matters.

3. To encourage interchange, in all aspects, theoretical and practical, between individuals, with reference to cultural, folklore, scientific, and educational matters among the peoples of America.

4. To formulate recommendations concerning procedures intended to diminish and eliminate obstacles to cultural interchange.

5. To develop a central office with trained personnel to act as a center for the exchange of information concerning inter-American cultural, folklore, scientific, and educational programs, and which shall serve as a coordinating organ for these programs.

6. To collaborate with national committees on intellectual cooperation and with other national cultural agencies and to take advantage of them in order to carry out programs that are planned in various regions.

7. To collaborate with the Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization of the United Nations (UNESCO) and other appropriate international agencies to harmonize and coordinate activities of common interest.

8. To present reports on inter-American cultural, folklore, scientific and educational programs, now in existence and projected, and on conferences of inter-American specialized agencies on cultural activities, in order to submit these to the International Conferences of American States.

That this proposal be one of the first to be considered by the Inter-American Cultural Council.

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XXV

THE RED CROSS

The Ninth International Conference of American States adopts the resolution approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations on November 19, 1946, in so far as it refers to the Red Cross, for the development and support of the activities of that worthy humanitarian institution.

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XXVI

PRAISE FOR THE INTER-AMERICAN COMMISSION OF WOMEN

WHEREAS:

The Inter-American Commission of Women has worked indefatigably for twenty consecutive years on the study of the civil, political, and economic status of American women;

The

The efficient labors of this Commission on behalf of the rights of American women have earned praise and recognition on the part of the Seventh and Eighth International Conferences of American States, and of the Conference on Problems of War and Peace, held at Mexico City in 1945;

The United Nations has recognized the work of the Inter-American Commission of Women by inviting it to act in an advisory and informative capacity before the Committee on the Status of Women of that world organization;

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES

RESOLVES:

To extend a vote of praise and special thanks to the Inter-American Commission of Women for its noteworthy and noble efforts in support of its ideals.

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XXVII

AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL CHARTER FOR PEACE PRESENTED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF HONDURAS

The Ninth International Conference of American States recognizes and appreciates the high motives by which the Government of Honduras has been inspired in drafting the "American Educational Charter for Peace"; it expresses the desire that principles of the said Charter be taken into account by the Inter-American Cultural Council, and believes in the importance of cultivating in the countries of the Continent sentiments of peace and Americanism and of encouraging a democratic spirit and international harmony through education.

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XXVIII

SECRETARIAT OF THE INTER-AMERICAN COMMISSION OF WOMEN

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES

RESOLVES:

To approve the Resolution adopted February 4, 1948 by the Governing Board of the Pan American Union, whereby the Secretary General is given authority to organize the Office of the Secretariat of the Inter-American Commission of Women.

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XXIX

INTER-AMERICAN CHARTER OF SOCIAL GUARANTEES

The American States, desirous of making effective the constant and generous aspiration of the Inter-American Conferences that on the Continent there be standards providing ample protection to workers;

Inspired

Inspired by the aim of furthering the rehabilitation of the life, economy, morale, and social standards of the American peoples, strengthening them as an element of humanity, increasing their ability to work, adding to their productive value, and raising their purchasing power in order that they may enjoy a better standard of living;

Convinced that the state attains its goals not only by recognizing the rights of citizens alone, but also by concerning itself with the fortunes of men and women, henceforth considered not as citizens but as human beings;

Agreed, therefore, that the present stage of juridical evolution demands that democratic systems guarantee respect for political and spiritual freedoms, together with the realization of the postulates of social justice;

Encouraged by the fact that the countries of America fervently desire to achieve this social justice;

United in the belief that one of the principal objectives of the present International Organization is to bring about the cooperation of the various States for the solution of labor problems, and that it is to the public interest, from the international point of view, to enact the most comprehensive social legislation possible, to give workers guarantees and rights on a scale not lower than that fixed in the Conventions and Recommendations of the International Labor Organization;

Agreed that economic cooperation, of such great importance for the American republics, cannot be truly effective unless measures are taken to ensure the rights of workers and unless living and working conditions are improved as much as possible;

Unanimous in realizing that the aggravation of social problems is an obvious factor of internal unrest, with international repercussions that endanger the maintenance of peace;

Conscious that Christian principles teach the duty of contributing to the material well-being of men and women and to their spiritual welfare by according them a decent way of life that will provide for their liberty, dignity, and security; and conscious that those principles successfully reconcile the individual initiative with the undeniable worth that human labor has acquired in modern societies;

Adopt the following Inter-American Charter of Social Guarantees, as the Declaration of the social rights of workers:

INTER-AMERICAN CHARTER OF SOCIAL GUARANTEES

GENERAL PRINCIPLES

Article 1. It is the aim of the present Charter of Social Guarantees to enunciate the fundamental principles that should protect workers of all kinds, and it sets forth the minimum rights they should enjoy in the American States, without prejudice to the fact that the laws of each state may extend such rights or recognize others that are more favorable.

This Charter

This Charter of Social Guarantees gives equal protection to men and women.

It is recognized that the supremacy of these rights and the progressive raising of the standard of living of the community in general depend to a large degree upon the development of economic activities, upon increased productivity, and upon cooperation between workers and employers, expressed in harmonious relations and in mutual respect for and fulfillment of their rights and duties.

Article 2. The following principles are considered to be fundamental in the social legislation of the American countries:

a) Labor is a social function; it enjoys the special protection of the state and should not be considered as an article of commerce.

b) Every worker should have the opportunity for a decent existence and the right to fair working conditions.

c) Intellectual, as well as technical and manual labor, should enjoy the guarantees established in labor laws, with the distinctions arising from ways in which those laws are applied.

d) There should be equal compensation for equal work, regardless of the sex, race, creed, or nationality of the worker.

e) The rights established in favor of workers may not be renounced and the laws that recognize such rights are binding on and benefit all the inhabitants of the territory, whether nationals or aliens.

Article 3. Every worker has the right to engage in his occupation and to devote himself to whatever activity suits him. He is likewise free to change employment.

Article 4. Every worker has the right to receive vocational and technical training in order to perfect his skills and knowledge, obtain a greater income from his work, and contribute effectively to the advancement of production. To this end, the state shall organize adult education and the apprenticeship of young people, in such a way as to assure effective training in a given trade or work, at the same time that it provides for their cultural, moral, and civic development.

Article 5. Workers have the right to share in the equitable distribution of the national well-being, by obtaining the necessary food, clothing, and housing at reasonable prices. To achieve these purposes, the state should sponsor the establishment and operation of people's farms and restaurants and of consumer and credit cooperatives, and should organize institutions to promote and finance such farms and establishments, as well as to supply low-cost, comfortable, hygienic housing for laborers, salaried employees, and rural workers.

THE INDIVIDUAL

THE INDIVIDUAL LABOR CONTRACT

Article 6. The law shall regulate individual labor contracts, for the purpose of guaranteeing the rights of workers.

COLLECTIVE LABOR CONTRACTS AND AGREEMENTS

Article 7. The law shall recognize and regulate collective labor contracts and agreements. In the enterprises that are parties thereto, they shall apply not only to the workers affiliated with the trade association that signed such agreements but also to the other workers who are or shall be employed in those enterprises. The law shall establish the procedure for extending collective contracts and agreements to all the activities in respect to which they were made and to widen the geographical sphere of their application.

WAGES

Article 8. Every worker has the right to earn a minimum wage, fixed periodically with the participation of the state and of workers and employers, sufficient to cover his normal home needs, material, moral, and cultural, taking into account the characteristics of each type of work, the special conditions of each region and each job, the cost of living, the worker's relative aptitude, and the wage systems prevalent in the enterprises.

A minimum occupational wage shall also be set up for those activities in which this matter is not regulated by a collective contract or agreement.

Article 9. Workers have the right to an annual bonus, in proportion to the number of days worked during the year.

Article 10. Wages and social benefits, in the amount fixed by law, are not subject to attachment, with the exception of payments for support that the worker has been ordered by a court to pay.

Wages should be paid in cash in legal tender. The value of wages and social benefits constitutes a privileged claim in the case of the bankruptcy of the employer, or a meeting of his creditors.

Article 11. Workers have the right to a fair share in the profits of the enterprises in which they work, in the form and amount and under the conditions that the law provides.

WORK PERIODS, REST, AND VACATIONS

Article 12. The ordinary effective work period should not exceed eight hours a day or forty-eight hours a week. The maximum duration of the work period in agricultural, livestock, or forestry work, shall not exceed nine hours a day or fifty-four hours a week. The daily limits may be extended up to one hour in each case, provided that the work period of one or more days during the week is shorter than the indicated limit, without prejudice to the provisions on a weekly rest period. The period for night work, and that for dangerous or unhealthful work, shall be less than the daytime work period.

The work

The work period limitation shall not apply in cases of force majeure.

Overtime work shall not exceed a daily and weekly maximum. In work that is by nature hazardous or unhealthful, the limit of the work period may not be exceeded by means of overtime work.

The laws of each country shall determine both the length of the intervals that are to interrupt the work period when for reasons of health the rhythm of the tasks demands it, and the intervals that should come between two work periods.

Workers may not exceed the limit of the work period, whether working for the same or for another employer.

Night and overtime work shall give the right to extra pay.

Article 13. Every worker has a right to a weekly paid rest period in the form established by the law of each country.

Workers who do not enjoy the rest period on the days indicated in the foregoing paragraph shall be entitled to special pay for the services rendered on those days and to a compensatory rest period.

Article 14. Workers shall also have the right to a paid rest period on the civil and religious holidays established by law, with the exceptions that the law itself may determine, for the same reasons that justify work on the weekly days of rest. Those who do not enjoy the rest period on these days have a right to extra pay.

Article 15. Every worker who has to his credit a minimum of service rendered during a given period shall be entitled to paid annual vacations, on work days, the length of such vacations to be in proportion to the number of years of service. Monetary compensation may not be given in lieu of vacations, and the obligation of the worker to take them shall follow from the obligation of the employer to grant them.

CHILD LABOR

Article 16. Persons less than fourteen years of age, and those who, having reached that age, are still subject to the compulsory education laws of the country, may not be employed in any type of work. The authorities responsible for supervising the work of such minors may authorize their employment when it is essential for their own maintenance, or that of their parents or brothers and sisters, provided that the minimum compulsory education requirements are met.

The work period for those under sixteen years of age may not be greater than six hours daily or thirty-six hours weekly in any type of work.

Article 17. Night work and work hazardous or injurious to health is forbidden for persons under eighteen years of age; exceptions concerning weekly rest set forth in the laws of the respective countries may not be applied to such workers.

THE WORK OF WOMEN

Article 18. In general, night work is forbidden for women in industrial establishments, whether public or private, and in work that is hazardous or injurious to health, except in cases where only the members of the same family are employed, in cases of force majeure that render it necessary, in cases where women perform administrative or responsible duties that do not normally require manuel labor, and in other cases expressly provided for by law.

By industrial establishments and by work that is hazardous or injurious to health are understood those so defined by law or international labor conventions.

Exceptions concerning weekly rest set forth in the laws of the respective countries may not be applied to women.

TENURE

Article 19. The law shall guarantee the stability of workers' jobs, due consideration being given to the nature of the respective industries and occupations and justifiable causes for dismissal. In case of unjustified discharge, the worker shall have the right to indemnification.

APPRENTICESHIP CONTRACTS

Article 20. Apprenticeship contracts shall be regulated by law, to assure the apprentice instruction in his trade or occupation, just treatment, fair pay, and the benefits of social security and welfare.

WORK AT HOME

Article 21. Work at home is subject to social legislation. Home workers have the right to an officially determined minimum wage, to compensation for time lost because of the employer's delay in ordering or receiving the work, or for arbitrary or unjustified suspension of the supply of work. Home workers shall be entitled to a legal status similar to that of other workers, due consideration being given to the special nature of their work.

DOMESTIC WORK

Article 22. Domestic workers have a right to the protection of the law with respect to wages, work periods, rest periods, vacations, dismissal pay, and social benefits in general; the extent and nature of this protection shall be determined with due regard to the conditions and special nature of their work. Those who render services of a domestic nature in industrial, commercial, social, and other similar establishments should be considered as manual workers, and granted the rights to which such workers are entitled.

WORK IN THE MERCHANT MARINE
AND AVIATION

Article 23. The law shall regulate the contracts of those serving in the merchant marine and in aviation, in accordance with the special character of their work.

PUBLIC

PUBLIC EMPLOYEES

Article 24. Public employees have the right to be protected in their administrative careers by being guaranteed, so long as they perform their duties satisfactorily, permanent employment, the right to promotion, and the benefits of social security. Such employees also have the right to be protected by a special court of administrative-contentious jurisdiction and, in case penalties are imposed, the right to defend themselves in the respective proceedings.

INTELLECTUAL WORKERS

Article 25. Independent intellectual workers and the product of their activity should be the subject of protective legislation.

THE RIGHT OF ASSOCIATION

Article 26. Workers and employers, without distinction as to sex, race, creed, or political ideas, have the right freely to form associations for the protection of their respective interests, by forming trade associations or unions, which in turn may form federations among themselves. These organizations have the right to enjoy juridical personality and to be duly protected in the exercise of their rights. Their suspension or dissolution may not be ordered save by due process of law.

Conditions of substance and of form that must be met for the constitution and functioning of trade and union organizations should not go so far as to restrict freedom of association.

The organization, functioning, and dissolution of federations and confederations shall be subject to the same formalities as those prescribed for unions.

Members of boards of directors of trade unions, in the number established by the respective law and during their term of office, may not be discharged, transferred, or given less satisfactory working conditions, without just cause, previously determined by competent authority.

THE RIGHT TO STRIKE

Article 27. Workers have the right to strike. The law regulates the conditions and exercise of that right.

SOCIAL SECURITY AND WELFARE

Article 28. It is the duty of the state to provide measures of social security and welfare for the benefit of workers.

Article 29. States should promote and provide for recreational and welfare centers that can be freely utilized by workers.

Article 30. The state should take adequate measures to ensure healthful, safe, and moral conditions at places of work.

Article 31. Workers -- including agricultural workers; home workers; domestic workers; public servants; apprentices, even though they do not receive wages; and independent workers, when it is possible to include them -- have the right to a system of compulsory social security designed to realize the following objectives:

a) To provide for the elimination of hazards that might deprive workers of their wage-earning ability and means of support.

b) To reestablish as quickly and as completely as possible the wage-earning ability lost or reduced as a result of illness or accident.

c) To supply means of support in case of the termination or interruption of occupational activity as a result of illness or accident, maternity, temporary or permanent disability, unemployment, old age, or premature death of the head of the family.

Compulsory social security should provide for protection of the members of the worker's family and should establish additional benefits for those of the insured who have large families.

Article 32. In countries where a social security system does not yet exist or in those in which one does exist but does not cover all occupational and social hazards, employers shall be responsible for providing adequate welfare and assistance benefits.

Article 33. Every working women shall be entitled to have leave with pay for a period of not less than six weeks before and after childbirth, to keep her job, and to receive medical attention for herself and the child and financial assistance during the nursing period.

The law shall establish the obligation of employers to install and maintain nurseries and playrooms for the children of workers.

Article 34. Independent workers have a right to state cooperation in joining associations of social protection organized to give them benefits equal to those of wage earners. Persons who practice the liberal professions and are not employed by third parties have a similar right.

SUPERVISION OF LABOR LEGISLATION

Article 35. Workers have a right to have the state maintain a service of trained inspectors to ensure faithful compliance with legal provisions in regard to labor and social security, assistance, and welfare, to study the results of such provisions, and to suggest the indicated improvements.

LABOR COURTS

Article 36. Each state shall have a special system of labor courts and an adequate procedure for the prompt settlement of disputes.

CONCILIATION

CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION

Article 37. It is the duty of the state to promote conciliation and arbitration as means of obtaining peaceful solutions for collective labor disputes.

RURAL WORK

Article 38. Rural or country workers have the right to be guaranteed an improvement in their present standard of living, to be furnished proper hygienic conditions, and to have effective social assistance organized for them and their families.

The state shall carry on planned and systematic activity directed toward putting agricultural exploitation on a rational basis, organizing and distributing credit, improving rural living conditions, and achieving the progressive economic and social emancipation of the rural population.

The law shall establish the technical and other conditions, consistent with the national interest of each state, under which effect shall be given to the exercise of the right that the state recognizes on the part of associations of rural workers, and individuals suited to agricultural work who lack land or do not possess it in sufficient quantity, to be granted land and the means necessary to make it productive.

Article 39. In countries where the problem of an indigenous population exists, the necessary measures shall be adopted to give protection and assistance to the Indians, safeguarding their life, liberty, and property, preventing their extermination, shielding them from oppression and exploitation, protecting them from want, and furnishing them an adequate education.

The state shall evercise its guardianship in order to preserve, maintain, and develop the patrimony of the Indians or their tribes; and it shall foster the exploitation of the natural, industrial, or extractive resources or any other sources of income proceeding from or related to the aforesaid patrimony, in order to ensure in due time the economic emancipation of the indigenous groups.

Institutions or agencies shall be created for the protection of Indians, particularly in order to ensure respect for their lands, to legalize their possession thereof, and to prevent encroachment upon such lands by outsiders.

RESERVATION OF THE DELEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES

In view of the negative vote of the United States and the reasons given therefor, this country, notwithstanding its firm adherence to the pertinent principles of international action in the interest of labor, does not consider itself bound by the exact terms of this International American Charter of Social Guarantees.

XXX

XXX

AMERICAN DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF MAN

WHEREAS:

The American nations have acknowledged the dignity of the individual, and their national constitutions recognize that juridical and political institutions, which regulate life in human society, have as their principal aim the protection of the essential rights of man and the creation of circumstances that will permit him to achieve spiritual and material progress, and attain happiness;

The American states have on repeated occasions recognized that the essential rights of man are not derived from the fact of one's being a national of a certain state, but are fundamental attributes of the individual;

The international protection of the rights of man should be the supreme guide of an evolving American law;

Both the American affirmation of essential human rights and the guarantees given by the internal regimes of the respective states establish the initial system of protection considered by the American States as being suited to the present social and juridical conditions, not without recognizing that they should increasingly strengthen that system in the international field as these conditions become more favorable;

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES

AGREES

To adopt the following

AMERICAN DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF MAN

PREAMBLE

All men are born free and equal, in dignity and in rights, and, being endowed by nature with reason and conscience, they should conduct themselves as brothers one to another.

The fulfillment of duty by each individual is a prerequisite to the rights of all. Rights and duties are interrelated in every social and political activity of man. While rights exalt individual liberty, duties express the dignity of that liberty.

Duties of a juridical nature presuppose others of a moral nature that support those duties in concept and are the basis therefor.

Inasmuch as the spirit is the supreme aim of human existence and the greatest expression thereof, it is the duty of man to serve that end with all his strength and resources.

Since culture is the maximum social and historical expression of that spirit, it is the duty of man to preserve, practice, and foster culture by every means within his power.

And,

And, since morality and good manners constitute the noblest flowering of culture, it is the duty of every man always to hold them in high respect.

CHAPTER ONE

RIGHTS

Article 1

Every human being has the right to life, liberty, and the security of his person.

Right to life, liberty, and personal security.

Article II

All persons are equal before the law and have the rights and duties established in this Declaration, without distinction as to race, sex, language, creed, or any other factor.

Right to equality before the law.

Article III

Every person has the right freely to profess a religious faith, and to manifest and practice it both in public and in private.

Right to religious freedom and worship.

Article IV

Every person has the right to freedom of investigation, of opinion, and of the expression and dissemination of thought, by any medium whatsoever.

Right to freedom of investigation, opinion, expression, and dissemination.

Article V

Every person has the right to the protection of the law against abusive attacks upon his honor, his reputation, and his private and family life.

Right to protection of honor, personal reputation, and private and family life.

Article VI

Every person has the right to establish a family, the basic element of society, and to receive protection therefor.

Right to a family and to the protection thereof.

Article VII

All women, during pregnancy and the nursing period, and all children have the right to special protection, care and aid.

Right to protection for mothers and children.

Article VIII

Every person has the right to fix his residence within the territory of the state of which he is a national, to move about freely within such territory, and not to leave it except by his own will.

Right to residence and movement.

Article IX

Every person has the right to the inviolability of his home.

Right to inviolability of the home.

Article X

Every person has the right to the inviolability and circulation of his correspondence.

Right to inviolability and circulation of correspondence.

Article XI

Every person has the right to the preservation of his health through sanitary and social measures relating to food, clothing, housing, and medical care, to the extent permitted by public and community resources.

Right to the preservation of health and to well-being.

Article XII

Every person has the right to an education, which should be based on the principles of liberty, ethics, and human solidarity.

Right to education.

Furthermore, every person has the right to an education that will prepare him to lead a decent life, to raise his standard of living, and to be a useful member of society.

The right to an education includes the right to equality of opportunity in every case, in accordance with natural talents, merit, and the desire to utilize the resources that the state or the community is in a position to provide.

Every person has the right to receive, free, at least a primary education.

Article XIII

Every person has the right to take part in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts, and to participate in the benefits that result from intellectual progress, especially scientific discoveries.

Right to the benefits of culture.

He likewise has the right to the protection of his moral and material interests as regards his inventions or any literary, scientific, or artistic works of which he is the author.

Article XIV

Right to work and to fair remuneration.

Every person has the right to work, under proper conditions, and to follow his vocation freely, in so far as existing conditions of employment permit.

Every person who works has the right to receive such remuneration as will, in proportion to his capacity and skill, assure him a standard of living suitable for himself and for his family.

Article XV

Right to leisure time and to the use thereof.

Every person has the right to leisure time, to wholesome recreation, and to the opportunity for advantageous use his free time to his spiritual, cultural and physical benefit.

Article XVI

Right to social security.

Every person has the right to social security which will protect him from the consequences of unemployment, old age, and any disabilities arising from causes beyond his control that make it physically or mentally impossible for him to earn a living.

Article XVII

Right to recognition of juridical personality and of civil rights.

Every person has the right to be recognized everywhere as a person having rights and obligations, and to enjoy the basic civil rights.

Article XVIII

Right to a fair trial.

Every person may resort to the courts to ensure respect for his legal rights. There should likewise be available to him a simple, brief procedure whereby justice will protect him from acts of authority that, to his prejudice, violate any fundamental constitutional rights.

Article XIX

Right to nationality.

Every person has the right to the nationality to which he is entitled by law and to change it, if he so wishes, for the nationality of any other country that is willing to grant it to him.

Article XX

Right to vote and to participate in government.

Every person having legal capacity is entitled to participate in the government of his country, directly or through his representative, and to take part in popular elections, which shall be by secret ballot, and shall be genuine, periodic, and free.

Article XXI

Every person has the right to assembly peaceably with others in a formal public meeting or an informal gathering, in connection with matters of common interest of any nature.

Right of Assembly.

Article XXII

Every person has the right to associate with others to promote, exercise, and protect his legitimate interests of a political, economic, religious, social, cultural, professional, trade union, or other nature.

Right of association.

Article XXIII

Every person has a right to own such private property as meets the essential needs of decent living and helps to maintain the dignity of the individual and of the home.

Right to property.

Article XXIV

Every person has the right to submit respectful petitions to any competent authority, for reasons of either general or private interest, and the right to obtain prompt action thereon.

Right of petition.

Article XXV

No person may be deprived of his liberty except in the cases and according to the procedures established by pre-existing law.

Right to protection

No person may be deprived of liberty for non-fulfillment of obligations of a purely civil character.

Every individual who has been deprived of his liberty has the right to have the legality of the measure ascertained without delay by a court, and the right to be tried without undue delay or, otherwise, to be released. He also has the right to humane treatment during the time he is in custody.

Article XXVI

Every accused person is presumed to be innocent until proved guilty.

Right to due process of law.

Every person accused of an offense has the right to be given an impartial and public hearing, and to be tried by courts previously established in accordance with pre-existing laws, and not to receive cruel, infamous, or unusual punishment.

Article XXVII

Every person has the right to seek and receive asylum in foreign territory, in case of pursuit not resulting from common law crimes, and in accordance with the laws of each country and with international agreements.

Right of asylum.

Article XXVIII

The rights of man are limited by the rights of others, by the security of all, and by the just demands of the general welfare and the advancement of democracy.

Scope of the rights of man.

CHAPTER TWO

DUTIES

Article XXIX

It is the duty of the individual so to conduct himself in relation to others that each and every one may fully form and develop his personality.

Duties to society.

Article XXX

It is the duty of every person to aid, support, educate, and protect his minor children, and it is the duty of children to honor their parents always and to aid, support, and protect them when they need it.

Duties toward children and parents.

Article XXXI

It is the duty of every person to acquire at least an elementary education.

Duty to receive instruction.

Article XXXII

It is the duty of every person to vote in the popular elections of the country of which he is a national, when he is legally capable of doing so.

Duty to vote.

Article XXXIII

It is the duty of every person to obey the law and other legitimate commands of the authorities of his country and those of the country in which he may be.

Duty to obey the law.

Article XXXIV

It is the duty of every able-bodied person to render whatever civil and military service his country may require for its defense and preservation, and in case of public disaster, to render such civil services as may be in his power.

Duty to serve the community and the nation.

It is

It is likewise his duty to hold any popular elective office that devolves upon him in the state of which he is a national.

Article XXXV

It is the duty of every person to cooperate with the state and the community with respect to social security and welfare, in accordance with his ability and with existing circumstances.

Duties with respect to social security and welfare.

Article XXXVI

It is the duty of every person to pay the taxes established by law for the support of public services.

Duty to pay taxes.

Article XXXVII

It is the duty of every person to work, as far as his capacity and possibilities permit, in order to obtain the means of livelihood or to benefit his community.

Duty to work.

Article XXXVIII

It is the duty of every person to refrain from taking part in political activities that, according to law, are reserved exclusively to the citizens of the state in which he is an alien.

Duty to refrain from political activities in a foreign country.

XXXI

INTER-AMERICAN COURT TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF MAN

WHEREAS:

The internationally recognized rights of man should be properly protected;

Such protection should be guaranteed by a juridical organ, inasmuch as no right is genuinely assured unless it is safeguarded by a competent court;

Where internationally recognized rights are concerned, juridical protection, to be effective, should emanate from an international organ;

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES

RECOMMENDS:

That the Inter-American Juridical Committee prepare a draft statute providing for the creation and functioning of an Inter-American Court to guarantee the rights of man. Such draft, after being submitted to the governments of all the American states for examination and comment, shall be transmitted to the Tenth International Conference of American States for study, if it is felt that the moment has arrived for a decision thereon.

XXXII

XXXII

THE PRESERVATION AND DEFENSE
OF DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA

WHEREAS:

In order to safeguard peace and maintain mutual respect among states, the present situation of the world demands that urgent measures be taken to proscribe tactics of totalitarian domination that are inconsistent with the tradition of the countries of America, and prevent agents at the service of international communism or of any totalitarian doctrine from seeking to distort the true and the free will of the peoples of this continent;

THE REPUBLICS REPRESENTED AT THE
NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES

DECLARE

That by its anti-democratic nature and its interventionist tendency, the political activity of international communism or any totalitarian doctrine is incompatible with the concept of American freedom, which rests upon two undeniable postulates: the dignity of man as an individual and the sovereignty of the nation as a state;

REITERATE

The faith that the peoples of the New World have placed in the ideal and in the reality of democracy, under the protection of which they shall achieve social justice, by offering to all increasingly broader opportunities to enjoy the spiritual and material benefits that are the guarantee of civilization and the heritage of humanity;

CONDEMN

In the name of the Law of Nations, interference by any foreign power, or by any political organization serving the interests of a foreign power, in the public life of the nations of the American continent,

AND RESOLVE:

1. To reaffirm their decision to maintain and further an effective social and economic policy for the purpose of raising the standard of living of their peoples; and their conviction that only under a system founded upon a guarantee of the essential freedoms and rights of the individual is it possible to attain this goal.

2. To condemn the methods of every system tending to suppress political and civil rights and liberties, and in particular the action of international communism or any totalitarian doctrine.

3. To adopt, within their respective territories and in accordance with the constitutional provisions of each state,

the measures

the measures necessary to eradicate and prevent activities directed, assisted, or instigated by foreign governments, organizations, or individuals, that tend to overthrow their institutions by violence, to foment disorder in their domestic political life, or to disturb, by means of pressure, subversive propaganda, threats or by any other means, the free and sovereign right of their peoples to govern themselves in accordance with their democratic aspirations.

4. To proceed with a full exchange of information concerning any of the aforementioned activities that are carried on within their respective jurisdictions.

XXXIII

COLONIES AND OCCUPIED TERRITORIES IN AMERICA AND CREATION OF THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON DEPENDENT TERRITORIES

WHEREAS:

The historical process of the emancipation of America will not be complete as long as peoples and regions subject to a colonial regime, or territories occupied by non-American countries remain on the continent;

The ideal that inspired the epic of the independence of America will always animate our peoples and governments, united in their moral pledge to strive by all peaceful means within their power to eliminate from the continent any status of dependency, whatever its form--political, economic, or juridical;

Ever since they achieved their independence, the American states have had this common objective, which has lately been defined in precise terms in the Meetings of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, held at Habana and Rio de Janeiro, in resolutions condemning colonial regimes in America and reaffirming the right of the peoples of this continent freely to determine their own destinies;

The American States have fixed a zone of continental security to which extra-continental conflicts should not extend, as might occur by reason of the existence on the continent of dependent territories or those occupied by non-American countries;

The principle of pacific settlement of international controversies is part of the juridical heritage of the Organization of American States, and controversies exist between American Republics and European states over sovereignty rights with respect to certain territories of the continent;

The de facto or de jure status of colonies and dependent or occupied possessions and territories on the American continent, or within its security zone, varies according to each case, within the framework of their common status, which makes it necessary to carry out studies on each of them in order to find a suitable solution in each case;

The idea of preserving and strengthening the close solidarity of all the democratic nations of both hemispheres

exists

exists in the spirit of the countries of America;

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES

DECLARES:

That it is a just aspiration of the American republics for colonialism and the occupation of American territories by extra-continental countries to come to an end; and

RESOLVES:

First: To create an "American Committee on Dependent Territories" to centralize the study of the problem of the existence of dependent and occupied territories, in order to find an adequate solution to that question:

Second: The Committee shall be composed of one representative of each member of the Organization of American States, whose appointment shall, in each case, be communicated to the Council of the Organization before September 1, 1948, if possible. As soon as fourteen have been appointed the Council, by prior agreement with the Government of Cuba, shall convoke the Committee in order that it may be installed and perform its duties in the city of Habana.

Third: The functions of the Committee shall be the following:

a) To centralize all information on any of the above-mentioned problems referred to it by the governments and entities concerned;

b) To study the situation of the colonies, possessions and occupied territories existing in America, and the problems related to such situation, whatever their nature, with a view to seeking pacific means of eliminating both colonialism and the occupation of American territories by extra-continental countries;

c) The Committee shall submit a report on each of such colonies, possessions and territories to the Council of the Organization of American States which shall transmit copies to the member states of the Organization for their information and study; these reports shall be considered at the first Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs that is held after their presentation;

d) The Committee shall draw up its own regulations.

Fourth: The creation of this Committee and the performance of its functions shall not exclude or limit the right and action of the interested states directly concerned with the problems to which this Resolution refers, to seek a solution of such problems by themselves through pacific means.

DECLARATION

DECLARATION OF THE DELEGATION OF BRAZIL

The Draft Declaration on "European Colonies in America", presented by the Subcommittee to the Ninth International Conference of American States, undoubtedly expresses the common aspiration of the Republics of the Continent, and under other circumstances would merit the support of the Delegation of Brazil.

But the Delegation of Brazil considers that an Inter-American Conference is not an appropriate forum for debating a question that affects the interests of countries outside the continent.

Technically a distinction must be made between those European possessions in America that are the subject of litigation and those that are not. It is obvious that the destinies of the former can be resolved only by means of direct negotiaions or by pacific means for the solution of controversies.

So far as the latter possessions are concerned, it is appropriate to call attention to the fact that, on signing the Charter of the United Nations, the powers responsible for administering non-self-governing territories assumed, by virtue of Article 73, "a sacred trust" to govern them, with due respect for their political, economic, and social advancement, in order to prepare them for self-government.

As signatories of the Charter of the United Nations, the American Republics accepted this undertaking, the terms of which include a guarantee of the gradual abolishment of colonial regimes on the American continent and means for vigilant action toward the attainment of this desideratum through the General Assembly of the United Nations.

In view of the foregoing circumstances, the Delegation of Brazil considers that it could not legitmately adhere to the Declaration on "European Colonies in America", proposed to the Ninth International Conference of American States by the Subcommittee of the Steering Committee.

XXXIV

INTER-AMERICAN DEFENSE BOARD

WHEREAS:

An Advisory Defense Committee has been created to advise the organ of consultation on problems of military collaboration arising from the application of existing treaties on the subject of collective defense;

It is desirable for the American States to be in a position to ask the Inter-American Defense Board for information on measures aimed at the collective security of the American Continent,

THE NINTH

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES

RESOLVES:

1) The Inter-American Defense Board shall continue to act as the organ of preparation for collective self-defense against aggression until the American governments decide by a two-thirds majority to consider its labors terminated.

2) The Board shall draw up its own organization and work regulations in order to carry out, in addition to the advisory functions within its competence, any similar functions ascribed to it by the Committee established in Article 44 of the Charter of the Organization of American States.

3) The Secretariat of the Inter-American Defense Board shall serve as Secretariat of the Committee to which the foregoing paragraph refers.

XXXV

EXERCISE OF THE RIGHT TO CONTINUITY OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

WHEREAS:

The American States have taken countless practical measures to strengthen their cooperation in economic, social, political, cultural, juridical, and military matters;

The Charter of the Organization of American States recognizes the mutual advantages derived from inter-American solidarity, and affords the Organization permanence and continuity;

The development of the activities, and the full benefits, of inter-American cooperation can be realized more effectively if continuous and friendly relations are maintained among the States;

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES

DECLARES:

1. That continuity of diplomatic relations among the American States is to be desired;

2. That the right of maintaining, suspending, or renewing diplomatic relations with another government shall not be exercised as a means of individually obtaining unjustified advantages under international law.

3. That the establishment or maintenance of diplomatic relations with a government does not imply an opinion on the domestic policy of that government.

XXXVI

XXXVI

RECOGNITION OF DE FACTO GOVERNMENTS

WHEREAS:

1. The Inter-American Juridical Committee of Rio de Janeiro has not presented its report on the recognition of de facto governments, a topic submitted to this Conference for study;

2. It is desirable that a statute on this subject be prepared,

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES

RESOLVES:

To assign to the Inter-American Council of Jurists the preparation of a project and a report on the recognition of de facto governments to be studied by the Tenth International Conference of American States.

XXXVII

RIGHT OF RESISTANCE

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES

RESOLVES:

To forward to the Inter-American Juridical Committee for study the proposal of the Cuban Delegation on the RIGHT OF RESISTANCE, expressed in the following terms:

"The right of resistance is recognized in case of manifest acts of oppression or tyranny,"

In order that the Committee may submit a report on this proposal to the Council of the Organization of American States.

XXXVIII

DEMARCATION OF BOUNDARIES

WHEREAS:

The experience of history proves that the lack of clearly demarcated boundaries is a cause of international conflicts;

This situation can affect the peace of the continent and the normal development of the nations of America;

THE NINTH

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES

RESOLVES:

To recommend that the governments of America proceed, as soon as possible, to the demarcation of their boundaries and the placing of monuments.

XXXIX

REPRESENTATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS AT INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCES

The Ninth International Conference of American States

Adopts the recommendations submitted to it by the Governing Board of the Pan American Union in regard to representation of the United Nations at Inter-American Conferences and Meetings of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, and in regard to the participation of international organizations in Inter-American Conferences of Specialized Organizations, and

RESOLVES:

1. In each case the United Nations should be invited to be represented at Inter-American Conferences and Meetings of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs by its Secretary General or by an alternate in the event that the Secretary General is unable to attend in person, in order that the members of the World Organization may be kept informed as to the work and the conclusions of those conferences;

2. When it is deemed desirable to request that international organizations not in the Organization of American States, or governments not members thereof attend Inter-American Specialized Conferences of Inter-American Specialized Organizations, the Council of the Organization shall have the authority to take a decision in that respect. In such cases participation might be requested by any member of the Council or proposed by the organ of the Council or the Specialized Organization responsible for preparing the program and regulations of the conference.

XL

ADOPTION OF THE NOMENCLATURE AND REGIME OF THE CHARTER OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES

WHEREAS:

It is desirable to establish a regime for the functioning of the Organs of the Organization of American States similar to that established in its Charter, to be effective temporarily until the aforesaid Charter enters into force,

THE NINTH

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES

RESOLVES:

1. The entities that have hitherto functioned as Organs of the System of the Union of American Republics shall immediately adopt the nomenclature and regime established in the Charter of the Organization of American States.

2. The new Organs provided for in the Charter shall be established on a provisional basis, under the terms of the Charter.

XLI

SECRETARY GENERAL AND ASSISTANT SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES

WHEREAS:

In accordance with Resolution IX of the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace, Dr. Alberto Lleras Camargo and Dr. William Manger were in 1947 appointed Director General and Assistant Director General, respectively, of the Pan American Union for a period of ten years;

In the Charter of the Organization of American States the titles of the offices they hold are changed to Secretary General and Assistant Secretary General of the Organization;

Both Dr. Lleras Camargo and Dr. Manger have rendered outstanding service to the cause of inter-American solidarity, and the republics of the continent should avail themselves of the fruit of their experience and initiative,

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES

RESOLVES:

To make known to the Council of the Organization the desire of the American States that, upon the entry into force of the Charter, Dr. Albert Lleras Camargo and Dr. William Manger be appointed Secretary General and Assistant Secretary General, respectively, of the Organization.

Bogotá, April 23, 1948

"DICTIONARY

XLII

"DICTIONARY OF CONSTRUCTION AND RULES OF THE SPANISH LANGUAGE"

BY RUFINO JOSE CUERVO

WHEREAS:

Effective action has not yet been taken on the resolution approved at Habana by the Sixth International Conference of American States on February 15, 1928, whereby each of the Hispanic republics of America agreed to subscribe a certain amount to raise a fund to defray the costs of publishing the "Dictionary of Construction and Rules of the Spanish Language", of which the distinguished Colombian philologist, Rufino José Cuervo, is the author;

The aforesaid resolution had a two-fold character: a tribute to the most outstanding work of Spanish lexicography ever known, and a measure indisputably useful and necessary to all Spanish-speaking countries;

The Ninth International Conference of American States is being held in the city of Bogotá, the birthplace of the illustrious scholar who devoted his entire life to the task of purifying, standardizing, and ennobling the language of eighteen American republics, and it is therefore eminently appropriate to restate here the aspirations and aims of the aforesaid resolution of Habana;

The Government of Colombia, with the collaboration of the distinguished linguists and philologists working at the Caro y Cuervo Institute, has already begun the arduous task of coordinating and publishing the notes left by Señor Cuervo as a supplement to his monumental work;

The Governments of the Hispanic republics are manifestly interested in giving impetus to the work already begun with marked competence, and in paying the tribute due the language of their respective peoples and the memory of the man who had the most profound knowledge of that language and most effectively exalted it,

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES

RESOLVES:

1. To reiterate the aspirations and aims expressed in the resolution signed at Habana on February 15, 1928 by the Sixth International Conference of American States concerning assistance in the publication of the "Dictionary of Construction and Rules of the Spanish Language" prepared by Rufino José Cuervo;

2. To express the desire that the Pan American Union, using the broad powers given to it by the aforesaid resolution, proceed to carry out the latter in every respect, in order that, within the shortest time possible, the Hispanic world may regain and enjoy the invaluable linguistic and cultural patrimony which the completed portion of that monumental work represents.

TRIBUTE

XLIII

TRIBUTE TO DON FEDERICO HENRIQUEZ CARVAJAL

WHEREAS:

The current year 1948 marks the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Don Federico Henríquez Carvajal, illustrious citizen of the Dominican Republic, whose entire life was dedicated to the constant work of ensuring not only the freedom of his own people but also that of all men of America;

In the course of this singular career, which is the expression of all that is noblest in the American man, his liberating zeal led him to devote himself to the fruitful task of helping to establish the Republic of Cuba;

Don Federico Henríquez Carvajal extended a friendly hand to José Martí, throughout the process of revolutionary organization which the Cuban Liberator carried out during the last episode of the sustained and dramatic effort of the Cubans to achieve their independence;

Martí said of Don Federico Henríquez Carvajal that he was one of those men who are "unique as mountains, and who are able to gaze down from the heights and to feel the heartbeat of a nation or of humanity",

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES

RESOLVES:

To pay warm tribute to the memory of that outstanding citizen of America.

XLIV

GRATITUDE TO THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE OF COLOMBIA

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES

RESOLVES:

To express to the government and the people of Colombia its profound gratitude for the magnificent efforts put forth to ensure the success of the Ninth International Conference of American States, and for the atmosphere of cordial hospitality that has always been present at its deliberations.

VOTE

XLV

VOTE OF GRATITUDE

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES

AGREES:

1. To express publicly its gratitude to its President, Señor Doctor Eduardo Zuleta Angel, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Colombia, for the tact, moderation, and efficiency with which he has guided the labors of this Assembly.

2. To express its gratitude to the Secretary General, Doctor Camilo de Brigard Silva and to the Assistant Secretaries General, Doctors José Joaquín Gori and Luis Humberto Salamanca, for the exemplary work which they and their assistants have accomplished in the Secretariat of the Conference.

XLVI

VOTE OF THANKS TO THE AMERICAN PRESS

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES

Applauds and thanks the press of the continent for its enthusiastic and able collaboration in furthering the ideals of peace and solidarity, and for its efforts to strengthen the continental juridical system that serves as a mainstay and guarantee of the realization of such ideals, and, acknowledging its noble perseverance in the democratic and educational work of dissemination, hopes that its American convictions will bring about a still greater improvement in providing the American countries with the means for the constant and fruitful acquisition of knowledge about the characteristics and development of each one in the social, economic, and political fields.

In witness whereof the respective Delegates Plenipotentiary sign and affix their seals to the present Final Act, in the Spanish language, at Bogota on May the second, one thousand nine hundred forty-eight, which shall be deposited in the archives of the Pan American Union, where it shall be sent through the Secretary General of the Conference, in order that certified copies may be sent to the Governments of the American Republics.

* * *

marked copy

CHESTER WRIGHT'S LABOR LETTER

ISSUED FOR INFORMATION OF CLIENTS SINCE 1933
CHESTER WRIGHT'S LABOR LETTER, INC.
1003 K STREET N.W. WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

HIRING OFF SLIGHTLY, QUITS UP

BLS says that manufacturing industries hired workers in April at the rate of 40 per 1,000, the lowest rate for any year since the prewar period.

Six of the major industry groups reported increases, while most of the others indicated some dropping away chiefly due to material shortages and seasonal reductions in activity.

Quits increased a bit to 30 per 1,000 workers. Causes: return to the farms for spring planting; others dropped away due to seasonal slack as well as material shortages.

For the first 4 months of this year layoffs were consistently higher than same period in 1947.

But April's **total separation rates,** 47 per 1,000, was well below any comparable month in the war and postwar years.

Hiring in iron mines rose as the Great Lakes opened to shipping; went up to 56 per 1,000. Lead and zinc mines also reported expansions. Quits also went up in metal mining, because of a trickle back to farm for the crop season.

FLEMMING SAYS—"NO TECHNICAL JARGON"

Civil Service Commissioner Arthur S. Flemming, who quits government service to become president of Ohio Wesleyan University in the fall, told the Society for Advancement of Management:

"We must get rid of our technical jargon. We are all guilty of it. Why do we persist in it? As far as I can see, it is just because we are fundamentally lazy. We are always looking for short cuts. Labels provide us with short cuts as we seek to express our ideas.

"We know that if we will take the time to explain our ideas in language which can be understood by all, we will speed up the machinery of government and improve to an extent far beyond anything that we can imagine our relationship with the Congress and with the public."

That goes for management and labor spokesmen as well.

June 19, 1948.

THIS WEEK WE REPORT TO YOU:

LABOR AND THE REPUBLICANS:--CIO and AFofL sent national spokesmen to the Republican platform committee in Philadelphia which sat Thursday and Friday, to speak their mind. Van Bittner talked for CIO, President Green for the federation.

Bittner has had some Republican background, but Green is traditionally Democratic. AFofL continues a strong tradition of doing its political shopping in both conventions.

This year, their appearance is only a ritual. Labor has suffered a slow burn in Republican-controlled Congress. It is far from certain as to what kind of political salve to use. Nevertheless, political life in labor circles is not simple.

For example, nobody would be surprised to see John L. Lewis appear in Philadelphia. He is considered pro-Joe Martin for President, strongly anti-Taft, and maybe--for Dewey. But Lewis is displeased with Dewey for not coming out strongly against the Taft-Hartley law, and because Senator Ives of N. Y., who supposedly represented Dewey's wishes on labor affairs, finally swung around in support of the law.

Another Republican stalwart is William Hutcheson of the Carpenters, who usually heads up the GOP Labor Committee. He supported Vandenberg in 1940. Might do so again. Or may unite forces with Lewis in convention and campaign strategy.

Hutcheson has wanted to be Secretary of Labor and now maybe he may become that--if the deals turn out right.

All Congress wanted to do this week was to evacuate Washington fast--despite the legislative disorder, and the hooting and the hollering from the returned President.

LABOR'S PUBLIC RELATIONS:--Nine months after it was ordered to do so by its 1947 convention, AFofL's Executive Council went to work to put its public relations program into action.

This week they hired the firm of Owen and Chappell, a New York advertising and publicity setup, which outbid several other firms for the job of grooming the AFofL for public consumption.

This takes place a few weeks after John L. Lewis hired a public relations firm to handle the press and public during coal negotiations.

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Word comes that the Musician's President James C. Petrillo scoffs openly at the idea of hiring help to "sell" the public. He tells friends that a union needs to have a "creative" program before it can expect to be accepted. To some, this seems like a new and thoughtful wrinkle in the Petrillo approach. Petrillo's free concerts are part of this effort to achieve a "new look."

Within the AFofL, you have all schools of thought on public relations as on other things. David Dubinsky's Ladies Garment Workers Union runs the gamut from summer homes, sanitariums, health services, educational and research departments to the fabulous "Pins and Needles" show, a still active memory--and now 6 FM radio stations.

On the other extreme, you have building trades unions which never bother with broad-gauge public relations programs, devote themselves to the particular business their unions are set up to do. Even here, you will probably see new programs bustin' out all over.

The old established unions find that they can no longer afford to be self-satisfied.

This is a phase that some corporations went through during the height of the Wagner law period. In this Taft-Hartley period, unions have become extremely aware of the need to take pains with the public reaction to their policies.

All this is apart from the work that labor is planning to do in the political campaign--which is a public relations project to be handled with the greatest care and precision.

POLITICS AND LABOR DEPARTMENT:--Out in San Francisco, International Labor Organization went into action by electing David A. Morse as director-general. Morse continues as Acting Secretary of Labor. Morse will probably hold on to his U. S. job until Truman finds somebody (and gets him to accept) to add labor strength to the ticket.

This is a tough nut: for political and technical reasons. Take the technical one first: Both the administration and labor organizations feel that the Labor Department has been "meat-axed" by the Republican Congress. Latest evidence was the switch of the United States Employment Service from Labor Department to the Federal Security Agency.

Truman, in political anguish, howled his veto of the appropriations bill that validated this "kidnaping"--but Congress overrode him.

Politically, the secretaryship of labor does not look like a job with a lot of tenure. Ideally, Truman wants a man who packs a wallop with the labor movement--right across the board--AFofL, CIO, railroad brotherhoods, and independents. Practically, he would compromise on someone who would satisfy AFofL and railroaders--somebody who would help spark labor's political action, which carries on in slow motion until the Supreme Court speaks.

NLRB's ARITHMETIC

April was another record month: 6,968 cases were filed—12% above March, never equalled in the board's 12-year history.

Each day of the month, NLRB conducted an average of 179 elections. 157 were union-shop authorization polls.

95% or 6,653 of the cases filed were petitions for various kinds of elections. In 247 cases, **employers were charged with unfair labor practices,** and **67** involved similar **charges against unions.**

3,585 **elections** were actually held in April. 88% of those eligible to vote did so, a total of 334,109 voters.

438 **collective bargaining elections were held.** AFofL participated in 266, winning at least a majority in 192 instances. They failed to get a majority in 69 elections, and 5 undetermined.

CIO unions appeared in 113 elections, won 75, lost 34; and 4 elections undetermined.

Independent unions were in 107 elections; won 66, lost 39; and 2 elections undetermined.

Ten **decertification** elections were held, all with the consent of all parties. Of the 1,294 employes eligible to vote, 84% cast valid ballots. 58% of the valid ballots were cast against the union.

4 of these elections resulted in decertification of the union; in 5 cases the union was continued; 1 was indeterminate.

Of the 3,137 **union shop authorization** polls, 3,042 were based on the consent of the parties involved.

88% of those eligible to vote cast valid ballots. 95% of these or 281,217 voted for authorizing a union shop.

Unions won 98% of the elections: 2,233 of the 3,137 polls were won by AFofL affiliates; 525 by independents; 315 by CIO affiliates.

Of the 247 unfair labor practices charges filed against employers, 76 were brought by individuals, 108 by AFofL affiliates, 38 by CIO, 20 by independent unions.

67 charges were brought against unions: 45 by employers and employer associations, 19 by individuals; 3 by other unions.

In 20 cases unions were charged with **secondary boycott:** AFofL, 12; CIO, 3; independent, 5. Six charges of **jurisdictional disputes** involved AFofL unions and 2 CIO.

The five-man **Board issued 309 decisions in April** compared with 194 in March. This stepped-up tempo included 15 unfair labor practices; 178 collective bargaining election petitions; 116 union-shop election petitions.

Of the 473 cases pending decision at end of April (508 were pending at end of March), 140 involved unfair labor practices.

Taken altogether, this is the end of April case-load (and take a deep breath):

14,467 cases were awaiting disposition at various procedural levels.

Of these pending cases, 1,222 or 8% were filed before August 22, 1947, when the T-H law went into effect. 3,933 such cases were pending August 22. Of the 1,222 Wagner Act cases, 822 involved charges of unfair labor practices and 400 petitions for collective bargaining elections.

The remaining T-H cases—13,245—included 1,620 unfair labor practice cases and 11,625 for various types of elections.

We can break this down further, but you get the idea.

Non-Communist affidavits have been signed by 85,101 union officials of national and local organizations. This covers a total of 149 national and 9,035 local unions.

STAFFING THE USES

With the shift of U. S. Employment Service from the Labor Department to the Federal Security Agency, Oscar Ewing, head of FSA has begun to feel the pressures on him for the appointment of personnel to key positions. Labor spokesmen are largely favorable to Robert C. Goodwin, current head of USES. Some of the state officials want Ray Adams of Utah.

Despite transfer of USES to Federal Security, no change in duties is indicated. Wagner-Peyser Act which set it up remains its legislative mandate.

This may happen on Monday--day you receive this Letter --when the Republican convention opens. If the Supreme Court declares the political action clause of the Taft-Hartley law unconstitutional, it will probably put the finishing touches on Taft's chances for the nomination.

WORKERS' EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH:--Intensive activity of Georgia Workers Education Service has been observed in Georgia and other states with much interest.

This service is headed by Frank McAllister, with headquarters in Atlanta. During the last year, classes for AFofL, CIO and independent unions were held in 21 Georgia towns, along with institutes in Alabama, North Carolina and Tennessee.

Five AFofL unions used the GWES; Ladies Garment Workers Union; Laundry Workers; Longshoremen; Pulp and Sulphite Workers; State, County and Municipal Workers, as well as Central Labor bodies in Rome and Brunswick, Ga.

Eleven CIO unions had classes under GWES auspices: Packinghouse Workers; Woodworkers; Transport Workers; Auto Workers; Furniture Workers; Retail and Wholesale Clerks; Steelworkers; Hosiery Workers; Peanut Mill Workers.

Altogether about 3,600 attended classes and institutes during the last year. In addition to its own classes, GWES staff members spoke to college classes, community agency conferences, church workshops, etc.

ILO CONFERENCE:--Lombardo Toledano has resigned from the governing body of the ILO. One reason is that the ILO governing body in effect turned down the application of the World Federation of Trade Unions for sole consultative status. This has been on the agenda for some time. Feeling ran very strong that WFTU's function is a "conveyor belt" for the Russian party line.

All this is another evidence of cleavage between AFofL and CIO on international affiliations--even though they presumably agree on essentials of U. S. foreign policy.

Toledano's going has another reason: For the first time in many years, he lost out as Mexico's workers' delegate. He was not selected because his influence dipped hard. The chances of his reelection to the governing board have been very slim. So--he quits on a matter of principle! He is a vice-president of the WFTU and president of the Latin-American Confederation of Workers--both Communist dominated.

His going from the ILO seems to raise to new importance the position of the Chilean workers' delegate, Bernardo Ibanez, president of the new and rival Inter-American Confederation of Workers. Ibanez has been a long-time opponent of Toledano's policies. He has the support of AFofL, Toledano has CIO's. This San Francisco meeting brings the rivalry between leaders of the two opposing Latin American trade union camps to a new pitch.

Recognition of the Ibanez federation as one of the consultative bodies in effect cancels out the monopoly position of Toledano's CTAL in the Latin American labor picture.

U. S. firms dealing in manufacture for export, as well as importers of raw materials from Latin America, watch this development closely.

COMMUNISTS IN ITALIAN TRADE UNIONS:--Concern over the ECA program in Europe focuses U. S. labor and governmental attention on Communist strength in Italy's labor unions. The election victory over the Communists has not yet been reflected in the political complexion of the labor leadership.

New leadership is emerging, but it is still divided while the Communists operate as usual like a unit.

In 4,500,000 votes cast in the Italian federation's election last June, Communists emerged dominant in most of the basic unions. They were aided by Nenni-Socialists, or "Nenni-goats." Strong Christian Democratic and Socialist opposition to this Communist setup is making some headway.

Of the 1,600,000 land workers, Communists have controlled 68%; of the 551,000 metal workers, 63%; 72% of the 282,000 building workers. 50% of the 224,000 civil servants voted Communist; as did 60% of the chemical workers; 52% of the railway workers and 53% of the clothing workers.

In the following workers' groups, Communists hold less than a majority--without Nenni-goat support: 44% of the 475,000 textile workers; 39% of the 108,000 public employes; 26% of the 69,000 post office employes; and 10% of the 83,000 school teachers. Christian Democrats have 63% of the teachers.

This data is absolutely essential for U. S. organizations which will have to deal with the rehabilitation of Italian industry under the recovery program. This is why the character of industry and labor personnel being selected by the ECA is of first rate importance.

Internal pressures inside the Italian federation are mounting. The whole situation is very sensitive to international trends, a highly competent observer emphasizes. If a split had occurred in WFTU at its recent meeting in Rome, it would have been followed most likely by a cleavage in the Communist-dominated movement of Italy.

This is why there is wide difference in the estimates of how great a triumph was scored by CIO represenatives in keeping the WFTU together at the May executive board meeting.

CHESTER WRIGHT'S LABOR LETTER, INC.

John Herling

JOHN HERLING, Editor

THIS LETTER IS EXCLUSIVELY FOR CLIENTS. NOT TO BE REPRODUCED IN WHOLE OR IN PART.

"OVERTIME ON OVERTIME"

Administrator William R. McComb of the Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Division has had to send out additional clarification following the Supreme Court 5-3 decision in the Longshoremen's case.

He minimizes the financial effect of the decision. He stresses this: employers who have in the past relied on his interpretations in good faith are in most cases protected from back-wage liabilities by the Portal-to-Portal Act.

Also, opinions expressed in paragraphs 69 and 70 of Interpretative Bulletin No. 4, are now withdrawn. Division will not begin enforcement on the revised basis until July 1, 1948. This involves the extra payments "made because of undesirable hours when the work is performed rather than because the hours are in excess of a specified standard."

If you want the McComb statement, write us. We'll get you a copy. This whole matter will be subject to further elaboration by government technicians.

The court decision will stimulate the passage of legislation amending the "overtime on overtime" provision, as interpreted by the court. AFofL Longshoremen's Union counsel Louis Waldman says "regular rate of pay has to be defined" by Congress. He agrees with Justice Frankfurter who dissented from the court's majority:

"The present decision is heedless of a long-standing and socially desirable collective agreement and is calculated to foster disputes in an industry which has been happily at peace for more than 30 years."

Out on the West Coast, CIO's Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union have suits for back pay pending. Pacific shipowners fearing that they may be liable for about $20 million in back pay may find the CIO union trying to use the situation to improve their bargaining position in wage negotiations.

CRUIKSHANK TO GENEVA

Nelson H. Cruikshank, director of AFofL's social security affairs, goes to Geneva this week to represent U. S. labor in the sessions of the World Health Organization. U. S. affiliation with WHO was confirmed by Congress a few days ago.

1948

LABOR EDUCATION GUIDE

Current Materials for Workers' Education Activities

Orlie A.H.Pell, Editor

21 - Labor Education

WINTER 1948

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ANALYSIS OF THE TAFT-HARTLEY ACT

CIO Legal Department, 718 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington 6, D.C. 1947. 48 pp. 15¢.

A factual discussion of the provisions of the act arranged under fifteen general topics. The pamphlet shows the contrast with existing regulations, and points out some of the ways in which employers would be able to take undue advantage of the act. Useful to union officials and others interested.

OPERATING UNDER THE TAFT-HARTLEY ACT*

By Max Malin and S. Herbert Unterberger. Labor Relations Information Bureau, Washington, D.C. 1947. 48 pp. $1.50.

A handbook of how the law works, arranged functionally, i.e., with all the scattered material relevant to one type of situation pulled together and presented in one place. Emphasis is on the implications of the law for day-by-day operations. Useful for any person concerned with labor-management relations.

REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS ON EDUCATION AND POLITICAL MATTERS

American Federation of Labor, AFL Bldg., Washington 1, D.C. December, 1947. 9 pp. No price given.

This report of the meeting at which Labor's Educational and Political League was set up, deals with the purpose of the new organization, its objectives and the techniques it will use in developing its political strength. Of interest to union members and others.

DICTIONARY OF LABOR ECONOMICS

By Byrne Horton. Public Affairs Press, 2153 Florida Ave., Washington 8, D.C. 1947. 32 pp. $1. (Quantity rates to unions and similar groups.)

Terms used today in industrial relations and in labor affairs are defined and clarified. The pamphlet is easy to use, in form and content. In some cases, one or two useful references to books or other sources are mentioned, as an aid to further understanding of complex issues.

IN THE GREAT TRADITION

Education Department, United Automobile Workers- CIO, 28 West Warren Ave., Detroit 1, Mich. 1947. 41 pp. No price given.

This carefully prepared handbook for delegates to the union's 1947 Convention contains an outline history of the American labor movement, the story of the growth of the UAW-CIO, and a detailed account of what the Education Department has accomplished during the year, with its recommendations for the future. Of interest to unionists and others.

"Labor's Coming of Age"

By Mark Starr. Reprinted from WELLSPRINGS OF HUMAN SPIRIT edited by F. Ernest Johnson. Harper and Bros. 1946. $2.50. Reprint available from the ILGWU, 1710 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y. 21 pp. 10¢.

A discussion for the general reader of the status of labor today in the light of the history of the labor movement in this country. Who the workers are, how they have struggled from the colonial days on to improve their working and living conditions, and the problems that lie immediately ahead, are set forth with vigor.

*Starred items are reprinted, or adapted, from the January-February, 1948 issue of Labor and Nation, pg. 44.

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American Labor Education Service, Inc.

REBIRTH OF A NATION*

By Percy Gudlipp. The Labour Party, Transport House, Smith Square, London W.C.1, England. 1947. 16 pp. 10¢. (Quantity rates.)

What the British Labour Party has accomplished in its first two years, in spite of all obstacles. Illustrated with photographs and cartoon sketches, the pamphlet answers the arguments of the Tories one by one, and points out how the various government programs have worked for the benefit of the mass of the people. See also their pamphlet, A B C OF THE CRISIS. 1947. 16 pp. 2d. This is a clear careful analysis for British public of the economic position of Britain at this time. It explains for the intelligent layman the situation in regard to their need for exporting, the American loan, and the present Government's programs and plans.

SWEDEN'S LABOR PROGRAM

By Tage Lindbom. League for Industrial Democracy, 112 East 19 St., New York 3, N. Y. 1948. 63 pp. 35¢.

The story of the development of the labor movement in Sweden and its present position as a strong steadying force in the country's national life. Labor's relation to employers and to the economic scene, its political and international influence as the dominant political force, and its educational and cooperative activities are seen in clear relationship.

"Steelworkers with Diplomas"

By Kathryn Close. Survey Graphic, November, 1947, Special issue, EDUCATION IN OUR TIMES, pp. 610-614, 660-661. 112 East 19 St., New York 3, N.Y. 60¢.

A write-up of the institute for steelworkers conducted by Pennsylvania State College, describing the purpose, the student body, the study program, and some of the results of this project. Of interest to union members and others.

WORKERS' EDUCATION: A CHALLENGE TO NEGRO COLLEGES

By Thomas E. Posey. Reprint from The Journal of Negro Education, Winter, 1947. 4 pp. Available on request from author, West Virginia State College, Institute, West Va.

A discussion of the challenge to Negro colleges presented by the increasing importance of the labor movement in the life of the nation, and the increasing recognition of this by colleges and universities throughout the country. The opportunities as well as the obstacles facing Negro colleges in relation to labor education are considered.

Industrial and Labor Relations Review

New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York. Quarterly. $3 per year. $1 per issue.

The first issue of this periodical appeared October, 1947. It contains a number of analytical articles by academic, labor, and management authorities, together with extensive book reviews, and a listing of publications in the field during the previous months. Of interest to students and others interested in the study of industrial relations.

LABOR UNIONS IN ACTION: A Study of the Mainsprings of Unionism

By Jack Barbash. Harper and Brothers, New York. 1948. 270 pp. $3.50.

The aim of this book is to explain what makes unions "tick," how and why they function as they do. It tells the story of how unions have gone about organizing, how they are run, how they carry on collective bargaining and other activities, how their leadership develops; and discusses their various economic, social and political goals, in the setting of economic and political life in America from 1933 to the present.

LABOR AND THE COMMUNITY

Samples of Union Approaches to the Community

MEET YOUR CIO NEIGHBORS IN GRAND RAPIDS

Kent County CIO Council Industrial Union, 215 Sheldon S.E., Grand Rapids, Mich. 1947. 4 pp. Free of charge on request.

This leaflet humanizes CIO unions and union members for the general public, showing they are the people who deliver your milk and read your meters, your "fellow strap-hanger on the bus." The union leaders are mentioned by name, together with their wives and children, the churches and clubs they are active in, their jobs and interests.

UNION COUNSELING

ILGWU Waist and Dress Joint Board, 128 N. 10 St., Philadelphia 7, Pa. 2 pp. Free of charge on request.

A brief outline of a six-session course for training union counselors, of interest to those planning a similar program of interpreting community resources.

THE ONTARIO STORY: A PLAN FOR OHIO

Ohio CIO Council, 218 East State St., Columbus 15, Ohio. 1948. 8 pp. Free of charge on request.

A description of the program for retraining and rehabilitating injured workers in practice in Ontario, Canada, and the implications of this for other communities. Suggestions are given for steps for Ohio unions to take in arousing interest on the part of other groups throughout the state.

HOW TO ORGANIZE A COOPERATIVE IN YOUR COMMUNITY

UAW-CIO Education Department, 28 West Warren Ave., Detroit 1, Mich. 1947. 34 pp. No price given.

The first half of this pamphlet discusses the value to workers of a consumers co-operative to lower their living costs; the second half discusses the steps to take in setting up a Community Co-op Council and gaining real community participation.

BUILDING THE UNION

WHAT'S THE SCORE IN YOUR UNION?

Southern School for Workers, 14 North 9 St., Richmond 19, Va. 1947. 14 pp. 15¢.

This informal handbook for local unions was prepared at the request of a state CIO Executive Council, and has been found useful by a number of unions in other states as well. It gives simple helpful suggestions of how to get union members out to meetings, and how to make the meetings interesting and fruitful.

WHAT'S AHEAD? A Survey of Current Economic Trends

CIO Department of Research and Education, 718 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington 6, D.C. 1947. 34 pp. 10¢. (Quantity rates.)

Some of the economic facts of today are explained clearly and illustrated with simple charts in this little pocket-sized pamphlet. The material deals with high profits, high prices, savings, sales, production, foreign trade, and take-home pay, and will be of interest to union members and others as a basis for discussion and action.

THE STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONING OF THE ILGWU

Educational Department, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, 1710 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y. Revised 1947. 32 pp. 10¢.

A pamphlet telling how the local unions, joint boards and International Union are set up and what their activities are, including the functions of the new departments-International, Legal, and Political - set up in 1947. See also the material on each of the departments, prepared for their Training-for-Trade-Union-Service course.

BUILDING THE UNION (Continued)

DEMOCRACY FOR ALL

National Maritime Union, 346 West 17 St., New York 11, N.Y. 1947. 32 pp. No price given.

This is an informal manual on parliamentary procedure, explaining in seamen's language how to run a union meeting, on ship or on shore. Illustrated with photographs and occasional cartoons. May be of interest to other union members as well.

YOUR HEALTH: A Manual for the Members of the Labor Health Institute

Labor Health Institute, 1127 Pine St., St. Louis 1, Mo. 1948. 29 pp. No price given.

Here we have in convenient form the facts concerning this health center set up by the St. Louis Joint Board of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union. The various services, provided to members of the union and their families, are carefully explained, and the charter and by-laws are given.

BUILD A BETTER LIFE

CIO Education and Research, 718 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington 6, D.C. 1947. 36 pp. 15¢. (Quantity rates.)

Addressed directly to "Mrs. CIO Housewife", this little pamphlet tells how to set up a women's auxiliary and how to keep an effective program going. Among the activities discussed are political action in the neighborhood, consumer action, other educational and social programs, and conducting a well-run meeting.

A LABOR UNION MANUAL ON JOB EVALUATION

By William Gomberg. Labor Education Division, Roosevelt College, 430 South Michigan Ave., Chicago 5, Ill. 1947. 80 pp. $1.

A discussion of job evaluation in relation to collective bargaining, and an analysis of how actual plans work, and of the process by which they are installed. Included also are articles of criticism and rejoinder by Solomon Barkin and the author on what should be labor's attitude toward the whole process. The manual will be of value to union leaders faced with the problem and to others interested in the trend.

RADIO

Education Department, UAW-CIO, 28 West Warren Ave., Detroit 1, Mich. 1947. 29 pp. No price given.

This manual in the Education Materials for Leadership Training series contains technical material on broadcasting resulting from a UAW-CIO Radio Workshop, as well as the outline of a discussion on radio as an influence today, and suggestions for obtaining and utilizing time on the air. Several sample scripts are included. Of value to union members seriously interested in using radio as an educational technique.

MIMEOGRAPH HANDBOOK

Education Department, Michigan CIO Council, 803 Hofmann Bldg., Detroit 1, Mich. 1947. $1.50. (Quantity rates.)

Here are provided a large number of cartoons to copy and use in leaflets, union local shop papers, notices of meetings, etc., etc. Also helpful suggestions on working up publicity and educational materials that will be eye-catching and easy to read.

LET'S TELL THE PEOPLE

Public Relations Department, Canadian Congress of Labour. 1948. 9 pp. No price given.

A Handbook on Publicity, to help unions tell their story to the public through local newspapers, local radio stations, and the use of effective leaflets. It gives brief, clear suggestions for action in each field.

BUILDING THE UNION (Continued)

GUIDE TO USE OF FILMSTRIPS

Ohio CIO Council, 218 East State St., Columbus 15, Ohio. 1947. 9 pp. No price given.

In addition to discussing how filmstrips can be useful to a union, how they work and how they can be obtained, this guide describes a number of available strips on such topics as union affairs, health and safety, minority groups and world order.

"The Place of Films in Workers' Education Programs in the United States"

By Orlie Pell. Appearing in the Winter 1947-48 issue, Film Forum Review. Institute of Adult Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, 525 West 120 St., New York 27, N. Y. Single issue, 75¢. (Quantity rates.)

A discussion of the methods by which labor groups are finding it increasingly possible to utilize the film as a sound educational technique, relating it closely to the total educational program and life of the union.

LOOK, LISTEN AND LEARN

By L. Harold Strauss and J. R. Kidd. Association Press, 347 Madison Ave., New York 17, N. Y. 1948. 235 pp. $3.50.

This is "a manual on the use of audio-visual materials in informal education." It discusses in some detail both the technical end and the educational end of the use of films and filmstrips, radio, recordings and transcription, for entertainment, for discussion of social problems, for publicity, for religious programs and for health, physical education and camp programs. While the book is not addressed to workers or concerned with their interests, it will be of value to union program directors.

STRENGTHENING DEMOCRACY

"TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS"*

Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. 1947. 178 pp. From Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C. $1. Reprint from PM, Box 81, Times Square Station, New York, N. Y. 10¢. (Quantity rates.)

In this report the cross-section committee, on which both AFL and CIO were represented, state boldly where our present failures lie in the matter of justice and equality to minority groups, and give concrete suggestions for removing present barriers as quickly as possible.

PROMISING PRACTICES IN INTERGROUP EDUCATION

By Marion Edman and Laurentine B. Collins. Bureau of Intercultural Education, 1697 Broadway, New York 19, N.Y. 1947. 32 pp. 20¢.

This pamphlet analyzes several of the methods of approaching intercultural education - for example, stressing the contributions made by each group, working together on common problems, studying the causes of prejudice, etc. - and it discusses the advantages and limitations of each. Although based entirely on work with children, the material will be of interest to union and other adult-group leaders.

EVALUATION OF AGENCIES AND PROGRAMS IN INTERGROUP RELATIONS*

The September 1947 issue of Journal of Educational Sociology, 32 Washington Place, New York 3, N.Y. 64 pp. 35¢.

A technical discussion of the problems involved in evaluating educational programs designed to change attitudes and behavior in regard to intergroup relations. Of interest to labor educators who have already done some thinking and experimenting with the evaluation of such programs.

STRENGTHENING DEMOCRACY (Continued)

DOES SOCIAL DISCRIMINATION REALLY MATTER?

By Carey McWilliams. Commentary, November, 1948, pp. 408-415, 425 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y. Single issue, 40¢. ($4 per year.)

A keen analysis of the economic importance of social discrimination. It explains how snobbishness, far from being a superficial affair, is an effective instrument in keeping a certain group out of desirable economic fields, including white collar and other jobs.

Note: Watch for IN HENRY'S BACKYARD by Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish. Henry Schuman, Inc., 20 East 70 St., New York 20, N. Y. $2. This book is developed around the story of Henry, as told in the film, BROTHERHOOD OF MAN, and is illustrated with over sixty cartoons in color taken from the film. It is based, as was the film, on the pamphlet by the same authors, THE RACES OF MANKIND.

See also below, under FOR EYE AND EAR.

DO YOU KNOW THAT: .....

The Public Affairs Committee is planning a series of their pamphlets on family relationships - marriage, 'teen-agers, growing old, etc. The December pamphlet is BROKEN HOMES, which deals with many of the factors that make marriages fail or succeed. The January, 1948 one is PLANNING YOUR FAMILY, and deals with planned parenthood. Each, 32 pp. 20¢. (Quantity rates.)

You can get a copy of the recent report of the President's Council of Economic Advisors from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C. * It shows the relation of "maximum production" to high steady employment levels and to lower living costs, points out the actions of business that work against it and the directions in which we will have to move to achieve it. SECOND ANNUAL REPORT TO THE PRESIDENT. December, 1947. 31 pp. 15¢.

The Federal Security Agency has put out a pamphlet, FOR YOU AND YOURS, that shows clearly and attractively how the government provides services in the fields of health, education and security that benefit the whole family, fathers, mothers, children, old people, and the wider community. Federal Security Agency, Washington 25, D. C. 1947. 25 pp. Free of charge.

FOR EYE AND EAR

16mm Films

BOUNDARY LINES

Sound film in color. Film Program Services, 1173 Ave. of the Americas, New York 19, N. Y. 10 Minutes. Sale, $90. Rental, $3.

This is an experiment in animation, with effective color and strong imaginative treatment. The film shows the imaginary boundary lines that divide nations, races and groups, and makes clear how necessary it is to outgrow these lines in an atomic age. Useful for large or small group.

DOES IT MATTER WHAT YOU THINK?

Produced by British Information Services and available for rent through their regional offices. Distributed by Film Program Services, 1173 Ave. of the Americas, New York 19, N. Y. Sound. 15 Minutes. Sale, $47.50. Rental, $3.

A lively discussion of how opinions are formed, with illustrations of the methods used by radio, newspapers, movies, etc. to put ideas across. It shows clearly why it is important for ordinary everyday people to meet and discuss issues in their political parties, their unions and other community groups. Useful, particularly if followed by discussion.

THE WORLD IS RICH

Brandon Films, 1600 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y. Sound film. 43 Minutes. Sale, $100. Rental, $6.

This is a successor to THE WORLD OF PLENTY, showing how the hungry people in the world can be fed if all countries can plan together so that food can be shipped from where it is plentiful to where it is needed. Effective photography and animation. Useful for large and small groups, especially in connection with discussion of the Marshall Plan.

See also above, pg. 5, LOOK, LISTEN AND LEARN; and pg. 5, "The Place of Films in Workers' Education in the United States."

Note: BOUNDARY LINES and a number of other films on minority problems are loaned for the nominal charge of 50¢ each by the Freedom Film Library of the Eastern Regional Office of the Anti-Defamation League, 20 West 40 St., New York 18, N. Y.

Filmstrips

HEART OF THE UNION

National Maritime Union, 346 West 17 St., New York 11, N.Y. 30 Minutes. Sale, approximately $15. (Quantity rates.) Available later in color.

This cartoon filmstrip shows how the Ship's Committee (Shop Committee to you) is the very heart of the union on shipboard: how it handles beefs, enforces the union contract, carries on education activities, including discussions, films and a union library. While addressed to maritime workers, it may be of interest to others as well. Available in pamphlet form, free of charge upon request. 1947. 88 pp.

FOR EYE AND EAR (Continued)

Filmstrips (Continued)

SONGS FOR SEAMEN

National Maritime Union, 346 West 17 St., New York 11, N. Y. 30 Minutes. Sale, approximately $15. (Quantity rates.)

This is a singing filmstrip, showing words of seven union songs on the screen - Solidarity, Hold the Fort, Which Side Are You On?, etc. A 7-page leaflet containing the words is available free of charge upon request.

THE CHALLENGE OF WORLD TRADE

Film Publishers, 25 Broad St., New York 4, N. Y. 15 Minutes. Sale, $3.

This filmstrip uses cartoons to bring out the importance to all of us of trade as a two-way process, with all nations able to buy and sell with each other. Useful for a small group as a basis for discussion. Prepared in cooperation with the League of Women Voters. Available as small 48-page pamphlet, a "filmtext."

See also above, p. 5, GUIDE TO USE OF FILMSTRIPS.

Songs and Recordings

SINGING FARMERS

National Farmers Union, 3501 East 46 Ave., Denver 16, Colo. 1947. 112 pp. No price given.

This songbook provides the words and music of over a hundred songs useful for group singing. A few are songs of the Farmers Union; the rest are general union songs, folk songs, hymns, patriotic and love songs, rounds, etc. A good all 'round collection.

A PEOPLE'S SONGS WORDBOOK

People's Songs, 235 East 11 St., New York 3, N. Y. 1947. 64 pp. 15¢.

A small booklet containing the words to many labor songs, old and new, and a few patriotic and folk songs. From the "Star Spangled Banner" to "A Dollar Ain't a Dollar Any More!"

Note: AMERICA'S FAVORITE LABOR SONGS (See UNION SONGS in the Fall, 1947 Guide, p. 5) are now available from the CIO Department of Research and Education, 718 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington 6, D.C., on three unbreakable 12" regular phonograph records, cleared for radio use. Set, $6. In album, $7.50. (Quantity rates.) Included is a folder with the words of the songs.

WE ARE MANY PEOPLE

Series of 13 quarter-hour radio recordings. Pax Productions, 177 Post St., San Francisco 8, Calif. For non-broadcast use, complete set, $65. (Quantity rates.) For all-inclusive use, complete set $225; any one program $20. (Quantity rates.)

Imaginative, dramatic radio programs, stressing good intergroup relations and equal opportunity for all. Two-minute periods of music at the beginning and end of each program can be used for local announcements and comment. Each program is a complete story (Let My People Go, The Pixie and Mr. Bixby, etc.).

Songs and Recordings (Continued)

IT'S UP TO YOU

Series of 6 quarter-hour radio recordings. Pax Productions, 177 Post St., San Francisco 8, Calif. For all-inclusive use, complete set, $180; any 2, $75; any 4, $150. Scripts, and 3-page guide on technical use and use in discussion, available.

Militant labor drama sketches, dealing with Taft-Hartley, strike-breaking, housing, and other current issues. Each program a complete story (Big Union, The Oakville Story, etc.). As above, two-minute periods for local announcements.

MATERIALS IN ACTION

This is a small southern town. It is 6:30 p.m. Here in this room two men are laboriously tracing their names over and over on a strip of cardboard. By 9:30 a dozen men will have gathered in the Mason's Hall to attend school. They are all workers, and belong to the International Union in their industry. Years of hard outdoor work have made their hands gnarled and calloused, so that mastery of even the art of holding a pencil comes with difficulty. But they are eager to learn and patient with the slow processes of improvement.

We had been invited by the International Representative to come to this town two months ago and present a Labor Film, in an effort to rekindle interest in the union. We went. That night we played records of union songs. The men joined the singing reluctantly. After the film had been shown we made an unsuccessful attempt to draw from the men some discussion about the picture, which had emphasized the importance of voting as a citizen. The International Representative presented some facts at the meeting, which were received with frigid calm. When a union leaflet was distributed, two men in the group scanned the reading, twenty-two other men folded their copies neatly and put them in their pockets without even glancing through the pages.

It began to dawn upon me that the men that sat in that room hadn't understood. The picture had not meant anything to them because they felt the barrier between them and franchisement was too steep for accomplishment. The Representative's remarks meant nothing to them because they did not understand the language of trade unionism - they could neither read nor write.

Would the men enjoy classes in which they learned about their union and how to become full citizens? The response was amazing. They asked us to return the following Thursday and teach them. These were the things they needed to know: what does CIO mean? Does anyone else at any other place belong to our union? Why is it called a "local"? What do you mean by a "grievance"? How can you vote if you can't write? etc.,

We could do something about all of these problems.

Two weeks later there were flash cards of the terms, CIO, PAC, UNION, LOCAL, WORKERS... These men gradually learned to read the cards and to make short speeches explaining what they meant. At the next meeting we started the writing. Now they are reading and writing their names, dates, ages, the name of their town, their state. The primary motive behind the writing activity is the great desire of the men to become qualified voters.

We talked much about voting responsibility. Last week two men brought their receipts for poll tax payments.

(Adapted from a report by Mrs. Helen Baker, Southern School for Workers. December, 1947.)

NOTE: Material mentioned in the GUIDE should be ordered directly from the organization which has prepared it.

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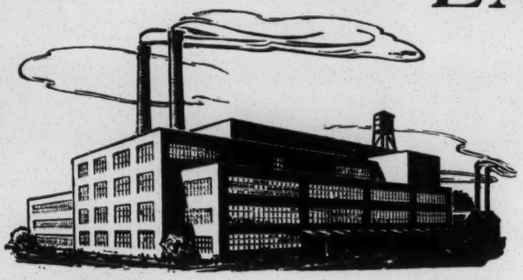
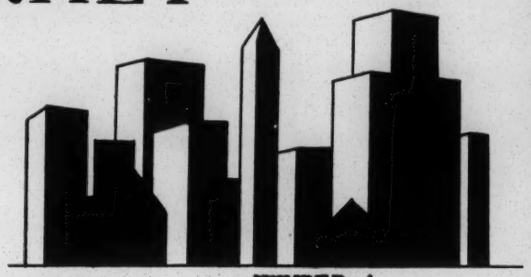
21-Labor-Employment Statistics-Tenn.

The LABOR MARKET IN TENNESSEE



APRIL 1949



VOLUME 5 TENNESSEE DEPARTMENT OF EMPLOYMENT SECURITY NUMBER 4

EMPLOYMENT GAINS REPORTED FOR APRIL

In spite of employment losses in manufacturing industries, total non-agricultural employment in Tennessee showed a net gain from March to April. Trade, service, mining, government and construction all reported employment increases for the period. The Easter sales rush brought trade employment up by approximately 1,500, while construction responded to seasonal impetus, registering a gain of approximately 4,000. Reports indicate that much of the construction activity for 1949 will be in the building of much needed school, hospital and highway facilities.

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MANUFACTURING EMPLOYMENT DROPS

In manufacturing employment, losses in chemicals, fabricated metal products and leather were sufficiently large to offset the employment gain in apparel. Employment losses were pretty general, appearing in all manufacturing groups except apparel, furniture, printing and publishing, and food - and of these, only apparel reported any appreciable gain. The usual seasonal increases had hard sledding in the face of overstocking, inventory back-log, and continued consumer lethargy. General as this statement is, it is hard to pin down the reasons for lessened employment to more specific terms.

--WHILE NON-MANUFACTURING EMPLOYMENT RISES

The usual Easter rush provided an impetus to employment in trade, and contributed to the employment gain in service industries. Construction employment also showed a state-wide seasonal gain, although wage disputes in scattered areas had a hampering effect on building trades employment. Government and mining employment also reported slight increases.

DEMAND FOR LUMBER LOW

In the manufacturing industry division, two groups which normally experience seasonal employment increases at this time of year reported that employment remained almost level from March to April. One of these industries, lumber, showed a slight employment drop. For the state as a whole, a slackening in demand was reported for lumber products. Hardwood appears to be in less demand than usual, and unseasoned lumber is not moving. The market for lumber during the month of April is considered to be in the nature of a barometer, indicating the trend which may be expected for the year; according to this indicator, the lumber industry will not be as active as usual during 1949.

PREPARED AND RELEASED
MAY 15, 1949
BY
RESEARCH AND STATISTICS SECTION
E. J. EBERLING, CHIEF OF RESEARCH
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

EMPLOYMENT RISE FOOD PROCESSING DELAYED BY WEATHER

The food industry also failed to show normal seasonal increases. In this case, however, late cold snaps delayed the berry crop, which ushers in the food processing season. The employment rise in this industry was therefore delayed. While other fruit may be scarce this year, vegetables should not be seriously affected. The closing of one department of a large food establishment, which affected employment of some 330 workers, was one factor in holding down employment in this industry.

UNEMPLOYMENT DECLINES IN APRIL

Unemployment, as might be expected in the light of the net employment increase, was less in April than in March. At the end of April, approximately 67,000 workers were filing unemployment insurance and servicemen's readjustment allowance claims, as compared with 71,287 in March. Women comprised 17,500 of this total, veterans 15,379. Claims for partial unemployment totalled 16,733, a decrease of almost 4,000 since March. Both total and partial unemployment in April dropped to the February level, after the March rise.

AVERAGE HOURS AND EARNINGS REMAIN STABLE

The estimated average work week for production workers in manufacturing industries was practically unchanged from March to April. Average weekly hours in April were 39.1 as compared to 39.2 hours in March. The average hourly wage in April also remained unchanged from the March average of $1.110 per hour. Both wages and hours in non-durable goods industries showed a slightly downward trend while wages in durable goods industries were up slightly and hours showed no change. Wage rate increases and premium pay for holiday work in scattered establishments caused slight increases in hourly earnings in the textile, primary metals, and machinery industries. At the same time, the shortening of work week, less overtime, and one sharp seasonal decrease in a primary metals plant, caused a drop in weekly hours in the textile and primary metals industries. Holiday shutdowns and shortened work week in several plants caused a drop in both hours and earnings in the stone, clay and glass industry. Contrary trends were noted in the leather industry; several plants increased weekly hours sufficiently to more than offset decreased hours in other plants. Hourly earnings however dropped slightly. Detailed figures for all manufacturing industries combined and for selected industry groups appear below.

	AVERAGE HOURLY EARNINGS		AVERAGE WEEKLY HOURS	
	March A/	April	March A/	April
All Manufacturing	1.110	1.110	39.2	39.1
Durable Goods	1.107	1.109	39.4	39.4
Non-durable Goods	1.112	1.111	39.0	38.9

A/ Revised.

Selected Industries	March A/	April	March A/	April
Food	1.030	1.029	44.0	44.8
Tobacco	.808	.806	36.8	36.7
Textiles	1.049	1.053	38.3	37.2
Chemicals	1.308	1.328	39.6	39.7
Leather	1.045	1.043	34.3	35.3
Stone, Clay & Glass	1.130	1.106	40.3	38.3
Primary Metals	1.291	1.297	38.6	38.1
Fabricated Metal Prod.	1.187	1.180	35.8	36.2
Electrical and Non-electrical Machinery	1.202	1.205	32.8	32.8

These average earnings figures are computed on a "gross" basis and reflect changes in premium pay for overtime and late shift work as well as changes in basis hourly and incentive wage rates.

A/ Revised.

ESTIMATED NON-AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYMENT IN TENNESSEE

APRIL, 1949 1/

(ROUNDED TO NEAREST HUNDRED)

INDUSTRY OR GROUP	APRIL 1949	MARCH 1949	APRIL 1948	PER CENT CHANGE MARCH 1949 TO APRIL 1949	PER CENT CHANGE APRIL 1948 TO APRIL 1949
TOTAL	718,500	714,500	733,000	+ 0.6	- 2.0
MANUFACTURING	231,100	234,100	257,900	- 1.3	-10.4
NON-DURABLE GOODS	151,100	152,800	163,000	- 1.1	- 7.3
DURABLE GOODS	80,000	81,300	94,900	- 1.6	-15.7
NON-DURABLE GOODS					
CHEMICALS	37,700	39,200 2/	39,400	- 3.8	- 4.3
TEXTILES	31,400	31,800 2/	40,000	- 1.3	-21.5
FOOD	23,400	23,300	22,600	+ 0.4	+ 3.5
APPAREL	20,600	19,800	20,400	+ 4.0	+ 1.0
LEATHER	12,100	12,600	13,500	- 4.0	-10.4
PRINTING	10,700	10,600	10,500	+ 0.9	+ 1.9
RUBBER	5,600	5,700	6,300	- 1.8	-11.1
PAPER	4,900	5,000	4,700	- 2.0	+ 4.3
TOBACCO	1,800	1,800	2,000	-	-10.0
PETROLEUM	500	500	600	-	-16.7
MISC. MANUFACTURING	2,400	2,500	3,000	- 4.0	-20.0
DURABLE GOODS					
LUMBER (EX. FURNITURE)	22,600	22,700 2/	28,600	- 0.4	-21.0
PRIMARY METALS	14,400	14,500	16,100	- 0.7	-10.6
FABRICATED METALS	12,300	13,200	15,600	- 6.8	-21.2
STONE, CLAY & GLASS	9,100	9,100	9,800	-	- 7.1
FURNITURE	7,600	7,500	9,500	+ 1.3	-20.0
TRANSPORTATION EQUIPMENT	4,700	4,900	5,800	- 4.1	-19.0
MACHINERY (EX. ELEC.)	5,200	5,200	5,100	-	+ 2.0
PROFESSIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CONTROLLING INSTR.	1,600	1,700	2,000	- 05.9	-20.0
ELECTRICAL MACHINERY	2,500	2,500	2,400	-	+ 4.2
NON-MANUFACTURING	487,400	480,400	475,100	+ 1.5	+ 2.6
TRADE	162,500	161,000 2/	160,100	+ 0.9	+ 1.5
WHOLESALE TRADE	48,500	49,000	46,300	- 1.0	+ 4.8
RETAIL TRADE	114,000	112,000 2/	113,800	+ 1.8	+ 0.2
GOVERNMENT	99,900	99,800	97,300	+ 0.1	+ 2.7
SERVICE	74,100	73,100	74,000	+ 1.4	+ 0.1
TRANS., COMM., PUB.UTIL.	59,300	59,300	59,200	-	+ 0.2
CONSTRUCTION	53,000	49,100	44,300	+ 7.9	+19.6
FIN., INS., & REAL EST.	24,300	24,400	26,500	- 0.4	- 8.3
MINING	14,300	13,700 2/	13,700	+ 4.4	+ 4.4

1/ ESTIMATES INCLUDE ALL FULL AND PART-TIME EMPLOYEES WORKING OR RECEIVING PAY IN NON-AGRICULTURAL ESTABLISHMENTS DURING THE PAY PERIOD ENDING NEAREST THE 15TH OF THE MONTH. ESTIMATES DO NO INCLUDE SELF-EMPLOYED, DOMESTIC SERVANTS AND UNPAID FAMILY WORKERS.

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U. S. BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS

GWES NEWS

Georgia Workers Education Service

APRIL-MAY, 1949
Vol. III, No. 5

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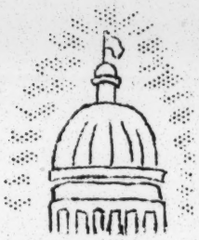
NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE--FACTS AND FANCIES



On April 22, President Truman read to the Congress of the United States a message which had been expected for some months. It was the message which three days later was introduced in the Senate in the form of the "National Health Insurance and Public Health Act, 1949."

So much has been said in print and over the air about what the ACT says and means (and it seems to say and mean different things to different people and different groups) that we thought we ought to take a look at the Bill itself and let you know what it says.

WHAT'S IN A LABEL?

First, let's not be scared off by the labels which have been pinned on it by those who oppose it. The American Medical Association (A.M.A.) for months has been denouncing it as "socialized medicine" which will regiment American doctors and the American people.

Just this morning at the drug store I picked up an expensive 22 page print job published by the AMA. It has been distributed--absolutely free--far and wide. It warns against the dangers of "compulsory health insurance" or "politically controlled medicine," as they call it. It denounces the President's proposal as "socialistic."

Most of us will remember--it was only 1938--when the Minimum Wage Law, setting minimum wages at 25 cents an hour, was attacked as "socialistic," and we were warned especially in the South that industries would have to close down if workers were paid such fantastically high wages! But the Bill wasn't and the industries didn't, and this looks to us like more of the same "let's scare 'em" hullabaloo.

THE NEED FOR HEALTH CARE

So, let's skip the labels and take a look inside the Bill:---The preamble says:

> Section 9. "Recognizing that many persons cannot pay for needed services from the present members of the medical professions and from hospitals, and that future additions to these professions and institutions should be assured adequate support and full utilization, this ACT establishes a nation wide method whereby all our people can always meet the burden of sickness costs through health insurance.

Apparently the preamble and the Bill itself assume that the people of the United States need a National Health Insurance Program. Do they? Let's see:--

According to the report submitted to the President by Federal Security Administrator Ewing, careful survey revealed that:

> 4 out of every 5 (or almost 118 million Americans) need help to pay the cost of serious illness.
>
> AND
>
> At least 7 million people in the U.S. are disabled by sickness in any one day, half of these for six months or more each year.

IS IT BEING MET NOW?

At the present time, as any worker knows, a serious illness in the family means disaster--a staggering load of doctor bills--a fear in the back of every wage earner's mind. Over 105 million Americans carry no form of health insurance at all. Only 45 million have some sort of health insurance, but of these probably only 3½ million have comprehensive medical care plans. Even the Blue Cross Hospitalization Plan covers only 18% of the American people.

Not Enough Beds and Doctors To Go Around

Even if everyone were able to afford medical and hospital care, the present supply of doctors and hospital beds could not meet the demand. We have a 25% shortage of doctors, and only about 1½ million hospital beds.

The President's message pointed out that medical schools alone would have to double their present training capacities to provide the number of doctors who would be needed to keep our people medically protected, if everybody could afford it.

THE ACT PROVIDES FEDERAL AID FOR:

1. Education and training of doctors, dentists, nurses, hospital administrators, and other health personnel.

2. Medical research for special research in our most dangerous diseases and others.

3. Building new hospitals and clinics with larger appropriations, and increased aid to poorer states.

4. Special aid to rural areas.

5. Assistance to Farmers' Experimental Health Cooperatives.

6. Aid to States for State and local Public Health Work.

7. Aid to States for Maternal, Child Health and Crippled children's Services.

HOW WILL ALL THIS BE PAID FOR?

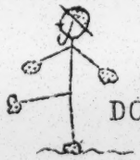
Will the taxpayer stagger around under a tremendous burden, as the AMA declares? The Government Survey indicates otherwise.

According to the proposed bill, the insurance would be paid for out of a 3% tax on earnings (1½% paid for by the worker, 1½% paid for by the employer) so that actually, on the average, it would cost less than we spend at present, and for much more care than we now get. A report to the 79th Congress estimated a present and expected spending under the Act for medical care.

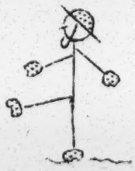
For those earning $1250, spending at present $43 a year for medical care, the cost through deduction would come to only $18.75.

For those earning $2500, spending at present $74 a year, the cost would be $37.50.

For those earning $3600 a year, spending at present $143 a year, the cost would be $54.00.



DOES THIS MEAN REGIMENTATION FOR DOCTORS AND PATIENTS?



Despite the fancy propaganda of the AMA, a reading of the bill reveals that patients may choose their own doctor, hospital, nurse, etc. from among all the practicioners in their town who serve under the Act.

It reveals that doctors do not have to serve under the Act, and if he does, he is free to reject or accept patients just as he now does.

WILL IT ALL BE RUN FROM WASHINGTON?

The Act states that the chief administrative responsibility will be placed

in the hands of local bodies operating within the State plan.

Doctors and representatives of the people in each locality where the services are provided will run the program.

Services shall be distributed among the States on a fair basis.

Voluntary as well as government organizations shall be used and recognized.

All employed and self-employed persons shall be entitled to the benefits without discrimination because of race, color, or creed.

DOES IT ADD UP TO BETTER HEALTH?

Figure it out for yourself. If the bill goes through, it would mean that everybody would be able to get preventive medical care to keep away sickness.

Everybody will have doctor's and hospital services when sick without worry about expense (as a matter of right, not charity). It would be pay-as-we-go and no hospital bills to scare us.

There would be doctors with income assured willing to practice in rural and poor areas which they now shun.

It would mean more hospitals, spread out where they are needed.

There would be more and better training for qualified persons to meet the current shortages.

THIS THEN IS BILL S. 5 AND H.R. 783

This is the bill, then, which the AMA has spent hundreds of thousands of dollars to fight. This is the bill which the AF of L, the CIO, and many consumer, church, veteran, and farm and cooperative groups have been fighting for in the 79th, 80th, and now the 81st Congress.

AND ONE MORE WORD--

In England, where a similar Act has been in effect for more than one year now, praise for the Act has been mounting from doctors (some of whom at first opposed it), patients, from newspapers, and all sections of the government from Conservatives on up.

* * * * * * * * * * *

CERTIFICATES OF MERIT

April brought a shower of GWES certificates down on the learned heads of our students in:--

Rockmart: 6 stewards of the UTWA completed their course in "How to Conduct a Union Meeting." They were: James L. Hall, Dewey Castle, David Rogers, Wm. B. Sorrells, Jr., Mack Morgan, and Robert S. Wilson.

11 more UTWA lads (and a lassie) completed their course in "Stewards' Training." In addition to those listed above were also:-John Peck, Newt Sims, Bertha Johnsey, Albert Wheeler, James L. Wheeler, Ray Kirk.

Americus: In ACWA Local 226, 14 members received awards for successfully completing their class in "You and Your Government." As an outgrowth of the class a delegation visited Congressman Stephen Pace and had quite a session. The students were Mrs. Annie Thompson, Christine Robinson, Clara Rycroft, Pauline Grant, Betty Edwards, Bessie Peck, Forrest McLaughlin, Marie Thompson, Ozella Farr, Elizabeth Van Agnew, Jeannette Holly, Oriska Finch, Ola Kelly and Julia Kelly.

The month of May brought some more to UAW Local 1103 in Rome for completion of a course in "How To Make the Union Work." They went to: Howard Kennemore, John Ware, Varnell Lynn, Hugh Swinford, Leon Wright, E. L. McGill, J. E. Woods, J. R. Barnes, Emmett Hardin, Frank Swanson.

Dalton: At a barbecue at Freilach's

Lake on May 21, AFHW Branch 74, 10 members successfully completed their class in "Grievance and Arbitration." They were: Carvis Huckeba, S.F. Knight, J.C. Caylor, Ollie Bailey, Jacob Phillips, Delma Richardson, Violet Hinkle, Lloyd Roberts, Viola Henson, Lettie Gribble.

* * * * * * * * * * *

UNDER WAY In Columbus: CWA local getting together on Mondays and Tuesdays for 3 weeks to discuss "How to Run Our Union" with Olive Haskins cooperating.

In Rockmart: UTWA Local 90, Saturday mornings at 10:30, discussions o[illegible] bor Laws, with speakers arrange[illegible] by Staffmember Warren on Work[illegible] Comp., Social Security, Unemploy[illegible] Insurance, and National Health Bill.

In Rome: Staffmember Warren assisting the TWUA Joint Board with plans for TWUA 10th Anniversary Week, May 8-15. Big doings in Rome, Cedartown, and Dalton. Ruth working with Children's Chorus with original song by young 'un Marie Gamblin.

STARTING SOON In Atlanta: LWIU, Local 218 decided to have "Our Gov't and How It Works" in regular class instead of membership meetings. Scheduled to begin May 16.

UAW Weekend Institute at Camp Highland all set. Staffmember Warren assisting Regional Education Representative Ed Coffey and the local Education Council To take place May 21 and 22.

SPECIAL EVENTS Staffmember Haskins participated in the "Health and Welfare Conference" called by the AF of L on April 23. Brother Arnold Kennedy in charge.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

AROUND THE CRACKER BARREL

HAVE YOU SEEN?

Poverty in the Valley of Plenty. Produced by AF of L Film Council in Los Angeles. Tells the dramatic and tragic [illegible]ory of the Di[illegible] Georgio orchard workers California. 18 minute film.

HAVE YOU READ?

Union Guy written by Clayton Fountain of the UAW Education Dept. A fast moving story of Fountain's own life in large part against the dramatic events of the organization of the auto industry by the UAW-CIO.

DID YOU KNOW?

That our State of Georgia is third from the bottom in medical care for its children. The plight of children in Georgia and other Southern States was brought out in two brand new studies on child care just completed after 3 years with the cooperation of U.S. Public Health and U.S. Children's Bureau. If we had a National Health Insurance Act, the tale would be a different one.

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LABOR EDUCATION GUIDE

Current Materials for Workers' Education Activities

Orlie A.H.Pell, Editor

Labor Ed

SPRING-SUMMER..... 1952
Volume XI .....Number 1

Special Issue on

LABOR and INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

- LABOR AROUND THE WORLD
- AID TO UNDERDEVELOPED AREAS
- THE U. N. AND ITS AGENCIES
- FOR EYE AND EAR

Annual Subscription $1.00
Published by
American Labor Education Service
1776 Broadway, New York 19, N.Y.

Material should be ordered directly from the organization which has prepared it.

LABOR AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Labor Around the World

WORLD LABOR TODAY

By Robert J. Alexander, League for Industrial Democracy, 112 East 19 Street, New York 3, N.Y. 1952. 54 pp. 35¢

A clear account of labor's international developments, and the post-war growth of the labor movements in the various countries of Western Europe, the Far East, the Middle East and Africa, and Latin America. Useful for union leaders, education directors and others looking for an informative picture of the world labor scene.

THE CIO AND WORLD AFFAIRS

CIO International Committee, 718 Jackson Place N.W. Washington 6, D.C. Third Issue, April 1952. 32pp. 10¢. (50 for $4.50; 100 for $8.)

A summary of CIO policy statements dealing with international affairs, brought up to date, and illustrated with a number of photographs. Deals with the Future of the Free World, the United Nations, Mutual Security Programs, Latin America, Labor Participation, and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

See also their CIO World Affairs Bulletin (refer to Fall-Winter 1951 Guide), now in printed form. The April 1952 issue contains an article on Europe's free trade unions, and an account of the International Trade Secretariats.

See also the European Edition of the CIO News, available in English, French, German and Italian. Deals with labor issues of interest to European workers.

'52 FACTS: FOREIGN POLICY

CIO Political Action Committee, 1346 Connecticut Ave. N.W., Washington 6, D.C. 1952 40 pp. Free of charge.

This pocket-sized booklet presents briefly an overall statement on America's present relationships with the rest of the world, stressing the impossibility of trying to maintain an isolationist point of view, and explaining the country's present policy in regard to Korea, NATO, Point Four, etc.

AMERICAN LABOR LOOKS AT THE WORLD. VOL. V

Free Trade Union Committee, AFL, Box 65, Station G, New York 19, N.Y. September, 1952. 96pp. 50¢ (Quantity rates.)

As stated in the Fall-Winter 1951 Guide, this fifth volume brings together statements and articles that show the stand taken by the AFL on a number of international issues, including Korea, the North Atlantic Treaty, and slave labor behind the Iron Curtain.

See also their International Free Trade Union News, published monthly. The June 1952 issue, for example, deals with the Tunisian workers, the situation in Cuba and the Cuban unions, trade unionism in India, and Indonesia, and labor and high productivity in America, among other topics.

PEOPLE MUST SPEAK TO PEOPLE

By Mark Starr. Reprint from June 1952 Education. 7pp. Single copy free from the Educational Department, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, 1710 Broadway, New York 19, N.Y.

This article discusses the barrier to understanding caused by the growing diversity of languages, and made more acute today by the increase in travel, visiting teams and exchange programs. The author advocates a greater willingness to listen with respect to others, to learn to speak their languages or, hopefully, to make use of an international language.

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American Labor Education Service, Inc.

LABOR PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
Labor-International Affairs, American Friends Service Committee, 20 S. 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa. 1952. 4 pp. Free.
Brief account of the ICFTU, the ILO, and the International Trade Secretariats, as well as the part the American Labor Movement is playing in Point 4 and the Mutual Security Agency, as labor attaches, and through their own representatives abroad.

THE WORKING PEOPLE OF EUROPE
Labor Information, Mutual Security Administration, Washington 25, D.C. 1951. 10 pp. Free of charge.
This pamphlet, reprinted from the International Oil Worker (organ of the Oil Workers International Union - CIO) shows how European and American workers are dependent on each other, and how the Marshall Plan has helped European production. Of interest to union members. See also their pamphlet, SHIRTSLEEVE DIPLOMATS (Fall-Winter 1951 Guide) dealing with labor's representatives in Europe and other countries.

WORLD AFFAIRS WORKBOOK: What Your Union Can Do
Inter-University Labor Education Committee, 19 South LaSalle Street. Chicago 3, Ill. 1952. 69 pp. Single copy free of charge.
This manual suggests a number of ways in which unions can get their members involved in learning more about international affairs: projects, programs, effective use of materials, etc. See also their pamphlet, "INTEREST GETTERS" ON WORLD AFFAIRS, which provides actual quizzes, ideas for role-playing and discussion programs, etc. These are both preliminary drafts for limited distribution and comment.

Aid to Underdeveloped Areas

HELPING PEOPLE TO HELP THEMSELVES
CIO Department of Education and Research, 718 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington 6, D.C. Reprinted from Economic Outlook, November, 1951. 8 pp. 15¢. (Up to 100, 5¢ each; 100 or more, 4⅓¢ each; 1000 or more, 3¢ each.)
An objective account of the needs of the underdeveloped countries, and the programs such as Point 4, The Marshall Plan, and the work of the United Nations agencies that are helping the people of these countries to get on their feet. The importance of this to trade unionists is pointed out.

UNDERDEVELOPED AREAS AND POINT 4
Labor-International Affairs Office, American Friends Service Committee, 20 South 12 St., Philadelphia 7, Pa. 4 pp. Single copy free of charge.
A brief introduction to the subject, describing what life is like in underdeveloped countries and why Americans are concerned. Includes suggested readings and films.

PLENTY: PATTERN FOR PEACE
By Murray D. Lincoln. Available from Farm Bureau Insurance Companies, 246 N. High St., Columbus 16, Ohio. 1952. 19pp. Free of charge.
A hard hitting plea for a new foreign policy for America, based on the development of abundance and the elimination of hunger and poverty throughout the world. Of interest both to farmers and to trade unionists.

TRADING HOME TOWNS
Information Service Department, Herald-Tribune, New York City. 1951. 31 pp. 10¢. (Quantity rates.)
This is a "human interest" story of how a county agent from Georgia and one from a county in India exchanged places, each of them learning and teaching and making friends in his new environment. A graphic illustration of a two-way Point 4, interesting to workers as well as farmers.

Aid to Underdeveloped Areas

OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL

By Richardson Wood. Richardson Wood and Company, New York. 1952. No price given. Available free of charge from the Technical Cooperation Administration, State Department, Washington, D.C.

Makes clear the opportunities opened up on all sides by the Government's program of foreign aid. Pictorial graphs, and charts, cartoons and photographs, are all used effectively to tell the story. Will help to create interest in the subject.

WHY FOREIGN AID. Facts about the Mutual Security Program

Department of State Publication 4301. 1951. 17 pp. For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Govt. Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. Price 20 cents.

Deals with the Mutual Security Program, both the "defence" and the economic aspects. The problems concerned with populations, natural resources and degree of development are discussed by regions: Europe, Latin America, Africa, Asia, with the help of maps and photographs.

MUTUAL SECURITY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Mutual Security Agency, Washington 25, D.C. 1952. 14 pp. No price given.

This pamphlet tells in clear, rather simple terms, some of the problems faced by the peoples in Burma, Thailand, Indo-China, Indonesia, Formosa and the Philippines; what their governments are trying to do; and how our government is helping. Interesting photographs, and a pleasant map. For more detailed account, see MSA's longer pamphlet.

EAST MEETS WEST IN THAILAND

Mutual Security Agency, Washington 25, D.C. 1952. 14 pp. No price given.

For those who want to know something more about the colorful country of Thailand (Siam) this pamphlet provides interesting facts, and shows how technical aid from this country is being used constructively by the Thai people. With photographs.

DATELINE SAIGON: Our Quiet War in Indochina

Mutual Security Agency, Washington 25, D.C. 1952. 12 pp. No price given.

Behind the "shooting war" are going on quiet efforts to give technical aid to the people of Indochina, through teams of doctors, agricultural specialists, engineers and other experts. With photographs.

FIGHT FOR FOOD

Department of State publication 4534. Economic Cooperation Series 31 April, 1952. Division of Publications, Office of Public Affairs. 16 pp.

This pamphlet tells with text and photographs the story of the struggle to conquer a 1951 plague of locusts in India and Iran. It took the combined successful efforts of local scientists and farmers together with Point Four aid rushed by plane from America to conquer the invasion and save the precious crops. Useful for arousing interest.

See also Stringfellow Barr's excellent pamphlet, LET'S JOIN THE HUMAN RACE, University of Chicago Press, 25¢ (Spring-Summer. 1951 Guide), and the pamphlet, POINT 4 PIONEERS, full of human interest and available free of charge from the U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C. (Fall-Winter 1951 Guide).

The U.N. and Its Agencies

UNITED NATIONS: 60 COUNTRIES PLEDGED TO ACT

Office of Public Affairs, U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C. 1951. 9 pp. Free of charge. From Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C. 5¢.
This leaflet stresses the activities of the U.N. in fighting poverty and disease, working for human rights and better understanding, through its various agencies. Easy reading and gives a non-controversial introduction to the U.N.

THE UNITED NATIONS: What It Is, What It Does, How It Works

Department of Public Information, United Nations, New York. 1952 10 pp. 2¢.
A leaflet telling briefly how the U.N. is set up, the functions of the General Assembly, Security Council, etc. The print is rather small, but otherwise the leaflet is useful.

Note: Similar leaflets, with borders in bright cheerful colors, are available from the Specialized Agencies, ILO, WHO, UNICEF, FAO, etc. Some of these have larger print.

TOWARDS A UNITED NATIONS WORLD

Department of Public Information, United Nations, New York. 1951. 37 pp. 15¢
A small booklet, with photographs and text, showing that experiments in international cooperation have led up to the U.N. and explaining the various phases of its work. Can be used as an introduction.

ACTION BY THE UNITED NATIONS

Office of Public Affairs, U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C. 1950. 11 pp. From Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C. 10¢.
A large sized illustrated pamphlet, explaining what the U.N. has done in the fields of fighting hunger, sharing know-how, improving trade, providing opportunities for settling disputes, working for human rights, etc. Could be used as basis for discussion.

THE UNITED NATIONS - ACTION FOR PEACE

By Marie and Louis Zocca. Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, N.J. Also available through the American Association for the United Nations, 45 East 65 St., New York 21, New York. 1951. 60 pp.
Calling itself a "layman's guide", this booklet presents the important information about the U.N.: its set up: how it works and what it has accomplished on the political as well as the economic and social front. It is useful as a study guide for those interested in understanding the U.N. Contains charts, illustrations and a map.

Note: Copies of the CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS, for reference purposes, are available from the United Nations, New York, from the Department of State, Washington, D.C., and from the American Association for the United Nations, 45 East 65 St., New York 21, New York. 10¢.

For Eye and Ear

HOW TO USE FILMS EFFECTIVELY

Research and Education Department, International Chemical Workers Union - AFL and Union Leadership Training Project, University of Chicago, 19 S. LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill. 1952. 18 pp. No price given.

Some very useful suggestions for planning, obtaining, showing and utilizing films to get the best educational values. Detailed examples are given of how two specific films ("WITH THESE HANDS" and "FATE OF A CHILD") have been used by different local unions to meet different purposes.

16 mm. Films

EXPANDING WORLD RELATIONSHIPS

10 minute sound, color film.

Available free on loan from Division of Public Liaison, U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C.

Shows contrast between pre-machine age and today's industrialized, interdependent world. Raises problems, gives no answers; useful as basis for discussion.

FATE OF A CHILD

13 minute sound film.

Rental, $3 from CIO Film Division, 718 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

Shows what a life of poverty, disease and lack of education does to human beings in underdeveloped countries, and how they turn to the United Nations for help.

THAILAND TODAY

10 minute ECA/MSA sound film.

Available free on loan from A. F. Films, 1600 Broadway, New York 19, N.Y.

Describes sympathetically the combination of old and new in an ancient country, Siam, as they plan for the future.

U. N. SCREEN MAGAZINE #4

10 minute sound film.

Rental, $1.50 from CIO Film Library; $2.50 from U. N. Film Division, United Nations, New York.

Shows the U. N. Fellowship Program, a program of exchange through which skilled people of our country can bring knowledge and know-how to another country and in that way help build for peace.

I.L.O.

10 minute sound film.

Produced by the National Film Board of Canada. Rental, $1.50 from CIO Film Division and from WEB Film Library, 724 Ninth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

Tells how the International Labor Organization was founded over 30 years ago, and how it functions today in raising the standard of work, health and safety for workers throughout the world.

THE SHOEMAKER AND THE HATTER

15 minute color cartoon film.

Available free on loan from A. F. Films, 1600 Broadway, New York 19, N.Y.

$1 from CIO Film Division, and WEB Film Library.

Shows through fantasy the importance of mass production and free trade compared with scarcity and tariff walls.

For Eye and Ear

BREAKTHROUGH

18 minute ECA/MSA sound film.
Rental, $1 from CIO Department of Education and Research Film Division, 718 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington 6, D.C., and from AFL Workers Education Bureau Film Library, 724 Ninth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

Deals with the development of a power project in the mountains of Norway. Slow-moving, but shows importance of electric power to men today.

Visual Material

FOLD-O-GLOBE

Los Angeles Chapter, American Association for the United Nations, Ambassador Hotel, Los Angeles, Calif. 60¢. (Quantity rates.)

An interesting and effective cardboard map of the world in color, which can stand as a globe or be used folded flat; when flat, sections fold over to show any part of the world. Stands 10 inches high.

POSTERS

Along with its other available posters, the CIO Education and Research Department (718 Jackson Place N.W., Washington 6, D.C.) has reprinted the poster of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, containing in color the ICFTU's MANIFESTO. Inquire concerning rates.

Effective posters on the UNITED NATIONS can be obtained from the Division of Public Liaison, U. S. Department of State, Washington, D.C.

Colorful posters on the Specialized Agencies of the U.N. -- FAO, UNESCO, etc.— are available through the Labor-International Office, American Friends Service Committee, 20 S. 12 Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Posters illustrating the different sections of the Declaration of Human Rights, together with the texts, are available from the Sales and Circulation Department, Division of Public Information, United Nations, New York. 10¢ each for the 4 sheets that make up the set, entitled HUMAN RIGHTS PICTURE PRESENTATION.

PHOTOGRAPHS AND PICTURE SHEETS

Visual Information Section, Department of Public Information, United Nations, New York. Free of charge to editors.

Effective documentary photographs (glossy print, 8x10 inches) of people and activities all over the world have human interest. Large sheets of pictures dealing with particular countries or problems, and containing explanatory texts, are also available and can be used as wall newspapers.

POINT FOUR -- BUILDS FOR TOMORROW

Visual-media, Div. of Public Liaison, U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C
Loaned free of charge to labor groups (except for return transportation).

This is a two-panel exhibit, made for a recent ALES Conference on International Affairs showing that technical aid for better health and education lays the ground-work for technological aid in the use of machinery by the workers of underdeveloped countries.

For Eye and Ear

A DAY'S WORK

Mutual Security Agency, 800 Connecticut Ave., Washington 6, D.C. Loaned free of charge to labor groups (except for return transportation).
This is an "electric book" whose pages (about two feet square) turn automatically, showing pictures in the lives of workers of different countries, as they go to work, work on the job, take time out for lunch, go home to their families at night, work together in their union activities, etc. Prepared for a recent ALES Conference.

HAVE YOU SEEN ---

--- the new issue of the ALES Bulletin?

Bulletin. July 1952. 4 pp. Single copy free of charge from the American Labor Education Service, 1776 Broadway, New York 19, N.Y. It tells about current phases of the ALES program, including the activities carried on through the International Project.

--- the article by the editor of the Machinists' Journal, interpreting the IAM-ALES Conference on International Affairs?

"Experiment in St. Louis: Around the World in Two Days" By L.O. Thomas, Machinists Monthly Journal, July 1952, pp. 206-211. Single issue, 25¢. Reprint will be available from ALES. The Conference is described largely in terms of the educational techniques and values that were involved, and the significance of these for the labor movement.

--- a new leaflet for discussion leaders?

THINKING TOGETHER: TEN TIPS FOR DISCUSSION LEADERS. American Labor Education Service, 1776 Broadway, New York 19, N.Y. 1952. 4 pp. Free of charge.
Compiled to answer requests from the field, it brings together suggestions for carrying on informal group discussion. Of use to union committee chairmen and others dealing with education carried on in small groups.

--- a new manual for union education committees?

PLANNING A LOCAL UNION EDUCATION PROGRAM
By John J. Pearce, Jr. and Irvine L. H. Kerrison. Institute of Management and Labor Relations, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N.J. 1952. 24 pp. Single copy free of charge in N. J.; otherwise 10¢.
A matter-of-fact manual on how to set up the committee, plan the work, obtain assistance, keep the program going. While the list of resources was drawn up with special reference to the state of New Jersey, the pamphlet has general value.

--- a new look at ourselves?

LABOR AND THE AMERICAN WAY
By Mark Starr. Oxford Book Company, New York. 1952. 76 pp. 30¢
This booklet provides a good basis for understanding the nature of unionism as it has developed in the American scene. In addition to presenting facts the author discusses some of the problems and controversies that unions face. Written originally for use in highschools, it will be useful to union members here and abroad interested in an overall picture of American labor.

Labor Education in Kentucky

1952
1951
1950
1949
1948
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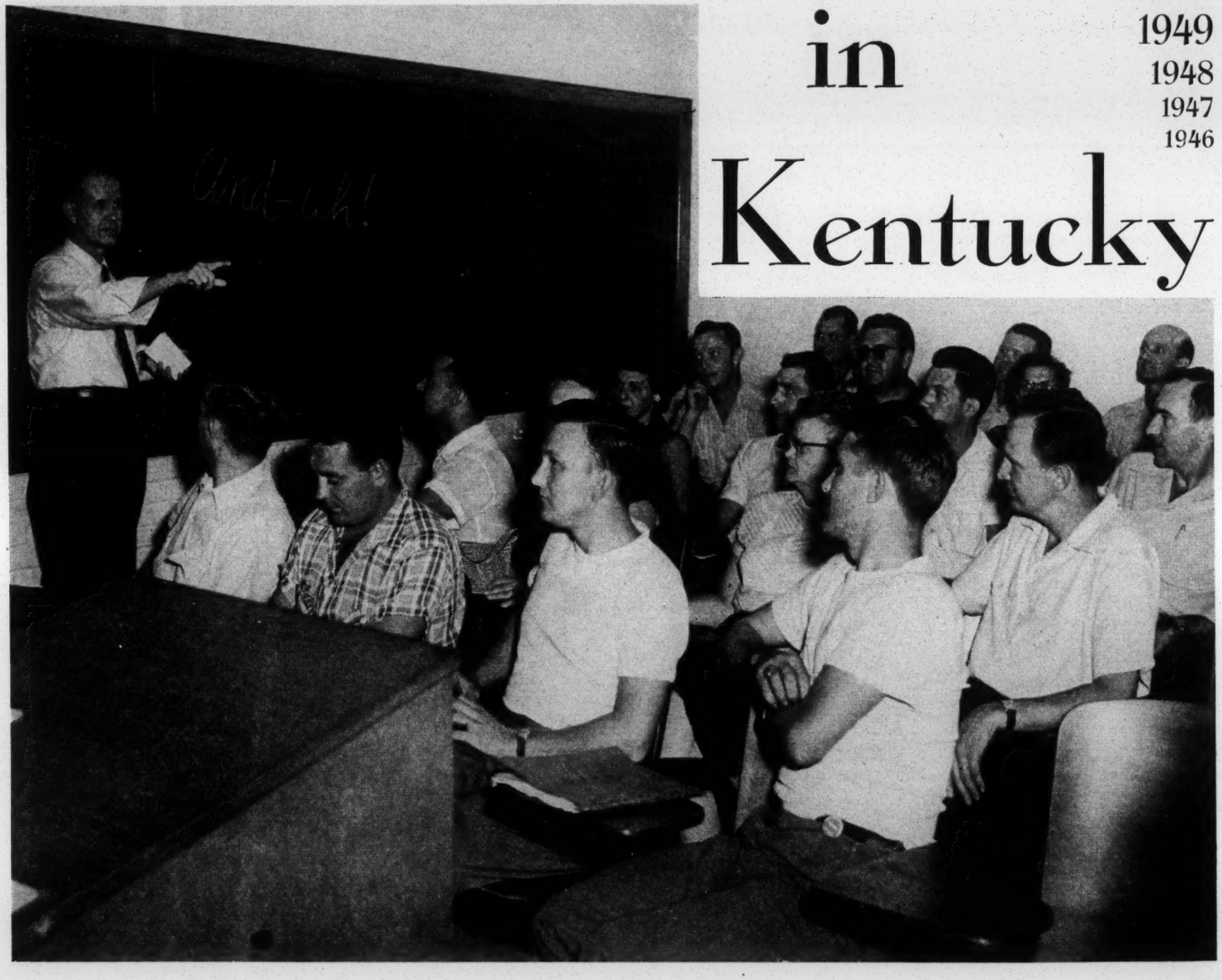
1946



Since 1946, the Department of Research & Education of the Kentucky State Federation of Labor has conducted *578* classes in labor subjects for A.F.L. Unions in Kentucky. Subjects include Labor History, Collective Bargaining, Parliamentary Law, Public Speaking, with particular emphasis on *STEWARDS TRAINING.*

The Department's services cover the State. The following cities have had classes since 1946:

Ashland, Berea, Carrollton, Covington, Frankfort, Harrodsburg, Henderson, Hopkinsville, Lancaster, Lebanon, Lexington, Liberty, Louisville, Middletown, Morehead, New Haven, Olive Hill, Owensboro, Owenton, Paducah, Richmond, Somerset, Williamstown. Classes have also been conducted in Jeffersonville and Speed, Indiana; Logan, Ohio and Huntington, West Virginia.

Every year the Department mails questionnaires to all affiliated local unions. Kentucky A.F.L. Locals affiliated with the Kentucky State Federation of Labor pay no fee for labor classes.

INSTITUTES

In addition to a year 'round program of night classes throughout the State, the Department frequently sponsors week-end labor training Institutes.

Since 1946, the Department has conducted *36* Institutes in Paducah, Louisville, Frankfort, Lexington, Ashland, and Olive Hill, and Huntington, W. Va.

Total attendance for the 36 Institutes: 1,541.

ARBITRATIONS

Since the Department was set up in 1946, the Staff has assisted Kentucky A.F.L. locals in 18 arbitrations – PARTICULARLY SMALL LOCAL UNIONS THAT CANNOT AFFORD FULL-TIME REPRESENTATION!

NEGOTIATIONS

The Department Staff has assisted directly in 22 contract negotiations since 1946. This does not include assistance in drawing up contract clauses, research on wage-control problems, cost-of-living data, Taft-Hartley Act.

ORGANIZATION DRIVES

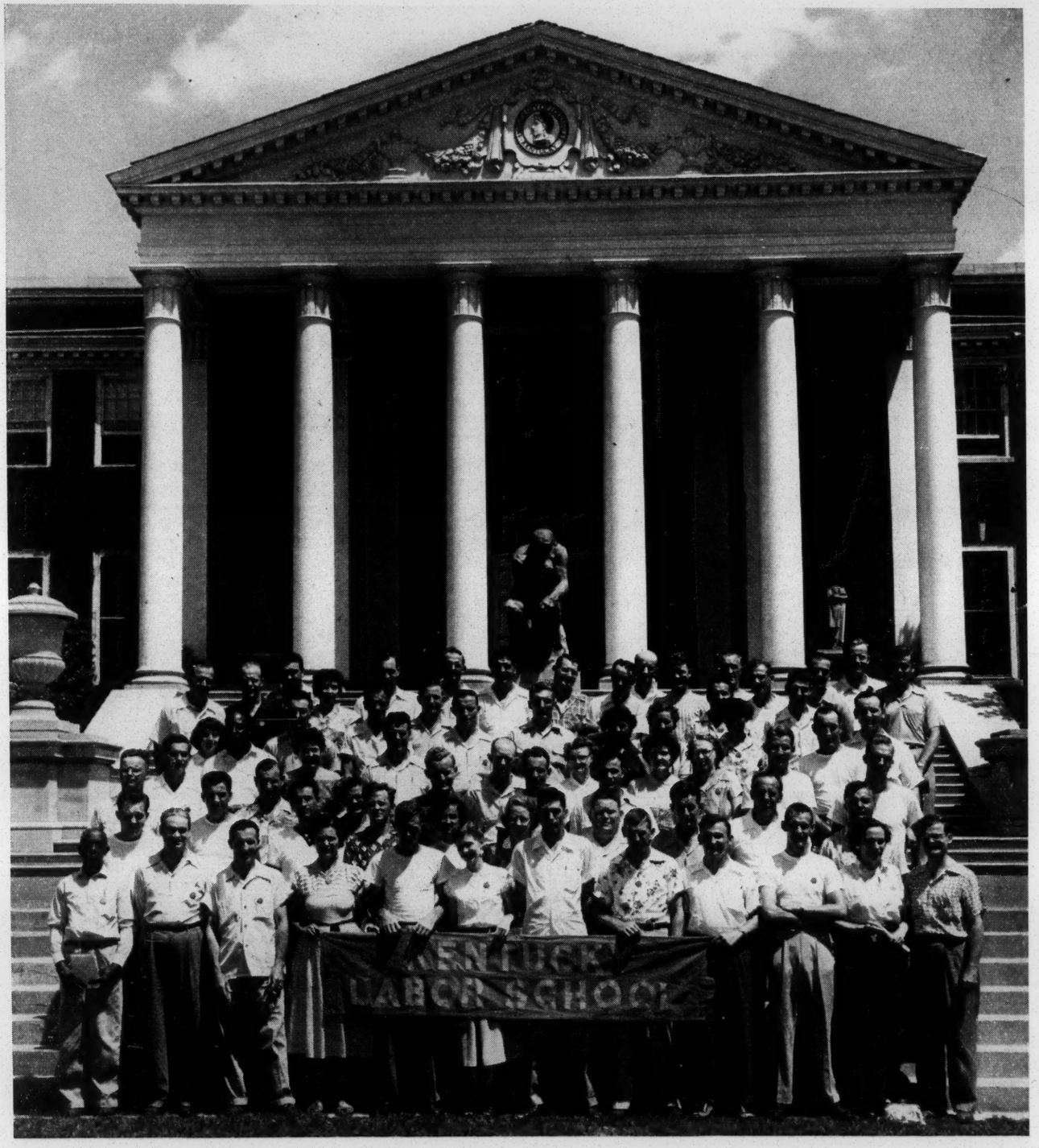
The Department of Research & Education has rendered service in organization drives for Bakery Workers, Woodworkers, Firemen & Oilers, Hotel & Restaurant Employees, Chemical Workers, Engravers, Butchers, Dairy Workers, Ironworkers, Automobile Workers International, Office Employees, Textile Workers, Carpenters, Electrical Workers, Teachers, Barbers, Stagehands, State, County & Municipal Employees, Metal Polishers, Coopers – and others – as well as direct assistance to AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR drives. The Staff assists by speaking at meetings, assisting with handbills and other publications, working with organizers on NLRB problems, showing movies, film-strips . . .

The Department has published and copyrighted the organizational leaflet "*8 Million Strong*". To date, over 20,000 copies of the leaflet have been distributed in A.F.L. organization drives throughout the country. Other printed organization material is available from the Department's offices.

NLRB HEARINGS

The Staff of the Department represents A.F.L. unions in hearings before the National Labor Relations Board on NLRB elections and unfair labor practices preferred against employers from time to time. This saves a substantial legal fee in many instances. The Staff keeps an active file on NLRB procedure together with the many necessary forms and petitions. Free notary service is available to all A.F.L. Locals in Kentucky. Two members of the Staff are "notaries at large" for the entire State of Kentucky.

Kentucky Labor Schools Top Them All



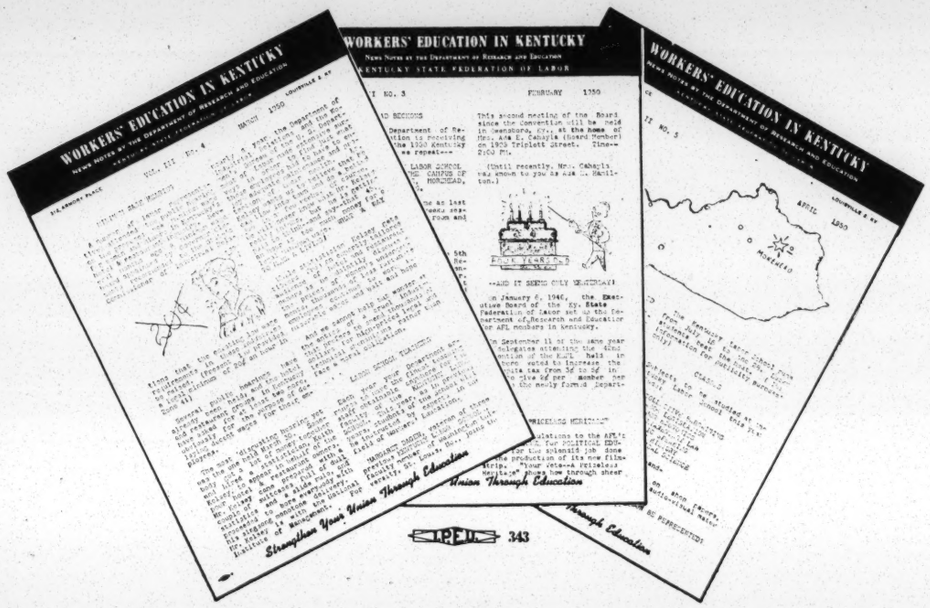
The Kentucky State Federation of Labor is the ONLY state federation conducting its own LABOR SCHOOL. The K.F.L.'s Department of Research & Education has conducted SEVEN annual TWO-WEEK Labor Schools at Richmond, Morehead, and Louisville.

For a nominal fee, A.F.L. locals, central bodies, trades councils, and internationals, may provide their officers and members with the finest labor training available.

394 Diplomas have been issued to students of the 7 Kentucky Labor Schools held since 1946.

PUBLIC RELATIONS

The K.F.L. Department of Research & Education considers the field of public relations to be an important task and never overlooks an opportunity to lecture at high schools, colleges and universities, or before civic and fraternal organizations. The Staff of the Department of Research & Education, since 1946, has appeared on 64 radio and television programs concerning labor! The Department mails labor publications regularly free of charge to instructors in Kentucky colleges and universities.



Since July, 1947 the Department has mailed monthly newsletters of its activities and available services to all Kentucky affiliates, as well as Kentucky Labor School alumni.

STAFF

The Advisory Board of the Department of Research & Education meets six times a year to chart the course of the labor education training program of the A.F.L. in Kentucky. These trade unionists serve without compensation, and are elected by Convention to serve two-year terms.

SAM EZELLE, *Director*

JIM WOLFE, *Assistant Director*

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DEPARTMENT OF RESEARCH & EDUCATION
KENTUCKY STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR

312 Armory Place — Louisville 2, Ky. — CLay 7761

Labor in Israel NEWSLETTER

January, 1953

GROWTH OF HISTADRUT At the Histadrut National Council meeting last October, it was reported that Histadrut had 503,000 members. With their families Histadrut members total about 750,000, or more than half the population of Israel. The percentage of organized labor in Israel is very high. About 75% of all organizable workers and wage-earners are organized in Histadrut. Some 10% more are organized in three smaller Unions, two of which are incorporated into the Trade Union activities and Health Insurance plans of Histadrut. All of them joined Histadrut in creating the General Labor Exchange, run jointly by the Unions and Government, which controls practically the entire Labor market. Only 15% of all workers and wage-earners in Israel are as yet unorganized.

PROBLEMS OF IMMIGRATION While Israel has doubled its population in the past 4½ years, Histadrut has nearly tripled its membership during the same period. Two out of three of our members are newcomers, the bulk of whom had not been workers in countries of their origin and possess no skill or profession and our organization has to see to it that the new member learns a trade and improves his skill.

PROBLEMS OF INFLATION Due to the great influx of immigrants and the inadequate rise in capital investments, we have been living under the shadow of inflation for the last few years. The government has adopted deflationary measures in its financial and fiscal policy, which have changed the situation. Histadrut has been successful in obtaining through overall bargaining, an automatic sliding wage scale adjusted quarterly to the official index of commodity prices. But the worker in Israel understands well enough that a fatter pay envelope in itself does not meet his needs. Our organization has adopted the policy of linking a higher income to a higher output, without invalidating the present sliding wage scale. We are in the process of establishing joint production boards in all industries in order to give the worker say in how to raise efficiency and thus solve some problems of our national economy and incidentally achieve higher wages.

HISTADRUT AS A COLONIZER AND AN ENTREPRENEUR Our functions are much wider than those of a Trade Union. For the last two or three decades our Labor movement had to help build the economy of the country, hand in hand with building its Union. We found in Palestine a devastated, deserted country that could be reclaimed only through great pioneering efforts. Labor pioneers established a vast network of cooperative agricultural settlements. But later on, when new frontiers had to be opened in difficult and dangerous parts of our old-new country, Labor had to provide capital besides manpower. No private person was prepared to take the risk of a doubtful investment. Thus a wide network of cooperatives and economic institutions in agriculture, building trades, transport services, housing, marketing, distribution, insurance, banking, came into being. The result is that today 155,000 Histadrut members belong to cooperatives or are employed in one of our own enterprises.

Fraternally yours,

Moshe Bitan

Moshe Bitan, American Representative
Executive Board of Histadrut in Israel

HISTADRUT HOUSE • 33 East 67th Street, New York 21, N. Y. • Tel.: REgent 4-6010

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JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE

25 East 78th Street New York 21, N. Y.

Telephone: LEhigh 5-3700

Memorandum

To: WORKERS' EDUCATION & CIVIL RIGHTS COMMITTEES

From: BETTY KAYE

Subject:

Date: March 9, 1953

Enclosed you will find a copy of an editorial and statement on Soviet Anti-Semitism signed by 35 prominent Catholic lay and religious leaders, which we are now distributing in co-operation with COMMONWEAL. Up to 50 additional copies are available free of charge from the Jewish Labor Committee.

It will undoubtedly interest you to know that the National Catholic Welfare Conference is distributing copies of this reprint to the 5000 members of its Social Action Committee.

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Southern Regional Council

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A Catholic Statement on Soviet Anti-Semitism

Reprinted from the February 20th, 1953 issue of THE COMMONWEAL

THE BEGINNING AGAIN

PERSECUTION indeed has been the terrible destiny of the Jewish people, for more than any others they have borne the wrath of blinded man, as he makes anger and despair into a creed.

Now it happens again in the Communist-dominated world. Anti-Semitism has been in the past an occasional tool for Communism, but now, in Prague and Moscow, the Soviets have openly begun a campaign against the Jews.

The outside world can only protest. Conceivably, a protest could be made which would influence Soviet policy. The outraged opinion of the non-Communist world might slow the Soviets; not even Hitler would have gone to the ghastly limit of gas-chambers, multilation and human experimentation had his people fully known what was happening, and had the world spoken loudly when persecution began. We are now at the beginning again. It is particularly important that non-Jews speak, for there must be a solidarity of free men in something like this. When Jews are threatened, we are threatened; just as the arrests of priests and the subversion of Catholic churches behind the Iron Curtain cast a shadow of threat on the Jews, the next group with independent allegiance and a devotion to something beyond Caesar.

If we protest, and make the Soviet and satellite peoples, those who have radios to hear with, know what is beginning, then we have at least a chance to prevent a repetition of the Hitler years. If we fail to speak out, we will forfeit the only opportunity we can expect to be given, and must share an implicit responsibility for whatever may come.

On the following page, certain American Catholics make such a protest. Catholics representing almost every part of the American community and almost every shade of political opinion join this magazine in condemning Soviet policy, and in commiserating with the Jewish world in its new agony. Those who signed this statement were arbitrarily chosen because they were prominent in a great variety of callings.

We are sorry that more could not have been invited to sign, but obviously every Catholic who really believes his profession of faith shares in the convictions of this statement, so these representative names must be taken as the names of a multitude of American Catholics.

We speak out; but against fratricide words are miserably weak. For whatever it may accomplish, we are on record to the world of men. The only other words can be addressed to God, Who listens to those who suffer, and to those who fast and pray.

A Catholic Statement on Soviet Anti-Semitism

WE call upon the conscience of the world through governments and the United Nations to protest against the outrageous new Anti-Semitism of the Communist world, and in David's words we pray that God will deliver the Jews from the hands of their enemies and from those who persecute them. Having seen our fellow Catholics persecuted by the Soviets, we offer special sympathy to Jews in their new trial, in this latest threat of genocide in our time.

John S. Burke
President, B. Altman & Co.

Bing Crosby
Actor, Singer

Edward Curley
President, Association of Catholic Trade Unionists

Mrs. William H. Dalton
President, National Council of Catholic Women

Dorothy Day
Editor, The Catholic Worker

William J. Donovan
Attorney, Former Head, Office of Strategic Services

Eddie Dowling
Actor, Producer

Martin P. Durkin
United States Secretary of Labor

Rt. Rev. Baldwin Dworschak, O.S.B.
Abbot, Saint John's Abbey, Collegeville, Minn.

James A. Farley
President, Coca Cola Export Co.

Robert Giroux
Editor, Harcourt, Brace

J. Peter Grace, Jr.
President, W. R. Grace & Co.

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United States Senator from Massachusetts

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Drama Critic, New York Herald Tribune

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Associate Editor, America

Emmet Lavery
Playwright, Screen Writer

Clare Boothe Luce
Writer, Ambassador-Designate to Italy

Sister Mary Madeleva, C.S.C.
President, Saint Mary's College, Notre Dame

Jacques Maritain
Philosopher, Princeton University

Eugene J. McCarthy
United States Representative from Minnesota

Very Rev. Laurence J. McGinley, S.J.
President, Fordham University

George Meany
President, American Federation of Labor

Rev. Thomas A. Meehan
President, The Catholic Press Association

Jo Mielziner
Theatrical Designer

Stephen A. Mitchell
Chairman, Democratic National Committee

James A. Mulvey
President, Samuel Goldwyn Productions

James E. Murray
United States Senator from Montana

Francis I. Nally
President, National Council of Catholic Men

Rt. Rev. Msgr. John O'Grady
Secretary, National Conference of Catholic Charities

George N. Shuster
President, Hunter College

Otto Spaeth
Board of Directors, Americans for Democratic Action

Harold A. Stevens
President, Catholic Interracial Council

John E. Swift
Supreme Knight, Knights of Columbus

Allen Tate
Poet, Critic

Jane Wyatt
Actress

The Editors of *The Commonweal*

386 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

Labor in Israel NEWSLETTER

VOLUME ONE - NUMBER TWO

February, 1953

How Histadrut Functions

The structure of Histadrut differs considerably from that of the American trade union movement.

A new member does not join a specific trade union but the Histadrut as a whole; only then does he automatically become a member of a local and national trade union.

The member pays his dues to the Histadrut, not to his Union. The reason for this overall priority of the general federation is that Israel is a country of mass immigration and the labor movement wishes to keep its doors open to all the newcomers.

Histadrut has set up local Labor Councils (corresponding to your City-Councils) which handle all the affairs of the workers in a given locality, which have jurisdiction over the local unions.

As can be seen from the chart, the trade union activities are only one of the functions of Histadrut. Israeli labor is deeply interested and therefore active in the field of social security, constructive economic enterprises, culture, vocational training, education and others indicated on the chart.

The pure trade union matters are handled on three levels: local, through the local union which operates under the local labor council; national, through one of the 23 existing national trade unions; and the overall level, dealing with such matters as wage policy, laid down by the Trade Union Department operating under the Executive Committee.

Officers are elected by direct, secret ballot of the individual workers. Candidates are put forward by various parties within the federation, and chosen on the basis of proportional representation. The General Convention is convoked every four years.

The Convention elects the GENERAL COUNCIL, which in turn elects the EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. This body then names its EXECUTIVE BUREAU and GENERAL SECRETARY, who are responsible for the daily conduct of business. Each of the departments listed on the chart is headed by a member of the Executive Committee.

Labor in Israel NEWSLETTER

VOLUME ONE - NUMBER FOUR

April, 1953

Israeli Trade Unions

Our General Federation of Labor has been in existence for 32 years. I should like to try here to tell you briefly what we have achieved as a trade union over these years.

We have succeeded in organizing farm labor and industrial workers as well as the white collar workers and the professions. Of 503,000 regular Histadrut members at the end of October, 1952,

348,000 were employed by private capital and to a smaller extent in government service;
95,300 were self-employed as members of farming, industrial, marketing or service cooperatives;
45,200 were employed by Histadrut-owned companies in industry, construction work, etc.;
14,500 were Histadrut and Sick Fund employees (administrative, medical, etc.).

Histadrut members are organized by occupation in 30 national unions. The largest of these are the Agricultural Workers Union, Building and Building Trades Union, Union of Government Employees, Clerical Union, Metal Workers Union, Textile Workers Union, Woodworkers Union and Teachers Union.

Wage Conditions

Our trade union policy is based on collective bargaining. Practically every trade has its own fixed wage scale. Having organized 75% of the country's workers, Histadrut naturally has a decisive say in all matters of wage policy. The worker's pay envelope includes basis wages, cost-of-living allowances, production bonuses, length-of-service increments and family allowances (based on the number of dependents). Workers are hired through labor exchanges which are run jointly by Histadrut and three smaller independent unions. Hiring through these labor exchanges gets much the same results as you do through your "union shop." Dismissal of workers is regulated by our contracts, which call for a stated period of notice and provide for the order in which employees may be dismissed.

Social Benefits

Our accumulated social benefits run as high as 25% and sometimes as high as 40% of gross wages. These benefits naturally vary from one industry to another and sometimes from one union to another. About half of all Histadrut members get two weeks paid vacation a year, but many get three weeks or more. A new law guarantees a minimum of 12 days paid vacation a year. Most of our contracts provide for paid holidays, paid maternity leave (up to two months of full

0393

Virginia

Trends in Employment Hours and Earnings

VIRGINIA STATE DEPARTMENT
OF LABOR AND INDUSTRY

In cooperation with
U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics

Volume 3 - No. 8 August 26, 1953

VIRGINIA NONFARM EMPLOYMENT HIGHER IN JULY

Virginia nonagricultural employment increased by 1,600 workers to a level of 902,100 in July, according to Edmond M. Boggs, Commissioner, Virginia Department of Labor and Industry in a report prepared in cooperation with the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Virginia nonfarm employment is strongly influenced by seasonal factors. Employment gains have been made each month since February, 1953, the seasonal low point. If the employment trend follows the pattern of previous years, employment should continue to increase until the end of the year.

VIRGINIA MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES

Approximately 400 workers were added to manufacturing payrolls between mid-June and mid-July. During the same period, however, the average manufacturing workweek declined by 1.8 hours.

Durable goods employment increased by 500 workers reflecting gains of 500 employees in transportation equipment, 100 in saw mills and planning mills, and 200 in miscellaneous durable goods industries which more than offset declines of 200 workers engaged in manufacturing household and office furniture and 100 employees of stone, clay, and glass plants. Although the durable goods workweek declined 1.1 hours over-the-month, it continued in July to exceed a 40 hour average, indicating that overtime work in durable goods industries is still widespread.

Employment in nondurable goods industries dropped by 100 workers during the month. An 800 reduction in textile workers, centered in broad woven fabric mills and yarn and thread mills, and a 300 worker decline in food employment, with major reductions in canneries, more than counterbalanced rising employment in other nondurable goods industries. Employment was up in apparel, leather, tobacco, printing, and chemicals industries. Helping to raise chemicals employment was a seasonal up-swing in activity in plants processing animal and vegetable oils.

The 220,400 production workers employed in Virginia manufacturing establishments, earned an average of $54.46 per week, worked an average of 38.9 hours per week, and were paid an average of $1.40 per hour. Contrasted with a year ago, the average workweek was 1.9 hours shorter, average weekly earnings were sixty cents higher, and average hourly earnings were eight cents higher.

VIRGINIA NONMANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES

Nonmanufacturing employment reached a level of 647,700 in mid-July as a result of an over-the-month addition of 1,200 workers. Seasonal expansion in employment in contract construction, trucking, and financial institutions boosted the nonmanufacturing total. Soft coal mining, trade, and government were lower this month.

HOURS AND EARNINGS IN THE RICHMOND STANDARD METROPOLITAN AREA

The 30,400 production workers in manufacturing establishments in the Richmond Metropolitan Area earned an average of $58.31 a week, worked an average of 39.4 hours a week, and were paid an average of $1.48 per hour. Compared with last year, the average workweek was .6 hours shorter, average weekly earnings were seventy-one cents higher, and average hourly earnings were four cents higher.

HOURS AND EARNINGS IN THE NORFOLK-PORTSMOUTH STANDARD METROPOLITAN AREA

The 12,900 production workers in manufacturing establishments in the Norfolk-Portsmouth Metropolitan Area, earned an average of $60.15 a week, worked an average of 41.2 hours per week, and were paid an average of $1.46 per hour. In relation to the same month last year, the average workweek was .2 hours shorter, average weekly earnings were $4.67 higher, and average hourly earnings were twelve cents higher.

ESTIMATED HOURS AND EARNINGS IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES
RICHMOND METROPOLITAN AREA

INDUSTRY GROUP	AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS			AVERAGE WEEKLY HOURS			AVERAGE HOURLY EARNINGS		
	July 1953	June 1953	July 1952	July 1953	June 1953	July 1952	July 1953	June 1953	July 1952
ALL MANUFACTURING	$58.31	$58.51	$57.60	39.4	39.8	40.0	$1.48	$1.47	$1.44
Durable Goods	59.00	59.73	56.10	43.7	43.6	42.5	1.35	1.37	1.32
Lumber and Wood Prod. (except furniture)	46.64	46.22	49.72	42.4	42.8	44.0	1.10	1.08	1.13
Fabricated Metals Industries	71.07	71.07	62.93	44.7	44.7	43.1	1.59	1.59	1.46
Fabricated Structural Metal Products	60.18	59.88	54.32	41.5	41.3	38.8	1.45	1.45	1.40
Nondurable Goods	58.06	58.05	57.77	38.2	38.7	39.3	1.52	1.50	1.47
Apparel and other Finished Products	47.34	49.34	44.23	36.7	37.1	35.1	1.29	1.33	1.26
Food and Kindred Products	53.54	56.01	52.12	41.5	44.1	41.7	1.29	1.27	1.25
Tobacco Products	48.93	48.64	56.23	34.7	34.5	39.6	1.41	1.41	1.42
Cigarettes	56.16	51.92	63.99	36.0	33.5	42.1	1.56	1.55	1.52
Paper and Allied Products	66.37	57.51	53.15	48.8	42.6	41.2	1.36	1.35	1.29
Printing, Publishing, and Allied Products	65.10	65.45	58.66	41.2	40.4	37.6	1.58	1.62	1.56
Chemicals and Allied Products	77.11	72.44	70.45	40.8	39.8	41.2	1.89	1.82	1.71

Note: Data cover approximately 30,400 production workers and are computed on a gross basis. These are affected by such factors as premium pay for overtime and shift differential, as well as changes in basic hourly and incentive rates of pay.

AVERAGE WEEKLY
ESTIMATED HOURS AND EARNINGS IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES
NORFOLK-PORTSMOUTH METROPOLITAN AREA

INDUSTRY GROUP	AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS			AVERAGE WEEKLY HOURS			AVERAGE HOURLY EARNINGS		
	July 1953	June 1953*	July 1952	July 1953	June 1953*	July 1952	July 1953	June 1953*	July 1952
ALL MANUFACTURING	$60.15	$58.46	$55.48	41.2	40.6	41.4	$1.46	$1.44	$1.34
Lumber and Wood Products	44.20	44.40	39.90	42.1	41.5	40.3	1.05	1.07	.99
Fabricated Metals Industries	60.64	62.25	60.51	37.9	39.4	38.3	1.60	1.58	1.58
Transportation Equipment	82.34	80.04	72.52	43.8	42.8	43.2	1.88	1.87	1.68
Chemicals and Allied Products	60.18	56.94	58.42	41.5	40.1	43.6	1.45	1.42	1.34

Note: Data cover approximately 12,900 production workers and are computed on a gross basis. These are affected by such factors as premium pay for overtime and shift differential, as well as changes in basic hourly and incentive rates of pay.

* Revised

ESTIMATED EMPLOYMENT IN NONAGRICULTURAL INDUSTRIES IN VIRGINIA

INDUSTRY GROUP	EMPLOYMENT (In Thousands of Employees)			NET CHANGE FROM	
	July 1953	June 1953	July 1952	June 1953	July 1952
NONAGRICULTURAL	902.1	900.5	891.0	1.6	11.1
MANUFACTURING	254.4	254.0	242.6	.4	11.8
Durable Goods	89.2	88.7	84.3	.5	4.9
Primary Metals Industries	3.6	3.6	3.6	0	0
Fabricated Metals Industries	7.2	7.2	6.0	0	1.2
Fabricated Structural Metal Products	4.1	4.0	3.2	.1	.9
Transportation Equipment	19.9	19.4	19.3	.5	.6
Lumber and Wood Products (except furniture)	28.9	28.8	28.5	.1	.4
Wooden Containers	3.2	3.2	3.1	0	.1
Furniture and Fixtures	14.1	14.3	13.0	- .2	1.1
Household and Office Furniture	13.1	13.3	12.0	- .2	1.1
Stone, Clay, and Glass Products	7.0	7.1	7.2	- .1	- .2
Concrete, Gypsum and Plaster Products	3.2	3.2	3.4	0	- .2
Other Durable Goods*	8.5	8.3	6.7	.2	1.8
Nondurable Goods	165.2	165.3	158.3	- .1	6.9
Textile Mill Products	38.8	39.6	40.2	- .8	- 1.4
Broad Woven Fabric Mills	23.6	24.3	24.8	- .7	- 1.2
Knitting Mills	7.2	7.2	7.0	0	.2
Apparel and Other Finished Products	19.1	18.9	17.5	.2	1.6
Men's and Boys' Clothing	12.0	11.8	10.9	.2	1.1
Leather and Leather Products	5.7	5.6	5.8	.1	- .1
Footwear (except rubber)	4.2	4.1	4.2	.1	0
Food and Kindred Products	24.9	25.2	23.6	- .3	1.3
Tobacco Products	13.5	13.4	13.3	.1	.2
Cigarettes	7.4	7.7	7.6	- .3	- .2
Paper and Allied Products	10.8	10.8	10.3	0	.5
Pulp, Paper and Paperboard Mills	6.7	6.7	6.6	0	.1
Printing, Publishing and Allied Products	7.5	7.5	7.6	0	- .1
Newspapers and Periodicals	4.1	4.0	4.0	.1	.1
Chemicals and Allied Products	43.8	43.1	39.1	.7	4.7
Industrial Organic Chemicals	33.6	33.4	29.6	.2	4.0
Fertilizer	2.1	2.2	1.9	- .1	.2
Other Nondurable Goods**	1.1	1.2	.9	- .1	.2
NONMANUFACTURING	647.7	646.5	648.4	1.2	- .7
Mining	17.4	17.8	20.8	- .4	- 3.4
Bituminous Mining	14.1	14.5	17.6	- .4	- 3.5
Contract Construction	64.8	63.9	70.2	.9	- 5.4
Transportation, Communication, and Other Public Utilities	86.6	86.2	84.2	.4	2.4
Railroads (interstate)	33.7	33.7	32.5	0	1.2
Telephone, Telegraph and Related Service	12.0	11.8	11.5	.2	.5
Electric and Gas Utilities	8.7	8.7	8.3	0	.4
Trade	199.8	200.3	195.5	- .5	4.3
Wholesale	46.4	46.6	41.3	- .2	5.1
Retail	153.4	153.7	154.2	- .3	- .8
General Merchandise Stores	30.0	30.3	30.1	- .3	- .1
Department Stores	16.5	16.7	17.0	- .2	- .5
Limited Price Variety Stores	7.4	7.7	7.5	- .3	- .1
Food and Liquor Stores	25.7	25.9	25.3	- .2	.4
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	36.3	34.9	33.4	1.4	2.9
Services	85.0	84.7	85.1	.3	- .1
Hotels	9.9	9.7	9.8	- .2	- .3
Personal Services	21.1	21.4	22.4	- .3	- 1.3
Government	157.8	158.7	159.2	- .9	- 1.4
Federal	76.6	75.9	80.3	.7	- 3.7
State and Local Government	81.2	82.8	78.9	-1.6	2.3

Note: Current month's estimates are preliminary. Previous month's figures subject to revision. Estimates include all full-time and part-time wage and salary workers who worked during or received pay for the pay period ending nearest the fifteenth of the month.

* Includes machinery, professional, scientific, and controlling instruments, and miscellaneous manufacturing.

** Includes products of petroleum and coal, and rubber products.

ESTIMATED HOURS AND EARNINGS IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES
VIRGINIA

INDUSTRY GROUP	AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS			AVERAGE WEEKLY HOURS			AVERAGE HOURLY EARNINGS		
	July 1953	June 1953*	July 1952	July 1953	June 1953*	July 1952	July 1953	June 1953*	July 1952
ALL MANUFACTURING	$54.46	$57.39	$53.86	38.9	40.7	40.8	$1.40	$1.41	$1.32
Durable Goods	56.42	57.13	54.18	40.3	41.4	42.0	1.40	1.38	1.29
Primary Metals Industries	65.76	64.78	62.36	40.1	39.5	41.3	1.64	1.64	1.51
Fabricated Metals Industries	73.04	71.28	62.31	44.0	44.0	42.1	1.66	1.62	1.48
Fabricated Structural Metal Products	74.69	73.10	61.70	42.2	42.5	39.3	1.77	1.72	1.57
Transportation Equipment	84.25	85.90	79.06	41.3	41.7	45.7	2.04	2.06	1.73
Furniture and Fixtures	42.78	46.34	45.67	37.2	40.3	41.9	1.15	1.15	1.09
Household and Office Furniture	42.55	46.23	45.78	37.0	40.2	42.0	1.15	1.15	1.09
Stone, Clay, and Glass Products	52.42	52.04	48.72	41.6	41.3	40.6	1.26	1.26	1.20
Nondurable Goods	53.72	57.77	52.65	38.1	40.4	39.0	1.41	1.43	1.35
Textile Mill Products	47.52	47.35	49.63	35.2	35.6	37.6	1.35	1.33	1.32
Broad Woven Fabric Mills	45.75	46.33	48.60	34.4	35.1	37.1	1.33	1.32	1.31
Knitting Mills	41.89	42.84	45.24	35.2	36.0	37.7	1.19	1.19	1.20
Apparel and Other Finished Products	38.48	39.54	36.26	36.3	37.3	35.2	1.06	1.06	1.03
Men's and Boys' Clothing	35.54	37.40	33.12	35.9	37.4	34.5	.99	1.00	.96
Leather and Leather Products	44.49	48.20	46.62	37.7	40.5	42.0	1.18	1.19	1.11
Footwear, (except rubber)	39.38	43.82	44.62	36.8	40.2	42.9	1.07	1.09	1.04
Food and Kindred Products	49.62	50.98	48.02	41.7	43.2	41.4	1.19	1.18	1.16
Tobacco Products	48.69	47.74	51.61	35.8	35.1	39.1	1.36	1.36	1.32
Cigarettes	56.24	51.79	60.71	37.0	34.3	41.3	1.52	1.51	1.47
Paper and Allied Products	63.80	66.40	60.44	41.7	43.4	41.4	1.53	1.53	1.46
Pulp, Paper, and Paperboard Mills	69.47	75.60	65.47	41.6	45.0	41.7	1.67	1.68	1.57
Printing, Publishing, and Allied Products	69.55	69.81	67.07	41.9	41.8	41.4	1.66	1.67	1.62
Chemicals and Allied Products	66.80	66.57	62.24	40.0	40.1	39.9	1.67	1.66	1.56
Industrial Organic Chemicals	69.78	69.48	64.78	39.2	39.7	39.5	1.78	1.75	1.64
Fertilizer	52.93	53.20	53.62	39.5	40.0	42.9	1.34	1.33	1.25

Note: Data cover approximately 220,400 production workers and are computed on a gross basis. These are affected by such factors as premium pay for overtime and shift differential, as well as changes in basic hourly and incentive rates of pay.

* Revised

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Norman, Oklahoma
October 4-9, 1953

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News Letter

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American Federation of Labor
1525 H Street, N. W., Washington 5, D. C.

VOL. XV, No. 11 **NOVEMBER, 1953** **Ten Cents**

RECEIVED NOV 12 Southern Regional Council

Outstanding Southern AFL Labor School in Oklahoma

Students and Faculty of School at Norman

Ninety delegates from Southern state federations and city central bodies, with one Austrian and eight German trade unionists, plus an interpreter, and the general secretary of the Norwegian Workers Educational Association, made up the student body of what all agreed was one of the best AFL labor schools ever held. The second Southern AFL Labor School, held from October 4 to 9 on the campus of the University of Oklahoma in Norman, even surpassed the 1952 session held in Florida.

Great credit is due to the board of control, composed of the presidents and secretary-treasurers of the Southern state federations of labor, whose executive committee had drawn up a program which included classes taught by seven experts and evening sessions with guest speakers. Consultants on the entire program were J. L. Rhodes of the organization staff of the AFL and John D. Connors, director of its Workers Education Bureau.

At a meeting of the board of control held during the session of the School, Stanton E. Smith, of Tennessee, formerly secretary-treasurer, was unanimously elected president; E. J. Bourg of Louisiana, secretary-treasurer; and J. S. Smith of Virginia and S. V. Zinn of Arkansas, members of the executive committee. Re-elected unanimously as vice-president was W. L. Hines of Mississippi.

The School opened officially on Sunday evening, October 4, with a dinner meeting, at which the various leaders were introduced. In the unavoidable absence of President Cross of the University, Dr. Thurman White, dean of the extension division, extended his greetings. He told the group that 40,000 people used the Adult Education Center, where the School was held, in the course of a year and the University was most happy to have the AFL group using it.

Biemiller Discusses 83rd Congress

The keynote speaker at the Sunday evening session was Andrew J. Biemiller of the National Legislative Committee of the AFL, formerly Congressman from Wisconsin, who discussed "The Reactionary Attack on Social Legislation". In reporting on the first session of the 83rd Congress, he called attention to the cuts in the various government departments, particularly those in the Department of Labor, where one fourth of the inspectors of the Wages and Hours Division have been dropped, as well as one third of the attorneys. He attacked the administration's "give away" program, in connection with grazing lands, mineral rights, offshore oil, etc. Referring to the last named, he said he could understand why senators in the states immediately concerned might vote against the Lister Hill amendment to the Tidelands Oil Bill, but could not see why the senators from 44 other states did so. Mr. Biemiller pointed out that the TVA was under attack, as was the whole federal program of dam-building and river control. How, he asked, can the 29 states now operating in the red carry on the additional

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

George Meany.....President
Wm. F. Schnitlzer.....Sec'y.-Treas.

WORKERS EDUCATION BUREAU

JOHN D. CONNORS, Director • BESS K. ROBERTS, Editor

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services being turned back to them by the federal government?

Stressing the fact of the ever-present lack of adequate funds for education, Mr. Biemiller pointed out that the further cuts in such funds will produce a still greater crisis in this important field. Another social service which is threatened is the health and hospital program for merchant seamen, which the federal government started back in 1798.

Summing up, he stated that, with the "hard money" policy, the threat of a sales or manufacturers' tax, the turning over to private industry at 20¢ on the dollar of the synthetic rubber plants developed by the federal government, the picture was dark and foreboding.

On Tuesday evening J. L. Rhodes opened the session with a talk on "The New Look in the AFL" under the dynamic leadership of the new officers. He described the new set-up of the Organization Department, under which there are 14 regions in the country, with three of these in the Southern states; and then gave a brief report of the highlights of the St. Louis convention.

Following Mr. Rhodes's talk, a panel of officers of state federations told what their organizations were doing in the field of workers' education.

Labor Films Shown

Monday and Wednesday evenings were devoted to community singing, led by Jack Smith, president of the Virginia State Federation of Labor, and the showing and discussion of films. On Monday evening the two films shown were "The Seafarers" and "Labor 1953"; while on Wednesday evening the delegates saw and discussed "What Is a Co-op?" and "The UAW-AFL Story".

At the last evening session of the School, the students were privileged to hear an eloquent presentation of "The Challenge of Communism to Democracy" by Dr. George S. Counts of Teachers College, Columbia University, former president of the American Federation of Teachers.

In the classes, five of which held daily sessions during the School, the student-delegates gained much valuable knowledge which they could put into practice back in their home states.

Problems of taxation were considered by Arthur A. Elder, tax consultant of the AFL. He traced the development of the income tax as an effective instrument of progressive tax policy and analyzed the recent successes and continuing efforts of special interest groups to weaken the income tax. Local and state limitations on property taxes, combined with limited taxes on personal and business income throughout the South, were cited as favors leading to heavier dependence on taxes on consumers which were not providing revenue sufficient to meet needs.

There was general agreement that state and local services were not being adequately nor equitably supported and that the federal government with its greater taxing power should face up to its responsibility for assisting both local and state units of government in providing necessary services.

Five interesting sessions on Public Speaking were taught by Professor Robinson of the Department of Speech of the University of Oklahoma.

Michael Magee, in his course on Collective Bargaining, declared that magicians often prove that the hand is quicker than the eye, but their deception of spectators is harmless and even enjoyable. However, the deceptions practiced by many "magicians" employed by big corporations to hornswoggle unions in collective bargaining are not harmless—their "tricks" cost YOU money. He gave examples of tricky contract phrasing which succeeded in denying to workers benefits that had been agreed upon at the bargaining table.

Among other problems discussed were the psychological effects of time study and the pitfalls of settling for "guaranteed" overtime instead of setting decent wage rates. Company prerogatives in current contracts came under examination—with stress upon the danger of runaway shops and the recurrence of ghost towns due to the company's right to locate or move plants at will. The human relations training now being given foremen in many plants was analyzed, and the growing importance of fringe benefits in contracts was discussed.

Students brought up their own actual contract problems and all agreed that the exchange of information was mutually beneficial. It was further agreed that the collective bargaining agreement can be only as good as the existing laws will allow.

In Mr. Connors's course on Workers' Education, which had to be condensed into two sessions because of his other commitments, he had the assistance of Ted Williams, director of education and research of the Alabama State Federation, as resource person. He discussed the types of programs conducted by state federations: those with a full-time education and research department; those with a director who must often combine other duties with educational work; and those which have to depend upon any spare time the state federation officers may have. Mr. Connors stressed the point that an educational program should always be under the control of the officers and executive board of the state federation and all programs must be integrated into the regular union program and help to implement it. He closed his sessions with a general discussion of the various methods and techniques which can be used in a workers' education program.

Political Action Reviewed by Duncan

In the three class sessions on Political Action, taught by Thomas Duncan of Labor's League for Political Education, there was much interest in the technical side of political activity—registration, qualifications for voting, the poll tax, getting voters to the polls, the use of telephones, automobiles, and literature at election time, and the importance of labor's getting into the political picture early enough to influence the selection of candidates.

Perhaps the outstanding features of the classes was the evidence from every state represented of a strong desire for some sort of unity on the political front between labor and farm organizations. Mr. Duncan asserted that today the farmer is suffering from a sly and complicated attack upon his standard of living by Agriculture Secretary Benson and Treasury Secretary Humphrey. He told of the cooperative efforts of farm and labor organizations and declared that every piece of labor legislation on the books, whether state or federal, was passed with the aid of votes from representatives of overwhelmingly rural areas. It was explained that gerrymandering by both political parties made it forever impossible for urban voters to be represented in the House of Representatives according to population. Accordingly, political cooperation between labor and farm groups in the House was a necessity, as it was in the state legislatures, where the same conditions existed.

The five classes on Labor Law led by Professor Brinker of the Department of Economics of the University of Oklahoma devoted two hours to the Taft-Hartley Act, and one each to anti-trust legislation, right-to-work bills, and such other labor laws as the Wages and Hours Law, the Social Security Act, Workmen's Compensation Laws, etc.

On anti-trust legislation, it was found that cases were decided primarily on the basis of the judge's viewpoint—whether he was conservative or liberal. Since the Supreme Court today is essentially liberal, the viewpoint is that unions are exempt from anti-trust laws, the only exception being that a union may be prosecuted if it engages in collusion with an employer.

Many sections unfair to labor were pointed out in the Taft-Hartley Law. For example, the definition of the word "employer" in Taft-Hartley is "an employer is anyone acting as an agent of an employer" instead of the former definition, "an employer is anyone acting in the interest of an employer". This permits outside organizations, such as vigilante groups, to engage in anti-union practices forbidden to employers, whereas a fair law would have made such practices illegal whether done by outsiders or employers. An analysis of this section and many others was made to determine their possible effects on unions. As regards picketing, Professor Brinker stated that the Supreme Court is leaning more and more to the view that restrictions placed on labor by state legislatures or, in the absence of legislation, by state courts are legal, on the grounds that any rights of people or unions may be modified in what the legislatures or the courts hold to be the general interest or welfare of the people.

In securing the passage of general welfare legislation, such as unemployment insurance, old age pensions, and the like, it was shown that labor had played a leading role. Political action by labor was stressed as a necessity to raise the pitifully low standard of living of the poor. Political action by labor was declared also necessary to ensure the presence on the bench of liberal judges, to prevent the anti-labor decisions so prevalent in the past and existing among many of the courts even today.

Mitchell Poses Southern Problems

Dr. George S. Mitchell, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, in his class on Special Problems of Organizing Southern Workers discussed the political, social, and legal implications of the differences between the four main economic sub-areas of the South, particularly in relation to state government. He took up the practical defects of "the farm ladder", objections to the system of annual oral leases, and systems of price control for farm products. He recommended that each Southern state federation offer to small farmers a program of rapid advance on which labor could give legislative cooperation.

The contrast was brought out between the early Southern plantation system and the industrial society of the North. The rules for an industrial economy are education for all, agreement by all, political democracy, and equality. The South adopted the industrial economy in 1880 and must learn that an industrial South cannot be run on rules worked out for its early slave society.

During Thursday's session discussion turned on how to obtain a healthy and well-housed South, and on segregation. Dr. Mitchell traced the history of segregation in the schools, arguments on both sides, and possible solutions to the problem.

The class was divided into six "buzz" sessions on Friday, each group discussing a specific question and reporting its answer to the whole class. To the question "How can labor help to get courts to give equal penalties, regardless of race or creed?", the group urged putting in practice what was learned at the School, educating labor through LLPE to elect liberals to judgeships, and keeping alert to aid in appealing unjust and biased decisions.

Among the answers to "How can we get more and better housing quickly?" were: raising the economic level of the worker, lower interest rate for low income housing; long-term loans and low down payments, slum clearance, etc.

"What policies could labor follow toward getting a more democratic pattern in Southern agriculture?" brought such suggestions as giving equal rights to all, breaking up monopolies, equal representation on all bodies, etc.

The answers to "What is best to do about segregation and the schools?" included education against the error of superiority, ending segregation in the colleges and gradually working it down to high and grade schools, and recognizing the real problem is not with the child but the parent.

To the question "Should all trades and crafts be opened now to Negroes?" the reply was that acceptance of qualified Negroes should be encouraged, but that international and local unions, as autonomous organizations, should decide for themselves.

The sixth group concurred in replying affirmatively to the question "Should labor actively help in getting able Negroes elected to City Councils, School Boards, and the like?", adding that Negro candidates should be supported where they could do most for the entire community.

Plans are tentatively being considered for two Southern AFL Labor Schools next year, one east and the other west of the Mississippi.

So great was the enthusiasm engendered by this second Southern AFL Labor School that prospects are bright for the wide expansion of a realistic program of labor education, which will inevitably lead to a greatly strengthened organized labor movement throughout the South.

SUPPORT L.L.P.E. IN '53! $1.00 DOES IT.

Successful Educational Conference Of Cement Workers

October 14 and 15 saw the initiation of a union-wide educational program by the Cement, Lime, and Gypsum Workers at a conference called by the International Office in Chicago. Participants were the salaried representatives of the International and ten rank-and-file members from each district council. John D. Connors of the Workers Education Bureau, George W. Brooks and Russell Allen, education directors of the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers and the Paper Makers, respectively, served as advisers.

After a keynote address by General President William Schoenberg, in which he stressed the importance of education to a labor union, Mr. Connors reported on educational activities in the A. F. of L. and its affiliated organizations. He pointed out that more than thirty A. F. of L. unions now have active programs of education.

Felix C. Jones, assistant to the General President and director of the new program, outlined the plan already developed. He called attention to the educational packet for new members, which was being mailed to all local unions. This packet, which contains a brief history of the International, a copy of its Constitution and By-Laws, three small folders—"A More Abundant Life", "Where Your Money Goes", and "The Structure of Our Union"—will be supplemented in the local union by copies of its own Constitution and By-Laws and the contract with its employer; it is to be given to each new member.

Mr. Jones also presented and explained the "Manual for Use of Local Union Officers and Stewards", which contains information and suggestions for these officers and stewards to help in their day-to-day duties. The manual includes material on the application of the steward system to the Cement Workers' union and the duties of stewards in general.

The remaining day and a half of the conference was devoted to the Steward Training Program. George Brooks and Russell Allen conducted a demonstration session of the program in action, which was enthusiastically received. They also answered questions from the floor as to the success of the training program in their two unions.

The Cement Workers' educational program has been modeled on the joint program which has been carried on so successfully by the two unions in the paper industry for several years. Careful examination of various types of programs convinced the officials of the Cement Workers that this joint program most nearly suited their needs, since the structure of the two industries was similar.

On the second day of the conference the delegates formed into three groups of twelve to examine the training program more closely. These groups handled the material by means of role-playing and discussion techniques, as will be done in the local unions. The delegates enjoyed these group sessions especially and found that they got a great deal through this technique of learning by doing.

The Cement Workers' officers stressed the importance of proceeding slowly in presenting the new program, urging the need for setting up test classes before putting it into operation. The program is based primarily upon training local union instructors, who will then teach classes in their locals. These instructor training courses are to be set up in certain areas at the request of and under the direction of the General Vice-President in that area.

So well thought out and so realistically planned is this new educational program of the Cement, Lime, and Gypsum Workers that we prophesy for it great success.

Tenth Montana Institute This Month

The 10th Annual Montana Farmer-Labor Institute is scheduled for November 19 through 21 on the campus of Montana State University at Missoula, sponsored by the Montana State Federation of Labor, the Montana Farmers Union, and the University. Among outstanding persons taking part will be Ex-Secretary of Agriculture Charles Brannan and Senator James E. Murray. Panel discussion will cover taxation; power, land, water; social security; and the relationship of farm prices to wages earned by workers.

The California State Federation of Labor will hold its 4th Annual Press Conference on November 28 and 29 in Santa Barbara, with the joint sponsorship of the University of California at Los Angeles.

EDUCATION IS OUR ONLY POLITICAL SAFETY. OUTSIDE OF THIS ARK ALL IS DELUGE. — HORACE MANN.

Since space is at a premium this month, we are listing below some of the institutes and conferences held this month, which have not been mentioned in previous issues:

A Labor-Management Social Welfare Institute was held in Omaha on October 3, under the sponsorship of the newly-formed Labor Participation Committee of the United Community Services, composed of representatives of the A.F.L., C.I.O. R.R. Brotherhoods, and the Community Chest Board.

The Spanish-speaking members of I.L.G.W.U. Local 22 held a conference on union and minority problems on October 3 and 4 at Hudson View Lodge, Croton, N. Y. The same union vacation home was the site of a conference on international relations and the fight for free trade unions held on October 24 and 25 by I.L.G.W.U. Local 35.

An Educational Institute was conducted by the Department of Research and Education of the Kentucky State Federation of Labor on October 10 at Louisville for the Bakery Workers of that area.

The 5th Northwest Farmers and Workers Educational Conference, sponsored by the American Labor Education Service, was held at Camp Ihduhapi near Minneapolis October 16 to 18. The theme was "Food—People—Resources".

On October 17 a Week-End Labor Institute was held at Muscatine, Iowa, and one at Des Moines on October 31, sponsored jointly by the respective central bodies and the Iowa State Federation of Labor. A similar institute will be held in Keokuk on November 7. A meeting of Iowa labor editors and the State Federation's department of education took place in Des Moines on October 23.

A Leadership Training Institute was held in Los Angeles October 23 to 25 for the Los Angeles Sportswear Joint Council of the I.L.G.W.U. The Institute was conducted by the Los Angeles I.L.G.W.U. Education Department.

The Second Conference of the Negro Labor Committee met in Philadelphia on October 24. The conference theme was "Problems of the Negro Worker in the Community".

Labor Film for Maryland Schools

Maryland became the first of the 48 states to make an A.F.L. labor film available to all its public high schools. At a luncheon on October 1 of Maryland and Baltimore A.F.L. officers and education officials Dr. Thomas Pullen, state superintendent of education, accepted a print of "With These Hands", donated by the Baltimore Joint Board of the I.L.G.W.U. This climaxed a state labor education program sponsored by the Baltimore Federation of Labor.

FRANK EDWARDS WANTS TO TALK TO YOU. LISTEN TO HIM OVER MUTUAL NETWORK MONDAY THROUGH FRIDAY AT 10:00 P.M. EST.

The Lehigh Valley Labor Education Council joined with the Allentown, Pa., I.L.G.W.U. in conducting a workshop for the Allentown High School's fifteen social studies teachers on September 10, during a week devoted to educational workshops of various types. The workshop aimed at familiarizing the teachers with the purposes, practices, and membership of the Allentown District of the I.L.G.W.U. as representative of the area's organized labor movement. The teachers declared the program decidedly worth while and recommended it be introduced to other districts.

The fall and winter Educational Program of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in New York includes many activities sponsored by the International and its locals. Among the International's courses are I.L.G.W.U. History, Economics of the Garment Industry, Public Speaking, Psychology, Movies That Matter, Music Appreciation, Mental Health, Slimnastics, Hispanic English, Chorus, and Handicrafts. In addition, the Thursday evening Educational-Recreational Center meets regularly at the Textile High School; it opened October 8 with a symposium on "American Ideals and Present Day Problems". The Saturday lectures at Hunter College opened on October 17 with a talk on "Influences on Our Behavior".

The International Chemical Workers held a Labor School on Catalina Island, Calif., October 18 through 23, for members in California, Arizona, Nevada, and New Mexico. Class subjects included collective bargaining, labor law, grievance procedures, and general union practices.

"TO BE MERELY ON THE RIGHT TRACK IS NOT ENOUGH. YOU MUST KEEP MOVING."

Jack Barbash, at one time education director of the Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, has been engaged to evaluate the three-year program of the Inter-University Labor Education Committee carried on with the cooperation of eight universities, which will terminate in the summer of 1954.

The sudden death of Lewis Corey in New York on September 16 brings sadness to the ranks of labor and labor educators. Brother Corey had been education director of the Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen and, earlier, of the I.L.G.W.U. He had been professor of political economy at Antioch College and was well known as an author.

On Friday, October 9, Mr. Connors addressed the convention of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in Los Angeles, describing A.F.L. workers' education activities.

That afternoon he met with Director Edgar Warren of the Institute of Industrial Relations of the University of California in Los Angeles and members of his staff, to discuss the program which UCLA is carrying on for labor.

On the morning of the 10th Mr. Connors met with the A.F.L. members of the UCLA Labor Advisory Committee.

Mr. Connors attended the UN Day luncheon sponsored by the Washington Central Labor Union on October 24. Among the speakers were George P. Delaney, international representative of the A.F.L., and Ralph Wright of the I.L.O.

On Friday, October 30, Mr. Connors motored to Arden House at Harriman, N. Y., to attend the American Academic Freedom Project Conference, sponsored by Columbia University from Friday evening through Sunday afternoon.

BOOK REVIEW

Carroll R. Daugherty and John B. Parrish. THE LABOR PROBLEMS OF AMERICAN SOCIETY. The Riverside Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1952. 840 p. $6.00.

Reviewed by Marvin Friedman, Assistant in Research and Education, International Chemical Workers Union

Not too many years ago, organized labor and collective bargaining were of interest only to those who were part of the labor movement or intimately affected by the collective bargaining processes. However, in the past twenty years organized labor has had a tremendous impact on American life. So great and wide reaching has this impact been that today few people are not affected by what organized labor does.

In response to this ever-growing awareness more and more universities and colleges are offering courses dealing with labor. The students taking these courses are, for the most part, the new generation which has no recollection of the depression of the '30's, when the labor movement was almost the only hope for the worker. They know there is a labor movement but they are not quite sure why, nor do they know why it seeks what it does seek.

Since it is from textbooks like "The Labor Problems of American Society" that many of the new generation are learning about the labor movement, organized labor must concern itself with the scope and content of such books. Whether the students will learn to understand the real significance of industrial democracy and collective bargaining; whether they will understand that a strike, although unpleasant, is sometimes necessary; and whether they come away from the course with a real understanding of the principles and purposes of the labor movement may well depend upon the particular book used in the course.

The material in "The Labor Problems of American Society" is presented in an orderly fashion. The authors first discuss individual behavior—sociologic as well as economic—and the problems confronting the individual as a worker. The next sections of the book deal with the background, structure and policies of unions and employers, and with the collective bargaining processes. The final section discusses the role of government in labor relations and the student is given a bird's-eye view of legislation affecting labor.

The authors have made an effort to cover the field as well as possible and to expose the students to much that is important for an understanding of the topic. Students having read and absorbed the book will certainly have a better comprehension of the complexities of our industrial society. However, a textbook which seeks to survey so all-inclusive an area cannot help but omit what some might consider important, treat lightly what others might consider crucial, and delve deeply into what still others might consider insignificant. Also, certain statements of fact on the policies, problems and differences of the AFL and CIO are open to question.

Clearly, the authors do not devote sufficient space to any explanation of the full meaning of the union movement. Collective bargaining is only one phase of unionism. Today organized labor is in the forefront of the struggle at home and abroad for democracy, freedom, and plenty. It is a dynamic institution made up of people and concerned about people. It is *alive*. Only when this is realized will a student fully understand the trade union movement and, from that, the real nature of collective bargaining.

BE UNION! TALK UNION! BUY UNION LABEL!

By *Caroline Hodgin*

Two New UN Films and Kinescope of A.F.L. Labor Day Television Program Now Available from WEB Library

Afghanistan Moves Ahead—B&W, sound, 10 min., 1953. Produced by the United Nations. Apply: Workers Education Bureau. Rent: $2.00.

Afghanistan is an isolated country with a population of twelve million people, united by their common religion, Islam. The government is making strenuous efforts to change a way of life which has changed little in the past 1000 years and this film tells how the UN Technical Assistance Program is helping the people of this small, isolated area to develop and modernize their agriculture and industry.

To the mechanized society of the Western world, the primitiveness of Afghanistan seems almost incredible. The Technical Assistance Program introduced the scythe to replace the hand sickle and this simple tool has made it possible for the Afghan farmer to increase his harvest many times over. The same simple things have been applied in other fields. Elementary machinery has improved salt mining. The World Health Organization has introduced DDT to help the country stamp out malaria. Improved methods of breeding have increased the production of lamb's wool, one of the principal exports of Afghanistan.

This is an excellent film to show what can be done through technical assistance programs since it shows the application of assistance in its simplest and most elementary forms. It brings home the important lesson that technical assistance is not necessarily a big, costly operation involving tremendous plants and expensive machinery. It is as simple a thing as substituting a scythe for a sickle—and it must be kept to the level of the people if it is to be effective.

Indonesia Builds A Better Life—B&W, sound, 10 min., 1953. Produced by the United Nations. Apply: Workers Education Bureau. Rent: $2.00.

Indonesia, which became a republic in 1950, has a population of 70 million. It is a country made up of a vast group of islands lying between Asia and Australia and has long been famous for its age-old folk traditions and its tremendous natural resources, many of which were developed by the Dutch.

This film deals primarily with the Indonesian Government's mass education program to eradicate illiteracy. Hundreds of thousands of men and women are learning to read and write, especially in remote places where illiteracy used to be taken for granted. Whole villages are going to school and are showing an eagerness to learn. Certificates of literacy are given to those who successfully complete the courses. When the people have learned to read, the government helps them set up public libraries and reading rooms, so that reading, once learned, will not be forgotten.

Another aspect of Indonesia's efforts to build a better life is the program to eliminate framboesia, a widespread tropical disease commonly called yaws. Here the government is receiving assistance from the World Health Organization. This work is a promise of a healthier and happier life for the people of Indonesia and many other tropical countries.

This film is a good example of how people can help themselves, once they are given the opportunity. The Indonesians are obviously anxious to improve their living standards and have shown this by their acceptance of the literacy campaign and the efforts to eliminate yaws. This is an excellent film on the problems of an under-developed area and how some of these problems can be solved.

Labor 1953—B&W, sound, 30 min., 1953. Produced by the American Federation of Labor and CBS Television. Apply: Workers Education Bureau. Rent: $1.00.

This kinescope of the A.F.L. Labor Day television program shows President Meany; Boris Shishkin, research director; Nelson Cruikshank, director of social insurance activities; and Andrew Biemiller, A.F.L. legislative representative, discussing domestic and world problems. Technically, it is a poor production. The sound track is not good and the film sequences are blurred. It is an interesting presentation of the A.F.L. position on a number of issues, however, and as such has value.

NEW LABOR SONG RECORD AVAILABLE

A 33⅓ rpm, 10-inch record of Labor songs is available from the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, 1710 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y., for $1.00. It is a record made by the Chorus of Local 91 at the last I.L.G.W.U convention and includes greetings by the General Manager of the Cloak Joint Board as well as the I.L.G.W.U. anthem and other references to the I.L.G.W.U. which may make it difficult to use with all groups. Other songs are: "Sing Workers Sing", "Bread and Roses", "So Join Up Brothers, Sisters", "We Are Building A Strong Union", "Solidarity Forever", "We Shall Not Be Moved", "Are You Sleeping", "Keep Us Safe the Union Way", "March On", "Twenty Years Ago" and "Hold the Fort".

NEW PUBLICATIONS IN THE AUDIO-VISUAL FIELD

Audio-Visual Materials: Their Nature and Use. Walter Arno Wittich and Charles Francis Schuller. Harper & Bros., 49 E. 33rd St., New York 16, N. Y. 1953. 564p. $6.00.

Covers the use of a wide variety of audio-visual materials in teaching situations—films, recordings, slides, filmstrips, chalkboard, flat pictures, graphics, globes and wall maps, three-dimensional materials, radio and television. Those in the field of workers' education will find much of value in its pages.

The Handbook of TV and Film Technique. Charles W. Curran. Farrar, Straus and Young, Inc., 101 Fifth Ave., New York 3, N. Y. 1953. 120p. $3.00.

Valuable for anyone contemplating a film production or a television show. The author explains technical matters in easy-to-understand language and this handbook may well save a number of headaches if read before embarking on a major film or TV production. Some of the chapter headings are: "What Kind of a Film Do You Need?", "Color or Black-and-White", "Selecting the Film Producer," "Some Hazards of Film Production," "Some Do's and Don't's of Film Making," and "What Should a Picture Cost?"

UNESCO Workers' Education Seminar

By Thomas R. Byrne, *Education and Research Director*
Glass Bottle Blowers' Association

During July and August, men and women in adult and workers' education under the auspices of UNESCO came from every continent to a chateau at La Breviere in the magnificent forest of Compiegne to examine common problems and advise UNESCO on how to encourage and guide the entire workers' education movement. Emphasis was placed on how to achieve international understanding as well as a careful consideration of the "methods and content of teaching in workers' educational movements best adapted, in the light of differing conditions from country to country, to foster a common conception of civic responsibilities in accordance with the principles of the United Nations and the Declaration of Human Rights".

A realization was fortunately attained that there is no rigidly correct and universal pattern of workers' education. Wherever workers' education exists, the movement has developed according to the social structure of the country, its traditions, and as an implementation of its educational system. For example, in the United States emphasis is usually placed on the development of better trade unionists; in Great Britain and the Scandinavian countries education is a continuation of workers' schooling; while in the less developed countries, the focus is on illiteracy.

There was immediate agreement on the need for better international understanding. The difficulties of the worker's life cause him to consider the immediate more imperative than the remote. Studying means of overcoming lack of international understanding, the participants became acutely aware of the difficulties within the international labor movement itself as well as those presented by the needs of economically less developed countries.

Responsibilities to Economically Less Developed Countries

One of the chief benefits of the seminar was the insight gained by the participants into their responsibilities toward the countries of Asia and Africa, whose difficulties constitute for the entire world a political and economic menace which threatens to reduce to naught all efforts toward international understanding.

The western world fears the rise of the under-developed countries, being generally unaware of the urgent need for a solution of their problems. Therefore, trade unions and workers' education organizations, though they may not succeed in promoting the Judaic-Christian principle of the brotherhood of man, must convince men that: (1) by neglecting these problems they make their solution more difficult; (2) the existence of abundant cheap manpower with a low living standard is contrary to their own interests.

In studying practical educational aspects, serious thought was given to the role of the state and university in workers' education. It was felt that both these sources could furnish more assistance in training teachers and developing research, provided objective teaching was safeguarded and all programs controlled by the labor movement.. The education of the migrant worker was also studied. In discussing the question of an international language there was agreement that true bi-lingualism where people not only speak but think in a second language, was preferable to the use of a universal, artificial language such as "Esperanto." Special committees discussed education in rural areas and economically less developed countries and the use of written teaching materials.

The press and cinema were reviewed as educational media for international understanding. Interest was shown in the workers' film discussion clubs. The participants were impressed by a film presented by Madame Blum on the life of a textile worker. Comparable films made in other countries might increase an understanding of the situation of workers in various countries.

It was frequently pointed out that most Hollywood films sent to Europe were producing an unfavorable attitude toward the United States. Satisfaction was expressed, though, with the quality and educational value of the documentaries and other films shown by the various embassies and especially the United States Embassy.

The United States and International Understanding

The United States, as the most powerful country in the free world today, was the target of much criticism. The stir caused in Europe by the Rosenberg case and McCarthyism is chiefly an expression of resentment of our uncompromising attitude towards Communism. Many of these people still believe that one can shake hands with the Russian bear and not be clawed. The United States' position against free trade is, in their view, chiefly responsible for their economic ills. However, out of the discussion came a recommendation for a sociological study on the need of protectionist methods.

One note struck should sound an alarm for the thinking American. In the second section of the seminar, special plenary sessions were devoted to the progress made on the United Nations document on the Declaration of Human Rights. Many participants, including most of the socialists, held that this document could not be based on fundamental principles, which in their estimation do not exist, but rather must be built on mutually agreed assumptions—it was brought out by some of the participants at the conference that assumptions crumble like the proverbial house built on sand with the first storm warnings. We in the United States, who have built our government on principles expressed in our Constitution, appreciate that this is why our country has been able to flourish. Therefore, if we are serious about promoting lasting international understanding we educators must take an increased interest in the formulation of this Declaration of Human Rights.

Even though the United States delegates could not approve every matter discussed, the seminar on the whole was a tremendous success. This brief report cannot indicate its real value: the deep understanding and good humor among people from many countries and the insight gained into some of the fundamental problems of our time.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

This listing of books and pamphlets does not necessarily constitute endorsement by the Workers Education Bureau or agreement with the views expressed therein.

BOOKS

Community Wage Patterns. Frank C. Pierson. University of California Press, Berkeley 4, Calif. 1953. 213p. $3.75.

Major economic influences, including unionization, which have shaped the inter-industry wage structure of Los Angeles. Concludes that "it is the economic environment, not the institution of collective bargaining, which largely controls wage relationships at the community level."

The Jeffersonian Heritage. Dumas Malone. Beacon Press, 25 Beacon St., Boston 8, Mass. 1953. 165p. $3.50.

Originally a series of radio programs, these scripts convey the breadth and depth of Jefferson's philosophy. His statements on problems that still face us today—the rights of free men, freedom of the press, freedom to disagree with the majority—make timely and worthwhile reading.

Problems of Economic Union. James E. Meade. University of Chicago Press, 5750 Ellis Ave., Chicago 37, Ill., 1953. 102p. $1.75.

An analysis of the economic problems of international federation. The author sees essential value in such a union but urges that we recognize the difficulties and proceed slowly, working through already established institutions such as NATO, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Monetary Fund, European Payments Plan, Sterling Area, etc.

Sources of Wage Information: Employer Associations. N. Arnold Tolles & Robert L. Raimon. N. Y. State School of Industrial & Labor Relations, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1952. 351p. $3.00.

Presents individual descriptions of 220 surveys of wages and related matters as conducted by 120 employer associations. As the authors suggest labor unions will find the study helpful in providing "standards for evaluating the wage figures they will confront in collective bargaining."

PAMPHLETS

American Labor Looks At The World. Free Trade Union Committee, A.F.L., Box 65, Radio City Station, New York 19, N. Y. 1953. 96p. 50c.

Compilation of A.F.L. pronouncements on foreign policy including resolutions adopted by the 1952 convention and statements by Matthew Woll, George Meany, and Jay Lovestone on Korea, Tunisia, co-determination, the cold war, the revolt of East German Workers, etc.

Butch Blows A Fuse. U. S. Dept. of Labor. Gov't. P't'g. Office, Washington 25, D. C. 1953. 13p. 10c.

Latest in the series of the misadventures of Butch who learns the hard way safe practices to use when working with electricity.

Civil Rights in the United States. American Jewish Congress, 15 E. 84th St., New York 28, N. Y., and National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 20 W. 40th St., New York 18, N. Y. 1953. 151p. 40c.

The fifth "Balance Sheet of Group Relations" cites gains in two major areas—increase in Negro voting in the South and progress in the elimination of segregation in the armed forces. Lack of progress is evident in housing and in legislation. The report also cites "the continued abuse of the powers of Congressional investigations" which have had a "pervasive and intimidatory effect."

Europe's Quest for Unity. Saul K. Padover and L. Larry Leonard. Foreign Policy Ass'n., Inc., 22 E. 38th St., New York 16, N. Y. 1953. 63p. 35c.

A hopeful view of the chances for the formation of "some kind of European Federation" is expressed by the Dean of the Department of Politics of the New School for Social Research. L. Larry Leonard discusses the U. S.'s belief in the importance and urgency of European unity.

Facts About Union Security. Research and Education Dept., Int'l. Chemical Workers' Union, 1659 W. Market St., Akron 13, Ohio. 1953. 13p. No price listed.

Very good analysis of various types of union security and what the Taft-Hartley Act and state laws say on the subject. Also covers union security in ICWU agreements.

PAMPHLETS (Cont.)

Freedom and Authority in Labor Unions. Mark Starr. Education Dept., Int'l. Ladies Garment Workers' Union, 1710 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y. 1953. 15p. Single copies free.

Part of "Freedom & Authority in Our Time," the 12th symposium of the Conference on Science, Philosophy, and Religion. Points out the fallacy in considering labor monopolistic, but says also that it is necessary to examine individual freedom, group authority, security, and welfare in the operation of trade unions.

Health Insurance Plans. Committee for the Nation's Health, 2212 M St., N. W., Washington 7, D. C. 1953. 6p. 4c.

Leaflet explaining in simple terms the prerequisites of a good health plan, differences in health plans, and what unions can do to establish good plans and improve existing ones.

Keeping Our Schools Free. Gordon Hullfish. Public Affairs Pamphlets, 22 E. 38th St., New York 16, N. Y. 1953. 28p. 25c.

Outlines five basic principles for the protection of teachers against over-zealous investigators and special interest groups, pointing out that academic freedom is the educational need of a free society.

Labor Scholarships Abroad. American Labor Education Service, 1776 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y. 1953. 14p. 10c.

Outlines briefly and clearly the facts about scholarships open to American workers for study in other countries.

Questions and Answers—The Schools and the Courts. Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta 3, Ga. 1953. 16p. 15c. Quantity rates.

Twenty-two informative questions and answers on segregation in the public schools, designed to provide background material for discussion groups.

State Anti-Discrimination and Anti-Bias Laws. American Jewish Congress, 15 E. 84th St., New York 28, N. Y. 1953. 27p. 50c.

Useful check list of state anti-discrimination laws covering public and private employment, places of accommodation, education, housing, group defamation, and miscellaneous statutes.

State & Federal Labor Legislation Annual Digest. U. S. Dept. of Labor. Gov't. P't'g. Office, Washington 25, D. C. 1953. 53p. 20c.

Summary of laws affecting labor enacted in state and federal legislatures from Sept. 1951 to Sept. 1952. Significant legislation included general increases in workmen's compensation benefits in Kentucky, Michigan, Pennsylvania and Virginia; equal pay law in New Jersey; additional safety legislation in Massachusetts and New York.

Thirteen Years in a Labor School. Rev. Thomas J. Darby, Ph.D. Fathers Rumble & Carthy, St. Paul 1, Minn. 1953. 92p. 50c.

Interesting picture of the Catholic New Rochelle, N. Y. Labor School, the influence it has had, its efforts to combat A.F.L. suspicions that the Church was attempting to divide workers along religious lines, and the assistance which it gave to the anti-communist elements in the U.E.

Welcome, New Member. United Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers Int'l. Union, 3329 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago 24, Ill. No price listed.

Good packet of educational materials designed for new members which includes a brief history of the union, its constitution and by-laws, charts showing how dues are allocated and how the local operates, and a pamphlet on the structure of the union.

Women As Workers. A Statistical Guide. U. S. Dept. of Labor. Gov't. P't'g. Office, Washington 25, D. C. 1953. 112p. 50c.

Highly detailed study of women workers including number, occupations, industry and class of workers, unemployment, labor turnover, age and marital status, income and education. Points out that whereas the female population has tripled since 1890, the woman labor force has more than quadrupled.

Your Economics and Mine. California State Federation of Labor, 995 Market St., San Francisco 3, Calif. Monthly mimeographed bulletin. No price listed.

Issued monthly since February 1951, this series has covered to date such topics as "Credit Controls", "Parity and the Consumer", "Price Controls", "The Federal Budget", "The Worker and His Pension", "Health and the People." Valuable summaries of topics of vital interest to all workers.

Above books and pamphlets should be ordered direct from publishers.

Labor

At peak harvesting Florida now employs between 85,000 and 90,000 agricultural workers. Only about 10,000 of this number are Florida residents throughout the year.

To make up the difference, the Farm Placement Service provides 60,000 from two main migratory labor sources -- 45,000 from the eastern seaboard stream which moves from Florida up the coast to Maine with the seasons, and 15,000 under an exchange program with Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Tennessee and South Carolina.

Another 5000 workers come from the Puerto Rican labor program, although the Puerto Rican government, fearing employers' racial discrimination, won't deal directly with the Florida State Employment Service. Growers associations in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York contract for the workers from Puerto Rico and then recontract them to Florida employers.

BWI workers plus others from the Bahamas fill the remaining unmet needs.

Recruiting of labor, domestic and foreign, is done against firm job offers from employers, and certifications for the importation of foreign workers are made only after all domestic sources have been exhausted. This year's certification for 9000 off-shore workers is 3000 less than the growers' estimated labor needs at peak harvest.

Prime contractors of foreign labor in the state are the Florida Fruit and Vegetable Association, which employs 6700, and the Sugar Producers of Florida, who use 2000. The former association today is following an enlightened labor policy, this year taking an important pioneering step among farm groups by urging its members to do all hiring through Farm Placement Service.

Mil for Phoenix 8/1/55

Employers and state officials alike speak of the British West Indies workers in the highest of terms.

Negro workers make up 95% of Florida's farm labor, and the BWI Negro not only mixes well, but he has won considerable respect for his race among Florida whites. The average education of the BWI worker is 11th or 12th grade, whereas, as the result of discrimination, the average Florida Negro completes only the 3rd or 4th.

Despite the gloomy picture of race relations in many areas of Florida, the BWI program has, to date, not only been free of serious racial problems, but has actually worked to lessen racial tensions in areas where BWI workers are used.

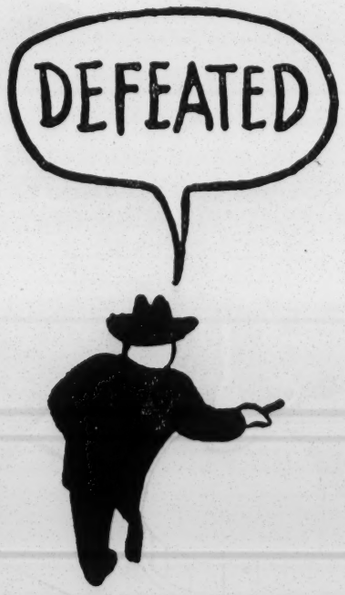
Used to fair treatment in their homeland, Jamaican Negroes expect -- and get -- fair treatment here. Merchants have found them outstandingly courteous -- as well as ranking among their best customers.

Typical is "Needles" Michaels, a taylor, in Bryant, near the outstanding BWI camp at the U. S. Sugar Corp. "I've sold them over $100,000 worth of clothes since the program started," Michaels said. "And they keep on ordering from me by mail after they return to the West Indies."

Other businessmen in Bryant felt likewise. As a result, there is today an Inter-Racial Council in the city, which is doing much to improve conditions for U. S. Negro migrants.

The BWI Labor Program began in 1943 as the result of wartime labor shortages. Some 40,000 BWI workers were being used annually when the bilateral agreement between the U. S. and West Indies governments, under which the wartime program operated, terminated. Since that time, the number has been steadily falling to the present low, and never has exceeded 9000.

Government by Minority



the case for federal and state legislative reapportionment

CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND RESEARCH

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POLICE AND MINORITY GROUPS

Based upon a tentative manual
by Prof. Gordon W. Allport, Harvard University

Outline For Training

In response to several requests received by the Essex County Intergroup Council for information on how police officers can be trained to work more effectively with minority groups, the following outline has been drawn together.

Hopefully the attached material will have value as a guide to municipal officials, citizen organizations, and the general public, in pointing up

(1) the opportunities which exist to enhance the effectiveness of police work in areas where minority groups exist

(2) the importance of having officers who are trained to prevent the development of incidents leading to conflict, increased hatred, loss of lives, and destruction of property, and

(3) human relations techniques which can be employed by police officers in the handling of tension situations should they arise.

This outline is offered as a guide only. It is recognized that much careful thought must go into the planning of training programs and the specific methods to be adopted in a given municipality. The Essex County Intergroup Council welcomes further inquiries on this subject.

ESSEX COUNTY INTERGROUP COUNCIL
30 Clinton Street, Newark 2, New Jersey MItchell 2-5720
January, 1952

POLICE AND MINORITY GROUPS

Role of the Police

The police play a vitally important role in race relations. No agency of government can be more effective in furthering good race relations and in preventing race riots than the police. POLICE CAN PREVENT RACE RIOTS. Not only can they prevent such riots from occurring, but should they occur, intelligent police methods can minimize their consequences. At the same time, lax police policies contribute to race riots and antiquated methods of coping with riots can greatly aggravate their consequences.

The role of the police officer in working with minority groups is admittedly a difficult one. On one hand, as a person, he is a product of the same social experiences to which all of us are exposed. It is likely, therefore, that he has absorbed some of the prejudices and antipathies toward minority groups that are so tragically widespread in our society. However it must be stressed that as an officer of the law and as a member of the police profession, he stands as the symbol of the impartial authority of society. There rests with him the task of peacefully mediating the antagonisms and conflicts between various segments of the community. He must bring under control his personal sentiments and prejudices and subordinate them in a truly professional spirit.

The necessary professional spirit in police work can only develop out of continued activity toward the setting up of performance standards. In these terms, the role of the police officer as a professional and as a private citizen must be sharply distinguished. There are two essentials in the encouragement of the professional attitude as it affects race and minority group problems.

FIRST, there must be brought into clearer relief the nature of the race and minority-group tensions with which a police officer may be confronted. He must be aware of the explosive elements in human relations and of the threat that such forces may be to the very integrity and well-being of the whole nation.

SECOND, the individual police officer must possess the most accurate and authenticated information on the nature of racial, nationality, and religious differences. He must understand the reasons for discrimination and bigotry. In addition, he must possess the best knowledge available regarding ways in which the police officer can function when incidents occur and in situations of great tension. Provided with a body of scientific data about race, religion, and nationality differences, and with a basic understanding of the reasons for bigotry and discrimination, the truly professional police officer can free himself from the influence of false beliefs about racial and religious groups.

Some Aspects of General Training

The proper handling of situations involving minority groups calls for good general police training. Special instruction should also be given in civil rights laws, background of minority groups and areas in which they live, and preventive policing methods. Such subjects should be made an integral part of the police training for recruits and also incorporated in an in-service training course.

NO DISCRIMINATION. In the first place, there should be absolutely no discrimination against any recruit in the department training program. Even the smallest points need to be watched to insure equal treatment of all trainees. The staff of instructors should be constantly vigilant to make maximum use for instructional purposes of any signs of friction between recruits who belong to different nationality, racial, or religious groups.

INDOCTRINATION IN CIVIL RIGHTS LAWS. All police trainees must of course receive a thorough indoctrination in the civil rights laws which they must uphold and which limit police authority. The "Bill of Rights" articles and amendments to the federal constitution, similar provisions in state constitutions, and summaries of federal and state legislation, as well as city ordinances, which have bearing on the rights and privileges of citizens, should be presented to all police recruits.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION. To understand the problems of minority groups, new recruits should be given background information about them and the neighborhoods in which they live. The specific background material to be used depends in part on what minority groups live in the city. Items in a required reading list should contain accurate and unbiased information, and be related to the educational and other requirements of the police officers.

PREVENTIVE POLICING. Police trainees should also be made aware during their training course of the important jobs of preventive policing they can do in the field of race relations. In order to be most useful to the police force in this capacity the man on the beat needs to understand the importance of rumors and unrectified complaints as symptoms of social unrest. If the patrolman is alert to such matters, he will be able to recognize variations in the seriousness of the complaints or rumors and will also be able to judge how widespread they are. New patrolmen also should be instructed about the handling of any immediate threats to public peace and safety. Every new recruit must be made to realize that prompt and proper action by him in a moment of crisis may well prevent serious trouble from developing.

A Special Training Program

In many communities it is advisable to supplement the long-term training program suggested above with a concentrated brief and practical in-service training course that could be quickly organized and administered to all police personnel.

This course should be developed by practical policemen and should be derived directly from their personal experience in successfully handling day-to-day police problems. There should be 10 or 12 men selected from the force who have been the most effective in working directly with the groups about whom it is feared serious trouble may center. The selection of these officers should include the recommendations from honest and trustworthy members of the minority groups involved.

The men thus selected to prepare the special training program should be relieved of their regular duties for a period of time. During this period they would meet daily with a social scientist who has both practical experience in dealing with minority groups and a broad understanding of their problems. The function of the social scientist would be to bring up general problems for discussion by the group of officers, to draw out the individual policemen as to their experiences, to help the group arrive at common agreements regarding the best methods to use in the various practical situations discussed, and to systematize the results of these conferences in an outline or syllabus that would become the basis for the special training program. In all the discussions of practical police problems particular efforts would be made to determine the methods that were most satisfactory to the people on the beat.

The special training course developed in this way could be organized as a series of lectures but probably would be more instructive as a series of demonstrations of incidents in which the trainees participate. Some of the men who put the material together might be detailed to help train the rest of the force. The number of trainees at any particular session should be small so as to encourage group discussion of the various points brought out. For this reason, it might be well to consider whether the special course might best be given in the various precinct stations of the city rather than at headquarters or at the police school.

TENTATIVE GUIDE FOR A TEN-WEEK'S POLICE TRAINING COURSE

SESSION I

SUBJECT: HAVE WE ANYTHING TO WORRY ABOUT?

From time to time throughout the country, glaring and violent incidents point up underlying race tensions and serious racial disorders. Incidents reaching such proportions as did the recent Cicero, Illinois riot and the Miami bombings are widely heard about and investigated, but daily countless other tension situations occur, and many remain unnoticed and unreported. The problem of the relations between various racial and nationality groups is one of major urgency throughout the world. Particularly in a democratic society it is vital to be constantly aware of forces and events working to undermine and weaken the individual's right, despite race, creed, color or national origin, to have equal rights. The deep-seated belief in the inherent work of every individual is the cornerstone of democracy and a faithful adherence to this belief can assure the continuance of the democratic way of life.

I. What is the American Tradition?

Square deal, fair chance, equality of opportunity.

II. Existing Threats to the American Tradition

A brief summary of anti-democratic forces to give general idea of some of "worries" justifying a course of this kind.

III. Picture of Local Situation and Problems

Ethnic and religious make-up of community (spot maps).

Relation of these groups and their leaders to the police.

What does this mean for our city?

SESSION II

SUBJECT: WHEN AND WHERE MOBS HAPPEN

A mob or panic is a flare-up of community sickness, and the police scientist can learn to diagnose its approach if he studies the signs and symptoms which have heralded its outbreak in the past.

I. When Do Riots Usually Occur?

A. Riots happen most frequently on Sundays because:

1. Sunday is usually a day of leisure and often even temporary idleness can breed mischief;

2. Sunday may mean that less policemen are on duty to nip incipient trouble in the bud.

B. Most riots happen in warm weather.

1. Invariably a riot is preceded by congregations of idle people on streets gossiping and swapping rumors.

2. In hot humid weather people's tempers are often frayed and a little incident may be enough to start a bout of violence.

C. Other conditions also tend to work against mutual tolerance and understanding.

1. Economic hardships.

2. Personal frustration.

3. Inadequate and restricted housing.

4. Denial of civil rights.

II. Where are Riots Most Likely to Occur?

A. In areas where there are diverse racial, religious, or national groups.

B. Where these diverse groups are living crowded together.

SESSION III

SUBJECT: WHY MOBS HAPPEN

We have seen <u>when</u> and <u>where</u> we ought to watch out for riots. The next question is, <u>why</u> do riots occur? A working knowledge of the psychology of crowd behavior is indispensable for effective police work.

I. Three Types of Crowds.

A. Throngs. (shopping crowd, crowds at sport events, etc.)

1. Not a serious police problem (most crowds of this peaceable order).

2. Throng is good-natured, easily controlled, and generally unaware that police are present.

B. Mobs

1. Dangerous and destructive, express common emotion of anger.

2. Certain conditions make for mob formations.

a. Some kind of long-standing hatred, or sense of grievance.

b. Some particularly acute event which causes long-buried grievance to flare up.

c. Rumor spreads.
(1) Practically every instance of mob violence is preceded by several hours or days of rumor spreading.
(2) Rumor creates anger which destroys moral checks that people usually have against committing violent acts.

d. People gather together.

e. The breaking point comes and something happens to touch off the explosive feelings.

f. Mob leaders who may not be present or identifiable, but nevertheless exist.

g. Psychological changes in the mob members (after mob gets started).
(1) Their normal moral sense is blocked by the excitement.
(2) Their hatreds and destructive impulses are released.
(3) They feel "righteous" and "holier than thou" because they are no longer self-critical.
(4) They attack any barriers that come between them and their destructive purposes.
(5) They feel confident that there is "safety in numbers" and that they as individuals won't get caught.
(6) They follow the leader, gladly letting him take the responsibility and regarding him as a hero.
(7) Their excitement mounts, owing to the cries, pushes, violent actions of others.

h. The peak of excitement is "front and center" in the mob, and it is this focal point that must be dispersed by the police.

3. Psychological suggestions for mob control. (in general)

a. In times of tension prevent throngs of people from forming.

b. Deflect and tire out a mob under way.
(1) A firm, assured manner is indispensable.
(2) Give sensible citizens tasks to do to help the police.
(3) A wild-goose chase in the wrong direction.

c. Forces of law and order must be self-controlled.
(1) Since it is the patrolman's duty to enforce the law impartially, a police officer should never mention the race or religion of people involved in riotous or other illegal acts.
(2) Under no circumstances should a police officer use abusive language such as "Kike," "Nigger," "Wop," etc.
(3) Mobs usually tire in a very few hours.

C. Panics

1. Dangerous and destructive, express common emotion of fear.

2. Panic behavior is simpler than mob behavior in that:

a. it requires no long period of frustration, and no long build up;

b. it requires no leader and seldom has one;

c. its underlying emotion of fear is individualistic, immediate -- "every man for himself;"

d. its only goal is escape.

3. People are panic-ripe when:

a. they cannot see the means of escape ("We're cut off!");

b. they are fatigued and confused, or physically below par;

c. they have been through hardship, discouragement, and disaster;

d. gruesome sights and previous anxiety have made them "jittery";

e. rumor has deteriorated morale and laid the groundwork for anxiety;

f. they see or hear an immediate threat (Fire! Gas!);

g. they lack discipline or preventive leadership.

4. In actual panic people are especially susceptible to emotional contagion. The excitement of others enormously enhances the fear.

5. Panic ceases when:

   a. people realize there is no danger;

   b. effective escape has occurred;

   c. extreme exhaustion and hopelessness have set in.

6. Psychological suggestions for panic control.

   a. Self-control in the leader who tries to quell a panic.

   b. If possible, shift people's attention.
      (1) Perhaps a loudspeaker to give continued reassurance.
      (2) Occasionally ridicule, laughter, or familiar commands will be effective in restoring discipline.

   c. Prevent throngs from forming in danger zones.

   d. The only sure way to stop a panic is never have it as all.
      (1) Discipline is chief preventive (i.e., fire drill).
      (2) Prepare well the defensive services on which citizens may rely (police, fire departments) and give reassuring publicity.
      (3) Duties assigned in advance to civilians. Keep them busy.
      (4) Expose, ridicule, and fight all rumors.
      (5) Prepare shelters, sanctuary, and well-marked avenues of escape wherever danger of panic exists.

II. Symptoms of Trouble in the Making.

   A. There are certain general symptoms "in the air" which usually indicate the imminence of group strife and violence to which police officers should be especially sensitive.

      1. A shift in the general climate of opinion showing a growth of hostile and aggressive sentiments.

      2. An increase in the number of rumors and the greater speed of rumor circulation, as well as a growth in the sensational character of the rumors.

      3. Intensification in the frequency and boldness of racial insults and incidents.

4. Intensified activity on the part of extremist organizations.

5. A visible rise in the juvenile delinquency rate as revealed in arrests and social work records.

6. Increasing distrustfulness and hostility toward police on the part of minority groups. (Watch minority press)

7. Increased tension on the labor front.

SESSION IV

SUBJECT: RUMOR

Almost invariably the outbreak of racial strife is preceded by a wave of rumors spreading with great speed through the affected district and preparing the ground for violent mob action. Experience has shown that sudden intensification in the violence and speed of rumor spreading is one of the most reliable symptoms of the imminence of serious trouble.

RUMORS THAT PRECEDE RIOTS

The rumor epidemic preceding a riot usually goes through the following stages:

(1) There is an increase in stories being circulated featuring insults, discrimination, and a wide range of misdeeds ascribed to the "scapegoated group." Among the favorite "pre-riot" rumors are stories of police brutality in making arrests and in "grilling" prisoners.

(2) Soon stories of impending violence appear. The other race or group (especially typical of anti-Negro rumors) is alleged to be arming and preparing for wholesale assaults. People are told that their homes and their children, their property and their jobs are threatened.

(3) After the crisis has reached a breaking point, inflammatory rumors continue to circulate. The incidents which have actually occurred are exaggerated out of all proportion. Stories of beatings, rapes, and murders are reported. As rumors spread from mouth to mouth, increasing numbers of gruesome details are added.

I. Demonstration of the distortions that occur in rumor ("Rumor Clinic" -- demonstration of a practical method for "bringing home" dramatically to people the ways in which rumors develop, why they need to be checked, and how people can help do it).

A. Simplification or loss of detail.

B. Sharpening or exaggeration.

C. Fitting our expectations to our emotional habits.

II. Rumors travel when knowledge is lacking and when subject is important to the person.

III. Rumors are of three types:

A. Pipe dream (wish);

B. Bogey (fear);

C. Wedge-driving (hostility).

IV. Why people peddle hostility rumors against groups.

A. To explain and justify their own hate.

B. To relieve their own hate.

C. To get attention.

D. Thoughtlessly to make conversation.

V. Tentative instructions to the police officer regarding rumor.

A. Never believe them unless unmistakable evidence is present (in which case the reports are not really rumors).

B. Report them when:

1. he hears them with unusual frequency on his beat;

2. the rumor contains any element of threat, such as "we will get that Nigger family");

3. the rumor states a specific plan of action, such as "the gang will meet tonight to clean up the Jew kids;"

4. the rumor is printed and slanders a race or religion. Such "publication" is an illegal act in some states;

5. rumors are inflammatory and fantastic, involving stories of rape, kidnapping, torture, or similar vicious behavior.

C. Relieve anxiety when:

1. a distressed citizen reports the rumor and asks for some action. (The patrolman may reassure the citizen by saying, "Well, you know these stories are usually exaggerated, but we'll look into the matter, and I'll try to tell you what we find out after investigation.")

D. Help fight rumor by:

1. never repeating them outside of official channels;

2. ridiculing in a good-natured way thoughtless rumor spreaders;

3. if necessary, reprimanding dangerous rumor spreaders.

VI. Illustration: Consequences of Rumor. Movie: "Fury"

Note: The dangerous consequences of rumor leading to the formation of a mob may be effectively illustrated with the aid of a motion picture. The condensed (17 minute) film, "Fury," showing how unfounded inflammatory rumors may lead to the formation of a lynching mob, is well suited for this purpose.

SESSION V

SUBJECT: SUCCESSFUL PREVENTION AND HANDLING OF RIOTS BY THE POLICE

Clever police work can prevent riots. When riots have started, good police control has kept them from getting worse. A review of some of the cases which illustrate effective steps that might be taken by the police of other cities can be found in the J. E. Wekler and T. E. Hall pamphlet: "The Police and Minority Groups." In this article, excepts from actual cases show instances where police action has been effective in such cities as Washington, D. C.; Flint, Michigan; Houston, Texas; Passaic, New Jersey; and New York City, New York.

I. The experience of the above five cities in the constructive handling of tense interracial situations indicates some lessons that may be useful in similar situations in other cities.

A. Prevention

1. Refusal of police officials to become panicky over wild rumors.

2. Police trust in the peaceful intentions of reputable groups of Negro citizens and insistence of police officials on upholding the rights of such groups to have public meetings or celebrations and the furnishing of police protection to such functions if necessary.

3. Meeting issues openly and publicly. The public reassurance by the high officials of Houston was probably at least as important in preventing disorder as the threat to arrest disturbers of the peace.

4. Special distribution of police when that step seems desirable to prevent the possibility of any disturbance. Washington protected the picketers and guarded certain streetcar lines during the period of tension.

5. Enlisting the cooperation of local military authorities when the situtation seems to warrant such a step.

6. Careful dispersal of threatening groups, if possible without the use of force.

7. Following up such dispersal by correcting, in so far as possible, the cause of the tension, thus preventing it from smoldering and perhaps breaking out again, and at the same time reducing the probability that a similar situation will recur.

8. Special efforts to prevent, minimize, or patch up clashes among school children, thus preventing children's quarrels from spreading to their parents and at the same time helping to develop good attitudes in the children.

9. Cooperation on interracial problems between the police, other city officials and departments, unofficial citizens' groups, and state or federal agencies.

B. Handling a Riot

1. Immediate recognition by the police of an unusual and dangerous situation; a quick report to headquarters.

2. Speedy mobilization of the police force.

3. Rapid effective steps, planned in advance, to prevent curiousity seekers or potential rioters from entering the trouble area.

4. Special precautions against excessive use of force, insistence on diplomatic and impersonal action.

5. Large reinforcements held in reserve but quickly available if needed.

6. Cooperation of neighborhood leaders enlisted, both to plan strategy and to appeal directly to rioters. Utilization of civilians as police auxiliaries.

7. Personal appeals to rioters by high officials.

8. High officials in direct command of efforts to restore order, staying on the job until it is finished.

SESSION VI

SUBJECT: COOPERATION WITH OTHER AGENCIES

In dealing with the problems of racial and religious strife, the police will find that other agencies interested in the same problem are ready to cooperate with them. Much can be gained through close cooperation between all parties trying to break down racial and group prejudice.

I. The following are examples of the help that the police can receive in handling minority problems.

A. The Newspapers.

1. Although many police complain that newspapers often exaggerate stories of racial and religious friction, newspaper publicity is nevertheless necessary for keeping a potentially dangerous situation before the public eye.

2. Since it is the duty of the newspapers to report events accurately and without bias, better understanding between the newspapers and the police would prevent exaggerated and inaccurate accounts from being printed.

3. Full reporting of good police work increases the confidence of minority groups in the police and reduces unhealthy tension.

4. Police headquarters should also be conscious of working toward good cooperation with the press by observing newspaper time schedules. Bad timing is responsible for the fact that some papers print news about an incident without carrying the police point of view.

B. The Schools.

1. Prejudices are learned, not inherited, but small children are perfectly tolerant of other children, regardless of their color or religion.

2. Since police are generally respected by children, police officers can do a great deal in working out programs in cooperation with the schools, i.e., a program of speaking in the schools.

3. The police officer can be on the lookout for fights of a racial or religious nature between children. He should not only stop such occurrences, but should shame the participants by making them understand the unpatriotic nature of such fights.

4. "Kid fights" should not be dismissed lightly, for young hoodlums can be organized by demagogues and "race-haters" into dangerous mobs.

C. Social Work Agencies (public and private).

1. The police may not have the time or personnel to work toward reforming kids' gangs, but this is one of the jobs of social work agencies.

2. The social agencies should make their services known to the police, and the police in turn should be aware of using these services by referring young people to the proper source for help.

3. Awareness and prevention should be the by-words of the police officer. Social work agencies are always ready to help out when they can and if they are contacted.

D. Local Commissions on Civil Rights.

1. More recently some cities have established civil rights commissions (appointed by mayor or chief executive of a municipality) which attempt to foster through community effort or otherwise, good will, cooperation and conciliation among the groups and elements of the inhabitants of the community.

2. Local commissions may also be empowered by the local governing bodies to make recommendations to them for the development of policies and procedures that will aid in eliminating all types of discrimination, based on race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry.

E. Community Relations Agencies.

1. Such agencies are working to safeguard and augment the basic American premise of civil rights.

2. Program development geared to the creation of better understanding between ethnic, race, and religious groups.

F. Others, such as: human relations councils, intergroup organizations (community councils, county councils, youth councils).

SESSION VII

SUBJECT: TYPICAL PROBLEMS AND CASES

Riot prevention and control, like all police work, is first and last a practical matter. The instruction of police officers in problems of racial and religious tolerance should therefore have as practical an emphasis as possible. The best source of practical material is the files of the police force itself.

I. Suggestions for the use of case material.

A. The cases selected for discussion should be as representative as possible, the type of problem that the policeman is likely to encounter in his work and with which he has to deal quickly and efficiently.

B. Present the case to the group as a problem. Selected policemen and outside experts discuss the case before the group, or it may be thrown directly to the audience for comment and criticism.

C. Maximum participation from the members of the discussion group is essential even if the comments wander from the central features of the case.

D. Point out the general implications of the case, showing how the experience gained could be applied and utilized in the future.

Note on the problem method. The problem method suggested here has long been recognized by educators as a most effective method of teaching. It helps (1) to obtain maximum interest and active participation from the members of the group and (2) it gives the material being studied meaning and significance in terms of the student's own experience. It applies the material to be learned to real life situations.

E. Cases might consist of dramatic episodes acted out in class (role-playing).

F. Cases might consist of nothing more than a simple question to test the patrolman's skill and knowledge, for example:

1. What would you do if a Negro complains that he is denied service in a restaurant?

2. What would you do if a citizen turns in a defamatory leaflet?

3. What would you do if a distressed Negro citizen comes in to complain that a Negro was handled with unnecessary roughness in effecting an arrest?

4. What would you do if some organization complains that the police in a certain division are unfair to minority groups?

5. What would you do in breaking up a boys' fight (two boys with partisan bystanders) which has an obvious racial or religious basis?

SESSION VIII

SUBJECT: LAWS REGULATING POLICE ACTION

Many states have laws designed to protect minority groups. Every police officer should possess a digest of these laws. Only by knowing what rights are guaranteed to minority groups can he play his part in securing them.

Taking one state by way of example, the following is a summary of the principal legislative enactments affecting race, color, religion, and nationality in the state of _____ (New Jersey).

Session on Laws

SESSION IX

SUBJECT: THE PSYCHOLOGY OF PREJUDICE

Prejudice and bigotry are not a new problem in American life. Like other nations we have had our share of group friction and strife. There have been several organized movements teaching prejudice and discrimination, i.e., the Know-nothing party of the 1850's (anti-Catholic); the Klu Klux Klan which came in the wake of the Civil War (anti-Negro); the imitators of the Nazi Party in Germany, the Silver Shirts and the Bund.

I. A Brief Psychology of Prejudice (general nature).

A. What makes a bigot? Why are so many people prejudiced?

1. Personal frustration.

2. Tabloid thinking.

3. Ignorance of other groups.

4. Visibility of the victim.

5. Projection of guilt.

Note: A visual aid in demonstrating the psychological characteristics of a bigot is the 32-minute film, "Black Legion."

B. How does prejudice start with children?

C. (Example) Bigotry in Germany under Hitler (mass surrender of maturity.

D. Discussion of wholesome and normal states of mind that lead to decent and friendly human relationships.

II. The Problem Today in our Country.

A. American resilience in the past.

1. Our country came into being as a refuge for the persecuted and oppressed. There developed the "American Creed" -- liberty and justice for all.

2. Former ever-expanding frontier.

B. Why America may be less immune now.

1. The "American Creed" seems to have a less powerful hold on the thinking of many of our people.

2. No longer an expanding frontier.

3. Effects of war and its aftermath.

SESSION X

SUBJECT: ARE MINORITIES REALLY DIFFERENT?

One of the basic roots of prejudice is the notion that racial and religious minorities are <u>different</u> from other people. This difference is usually thought to be one of inferiority in some respect. "The Negroes are less intelligent than whites." "The Jews are greedy and unscrupulous." "The Catholics are all narrow-minded."

I. What are the scientific facts concerning minority differences as stated in the above paragraph?

A. The plain truth of the matter is that such statements have no scientific facts behind them. Some Negroes are less intelligent than whites. So are some Jews greedy, and so are some Catholics narrow-minded. But so are some Irishmen greedy, some whites less intelligent than Negroes, and some Protestant narrow-minded.

B. Statements like these about all the persons in any group are always wrong. The great mistake is to refer to an entire group in terms which apply only to a few individuals.

C. The fact that a person is born with a pigmented skin, or of Jewish parents, or of Catholic parents does not automatically make him possess certain characteristics. What he becomes will depend upon the economic status of his family, the opportunities he has for education and a job, the way he is treated by other poeple, and a great many other factors which no one can predict in advance.

D. If we treat an individual as inferior, he will soon begin to feel inferior.

II. How can the police help the situation in relation to minority groups?

Discussion of role of the police. The police authority must have a special concern with the law as it affects human relations, for it is in the enforcement of the law that the police enter the picture. The police officer has duties and responsibilities which stem from the law. From this same body of law he derives his authority, and he is accountable for a fair and impartial exercise of that authority.

Laws vs. Communists in Schools and Colleges

Statement of President James Bryant Conant of Harvard University before a committee of the Massachusetts legislature, Feb. 9, 1948.

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181 *May 1948*

THE Joint Committee on Education of the Massachusetts legislature had before it for hearing on Feb. 9, 1948 a bill to prohibit employment of Communists as teachers.

President Conant, among many other educators, appeared in opposition. His striking statement of principle is generally applicable to all such proposals, and therefore deserves wide circulation. The bill was shelved by the Committee.

The bill read:

> *"No person who is a member of the Communist Party or who by speech or in writing advocates its doctrines, or who by speech or in writing advocates the overthrow by force, violence or other unlawful and unconstitutional means of the government of the United States or of the Commonwealth, shall be employed as a teacher or otherwise in any university, college, or school, public or private, or in any position in the educational system of the Commonwealth or of any city, town, superintendency union or county.*
>
> *"Violation of the preceding by any public officer or by any person acting for an employer, or by any person accepting employment in violation of the preceding section, shall be punished by a fine of not more than ten thousand dollars or by imprisonment for not more than one year, or both."*

I AM here today to speak on behalf of the President and Fellows of Harvard College in opposition to Bill 220. There are many sound reasons why this bill should be reported unfavorably by this committee; there are many cogent arguments which can be brought forward against any legislation of this type. I shall confine my remarks on this occasion, however, to one of the basic issues raised by this proposal; this issue concerns the relation of the state to public and private educational institutions.

There is no hint of this particular problem in the title of the bill. But I submit that the title is misleading. The bill carries the heading "An act to prevent Communists and others who advocate the overthrow of government by force, violence or other unlawful or unconstitutional means from being em-

ployed as teachers or otherwise in institutions of learning or schools or in the public educational system." After reading the second section of the bill, however, one might fairly conclude that a better title would be "An act to make it criminal for an individual to be a member of a school committee or board of trustees if said committee or board or their agents employ individuals who hold certain views."

The bill introduces a new concept in the relation of the state to those individuals who are charged with the responsibility of guiding public and private institutions. Even if the first section of the bill gave a clear-cut definition of prohibited employees in terms of criminal acts, the legislation would still be a menace to the welfare of this Commonwealth. For the healthy condition of education in the United States depends on the maintenance of the principle of local control of education. This in turn means placing unfettered responsibility for the proper operation of our schools and colleges on those who by law or by charter have been given this responsibility. To threaten criminal action against public spirited citizens who give their time freely to these matters is to jeopardize the whole structure of our educational system.

To my mind, the present proposals stem from two fundamental misunderstandings. The first arises from a failure to realize the significance of the American concept of the relation of the power of the organized community — the state — to education; the other originates from an erroneous appraisal of the true nature of the dangers which face the country in these days of international tension. Let me take up these two points in the order I have named.

1. The history of education in this Commonwealth and in other states shows clearly that the American people have always believed in the maximum degree of autonomy and decentralization as far as our schools and colleges are concerned. Even when the funds are provided by the state legislature, as in the case of the state university, the procedures which have been most successful have involved giving great authority to the boards of trustees whether they are appointed or elected. The American

people have not wished to regulate and control their public educational system by direct action of the legislative bodies nor by means of powerful officials located in either the state capitals or in Washington. Contrary to the European ideas and the doctrine of totalitarian lands we have believed in giving to local officials (members of school committees and their agents) wide powers and almost unlimited discretion. We believe that over a period of years the community which knows a given system of schools is best able to run those schools by electing responsible members of the school committee. The use of my phrase "community" in connection with our public schools needs no explanation. I refer to the voters in our cities and towns.

When we turn to our chartered colleges and universities the same principles apply, but here the community is not a geographic entity but a body of interested citizens, the alumni. These men and women are a special electorate so to speak who operate on behalf of the entire Commonwealth, or for those institutions which have a national scope, for the entire nation. If there were any reason to suppose that unsatisfactory teachers were being appointed in our schools and colleges, the remedy lies in the hands of the bodies who have by a long tradition unhampered jurisdiction. I do not believe there is any reason for anxiety on this score, as I shall make plain in a moment, but if there were it would be a most unwise step for the legislature to prescribe rules governing the action of school committees and trustees and an almost revolutionary step to attach criminal penalties to these rules.

In short this bill is a complete reversal of the basic American notion of delegation of power to many small groups of citizens responsible for our schools and colleges. It would not be too much to say that the second section of this bill proposes to introduce new and dangerous doctrines into our American philosophy of education.

2. The proponents of this measure are clearly disturbed by the threat to the future of this republic which derives from the present divided world. And what thoughtful citizen can be com-

placent on this point? But as to the nature of the immediate danger, I believe the proponents are in serious error. They seem to imagine from the title of the bill and some of the wording of the first section that our schools and colleges are staffed to some degree with advocates of armed revolt. They seem to fear that if let alone our boards of trustees and school committees will employ teachers and even janitors who spread the doctrine of the overthrow of the government by force.

I know of no evidence whatsoever to support such fears. Indeed if they were justified, one may note, the law enforcement officers of the state and nation could be charged with grave dereliction of their duties. For by Massachusetts and Federal statute it is a crime to advocate "the overthrow by force or violence of the government." I do not believe that the proponents of this bill can prove the existence of any danger to the state or nation by reason of the existence of people who advocate the overthrow of government by force; I doubt if there are many such people in the Commonwealth in any form of employment and I know of none anywhere on our teaching staffs.

Not that I should wish to leave with this committee the impression that I see no danger to the future of this community inherent in the international situation. Quite the contrary. As I have said more than once, the present state of affairs can best be described as an armed truce. During an armed truce, secret agents of hostile nations may well be at work, and against them we should do well to take every reasonable precaution. But in so doing we must neither show a degree of fear that verges on hysteria or panic nor take steps which destroy the whole basis for our success in a worldwide competition with an alien and hostile ideology.

I trust I am under no delusion as to the type of wishful thinking that goes on on the other side of the iron curtain. I may be quite wrong, of course, but I imagine that the gentlemen in the Kremlin have high hopes that this democracy will fail. And if I were in their place I should seize on every bit of evidence that tended to support this view. I should eagerly await news that indicated the American peo-

ple had begun to succumb to panic, that they had lost confidence in those historic principles which had guided their development in the past. I venture to believe, with all due respect to the patriotism and sincerity of the proponents of the bill before you, that the passage of this bill would bring such welcome news to the rulers of Soviet Russia.

Why? Because if the Communist rulers are shrewd analysts of the behavior of other peoples they must pin their hopes on a division of the American people consequent on a failure to believe in the doctrines which have supported this republic in the past. While I am convinced that history will prove the wishful thinking of the Russian Communists to be in error, still one must admit that there is always the possibility of disaster — not from a spread of doctrines of revolution but from the direction I have named, a fear approaching panic, an hysteria and consequent repudiation of all the basic principles that have guided the destiny of this republic.

Once we depart from our robust belief in those ideals which have been our goals for a century and a half and our confidence that these ideals will win in any ideological conflict in a free society, we may well be on the road to ruin. It is this possibility — a very remote but still real possibility — which makes me so determined in my opposition to this bill or any similar type of legislation. Once we start altering the basic framework of our society — and the second section of the bill does exactly that — once we start showing alarm at people's opinions and legislate against any views short of advocacy of criminal action — as does section one — we have given the world a danger signal. We have proclaimed to ourselves and to our neighbors, our friends and hostile critics that we have lost confidence in our future, that a wave of fear is mounting.

I cannot believe the General Court will pass any legislation that can be thus construed. Therefore I cannot but believe that this committee will render an adverse report on the bill before you.

NATIONAL CITIZENS CONFERENCE ON CIVIL LIBERTIES
Washington, D. C.
April 14, 1948

Report of Commission No. III on

STRENGTHENING ACADEMIC FREEDOMS

Dr. Alonzo Meyers, Chairman
Dr. Richard B. Kennan, Vice-Chairman

(Note: There were more than twenty-five members of this Commission representing at least twenty-five national organizations, only six of which are academic in nature.)

The Commission agreed to the following statements:

1. Academic freedom is the right of the teacher to teach the truth as he sees the truth. More specificially: (a) the teacher has the right to full freedom of research and publication, subject to the adequate performance of his other academic duties; (b) the teacher has the right to full freedom of discussion in the classroom; (c) teachers, as professional workers, have the right to organize to protect their group interests; (d) the teacher, as a citizen, has the right to speak and to write freely on any subject that interests him; (e) the teacher has the right to join any organization that is not illegal.

2. A teacher should be dismissed for what he does or does not do; he should <u>not</u> be dismissed for what he does or does not believe.

3. Without protection of a teacher's tenure of position there is no real guarantee of academic freedom.

4. Teachers should have the same freedom outside the classroom as is accorded other citizens and they also have the same responsibility of the exercise of citizenship. They have a responsibility to oppose legislation that would jeopardize academic freedom, and a right to promote legislation designed to advance the welfare of education and the teaching profession.

5. Institutions under denominational control should state clearly and have understood regulations restricting freedom of teaching before entering into an employment contract with a teacher.

6. If a teacher is to be dismissed, and if charges are to be preferred against a teacher, he should be entitled to a full and open hearing, to be represented by counsel, to cross-examine witnesses presented against him, and to subpoena witnesses in his own behalf. He should have the right of appeal to appropriate authority.

7. Academic freedom should be guaranteed to teachers on all levels of education from the university through the kindergarten; there is, however, a clear question of the propriety of discussing controversial issues in the lowest grades due to the immaturity of the pupils.

8. In teaching controversial subjects major emphasis should be placed on the scientific, open-minded approach to the question. Teachers should be supplied

with a variety of textbook and supplementary material on important issues with which their classes may be concerned. Special interest groups must not interfere with the teachers' right to select material that will present points of view at variance with those of such interest groups.

9. Teachers and other citizens must recognize and make clear the distinction between facts and opinions; a good teacher will not "stack" the facts on any controversial question. No teacher has a right to propagandize for a special point of view in his classes under the cover of academic freedom, students have the right to freedom of opinion and to impartial presentation of the point of view of both sides of issues on which there is a division of opinion.

10. Teachers should make very clear in speaking outside of their classrooms that they speak as individual citizens rather than as representatives of institutions or organizations unless they are specifically empowered so to speak.

11. There is serious need for community wide conferences on the subject of academic freedom. The teaching profession alone cannot protect academic freedom in these troubled times.

12. Academic freedom should be understood, not as something separate and distinct from human freedom, but rather as an important part of the larger task of preserving democratic liberties, and especially of preserving the freedoms guaranteed in the Bill of Rights: freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and freedom of the press. Either we adequately protect all of these freedoms or none is safe.

one encroachment

WASHINGTON MEMORIAL LIBRARY
MACON, GEORGIA

RECEIVED
JAN 15
Southern Regional Council

January 12, 1952

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Attn: Miss Anna Holden, Research Assistant

Dear Miss Holden:

Thank you for your letter and the complimentary copy of NEW SOUTH. Within the framework of our state law, which provides for separate facilities, we give the following library service to Negroes in our community. We have a bookmobile, which is under the direction of a Negro librarian, that makes stops at Negro schools and community centers in Bibb County.

Sincerely yours,

Katherine M. Powers

Mrs. James E. Powers
Librarian

KMP:eem

TWENTY-SECOND REPORT

OF THE

North Carolina Library Commission

RECEIVED
FEB 4
Regional Council

JULY 1, 1950 — JUNE 30, 1952

STATISTICS

OF

NORTH CAROLINA

PUBLIC LIBRARIES
UNIVERSITY AND COLLEGE LIBRARIES

JULY 1, 1951-JUNE 30, 1952

COMPILED BY
THE NORTH CAROLINA LIBRARY COMMISSION
RALEIGH
1952

ARKANSAS LIBRARIES

Make your plans now to attend the annual meeting of the Arkansas Library Association, Hotel Marion, Little Rock, October 20-21, 1952.

Vol. 9, Series II | July, 1952 | Number 1

Issued Quarterly

ARKANSAS LIBRARY COMMISSION

In Co-operation With

ARKANSAS LIBRARY ASSOCIATION

DIRECTORY OF CITY AND COMMUNITY LIBRARIES
October 1, 1952

PLACE	LIBRARY	LIBRARIAN
Atkins	Atkins Public	Mrs. Faye Graydon
Bauxite	Bauxite Public	
Bearden	Bearden Public	Mrs. Ola Gatling
Benton	Gann Memorial	Mrs. Ella Daugherty
Bentonville	Bentonville Public	Miss Anna L. Graves
Blytheville	Blytheville Public	Mrs. Ira Gray
Brinkley	Brinkley Public	Mrs. Teddie Baker
Camden	Camden Public	Mrs. Roy T. Smith
Corning	Corning Public	Mrs. J. H. Hardesty
Cotter	Cotter Public	Mrs. Robert Fielding
Dermott	Dermott Public	Mrs. C. D. Gist
DeWitt	DeWitt Public	Mrs. T. B. Hudson
El Dorado	El Dorado Public	Mrs. C. C. Wilking
Forrest City	Forrest City Public	Mrs. F. L. Proctor
Fort Smith	Carnegie City	
Lake Village	Gatewood Memorial	Mrs. George Carlton
Little Rock	Little Rock Public	~~Mrs. Catharine Chew~~
Lonoke	Lonoke County	Miss Alberta Edmondson
Marianna	Marianna Public	Mrs. Arthur Cotter
Mena	Mena Public	Mrs. Walter Alley
Mountain Home	B & P W Club	Miss Elizabeth Boyd
Mountain View	Stone Mountain Memorial	Mrs. Edith Lowe
North Little Rock	North Little Rock Public	Miss Elsie Weisenberger
Paragould	Paragould Public	Miss Pauline Hooper
Pea Ridge	Pea Ridge Public	
Piggott	Piggott Public	Miss Ruth Gwin
Prescott	Prescott Public	Mrs. Werner Hamilton
Rector	Rector Public	Mrs. Evert Randleman
Rogers	Rogers Public	Mrs. Dora Holyfield
Russellville	Russellville Public	Mrs. M. C. Hickman
Siloam Springs	Siloam Springs Public	Mrs. J. C. Denny
Stephens	Virginia Garner Public	Mrs. Ruth Melton Parten
Stuttgart	Stuttgart Public	Mrs. Sam Beard
Texarkana, Ark.-Tex.	Texarkana Public	Mrs. Georgia Taylor Parks
Van Buren	Van Buren Public	Miss Ione Harshaw
Waldron	Waldron Public	Mrs. Clyde Duke
Warren	Warren Public	Mrs. Louis Ederington
West Memphis	West Memphis Public	Mrs. M. B. Currie

December 22, 1952

Dr. Lawrence Reddick
Atlanta University Library
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Reddick:

Have tried with no success to reach you by phone.

Dr. Mitchell says that the survey of Negro library services in the South would be a good thing for the Council to do in its own name.

Will be out of town for the rest of this week but will call you early next week about the list of cities, addresses of state library associations and commissions, and so on.

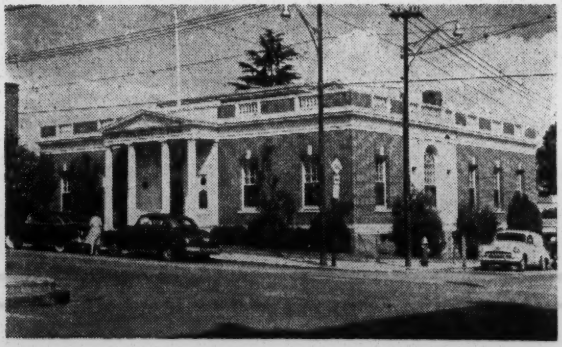
Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

May Memorial Library

Burlington, N. C.

Serving Alamance County



ANNUAL REPORT 1951-52

YOUR LIBRARY OF THE FUTURE

May Memorial Library is attempting daily to provide better service for Alamance County residents. There are many needs that are recognized before its program can be considered adequate.

Here are some of them!

1. Public use of the library, while it is gaining annually, still is not used by the majority of residents. The people need the library, the library needs them.
2. There should be at least two books per person in the county.
3. More specialized books are needed in textiles, business, religion, agriculture, homemaking, shop work, etc.
4. A larger staff is needed to provide these expanded services.
5. Sections of the building not in use would double the floor space and should be renovated for use.
6. Records and films are needed on a wider variety of selections and subjects.
7. THE LIBRARY NEEDS YOUR SUPPORT

MAY MEMORIAL LIBRARY

Circulation	**125,540**
Registered borrowers	**10,424**
Books	**31,135**
Books added	**1,457**

Bookmobile	**550.56**	**etc.**	
Balance in Trust Fund		**Balance**	**177.38**
Dividends	**4,579.83**		
Total	**$31,142.06**	**Total**	**$31,142.06**

Hours open 9:00 A.M.-9:00 P.M. Daily except Sat. 9:00 A.M.-6:00 P.M. No Sunday Hours
Telephone 6-4405

BOOKMOBILE	
Total circulation	67,778
White	45,894
Colored	11,884
School circulation	
White	19,578
Colored	6,338

MEBANE PUBLIC LIBRARY	
Circulation	7,660
Children	2,927
Adults	3,196
Books added	182
Registered borrowers	563
Hours open 2-5 P.M. every day except Wed. and Sun.	

LIBRARY OF THE PRESENT

Alamance County citizens used May Memorial Library, either in Burlington, the branch in Mebane or through the Bookmobile service, more in the fiscal year of 1951-52 than at any period in history.

LOOK AT THE FACTS

1. One out of every seven persons is a borrower.
2. There is one-half book per person now in the collection.
3. Each person in the county averaged reading two library books during the year 1951-52.
4. This service had to be provided from .35 per capita budget for all its operations.
5. During the year, there were 182 civic meetings held in the May Memorial Library club-rooms with no cost to the groups.
6. Staff and patients in all of the hospitals in the county had service once weekly from a library staff member and one Service League member. The League contributed time and purchased two hospital library trucks.
7. The county Bookmobile travelled 6,700 miles during the year in circulating 67,778 books to rural residents.
8. A phonograph record collection now passes 150 albums and circulated more than 3,000 records during the year.
9. Children read 58,000 books. This service was provided in addition to their Story Hours, Puppet Shows and other special programs.
10. On its 1951-52 appropriation the May Memorial Library purchased 1,500 new books, renovated the upstairs Club Room and added a staff room, redecorated both upstairs and the main floor. It purchased and put into operation a modern type Bookmobile which carries 1600 volumes all inside.
11. Mebane Public Library, branch service for the county, circulated 7,660 books, carried a story hour for children over six weeks during the summer and redecorated its building and added new shelving.
12. Gifts of furniture for the Club Room and staff room were made to the May Memorial Library by W. H. May, Sr.
13. Memorial gifts of books were made by many people.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Receipts		Expenditures	
City of Burlington	$ 8,498.00	Salaries	$15,487.59
Alamance County	7,100.00	Books and periodicals	4,146.20
State Aid	4,067.56	Capital outlay	6,499.50
Endowment Income	4,760.72	Maintenance supplies	4,831.39
Gifts	138.60	Bookmobile operations etc.	
Petty Cash	1,466.79	Balance	177.38
Special gifts for Bookmobile	550.56		
Balance in Trust Fund Dividends	4,579.83		
Total	$31,142.06	Total	$31,142.06

Hours open 9:00 A.M.-9:00 P.M. Daily except Sat. 9:00 A.M.-6:00 P.M. No Sunday Hours
Telephone 6-4405

BOARD MEMBERS

W. Clary Holt, Chairman
Term Expires 1953

Mrs. Robert Stratford, Vice-Chairman
Term Expires 1956

W. H. May, Jr. . . . . Term Expires 1954

Ralph H. Scott . . . . . Term Expires 1955

A. Howard White . . . Term Expires 1957

Mrs. Robert W. Barnwell
Term Expires 1958

☆

STAFF MEMBERS

Evelyn L. Parks . . . . . Librarian

Blanche McDade . . . . . First Assistant

Verna King . . . . . Circulation Asst.

Mrs. Georgia Wilson . . . . Night Assistant

Frances Durant . . . . . Night Assistant

Mrs. Lola Reid Lea . . In Charge of Repair

Mrs. E. D. Gregory . . . . Bookmobile Asst.

Betty Thompson . . . . . Student Assistant

Bob Phelps . . . . . Student Assistant

John Leath . . . . . Janitor

October 1952

TAMPA PUBLIC LIBRARY

reports a year of service
1951 ~ 1952

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Books ~

Added 8,094 volumes to the collection. Circulated 259,129 books to 10,749 persons.

Pictures ~

Circulated 638 pictures and prints. Added 1,146 prints during the year, bringing the total collection to 11,240 items, many of which are 8 x 10 color prints of famous paintings.

Reference ~

Answered 10,589 reference questions. Added 371 volumes to the reference collection; added 2,160 pamphlets, 53 microcard titles, and 120 reels of microfilm. There are now over 11,000 sources of reference in this department.

We borrowed 18 volumes from other libraries for our patrons, and loaned four volumes to other libraries on interlibrary loan.

Record Collection ~

Fifteen albums and forty-five single records were added to this collection. There were 1,475 circulations. The collection now contains recordings of music, drama, dramatic readings and adaptations, and foreign language courses.

CONTINUED ON PAGE FOUR
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STATISTICAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1951-1952

	MAIN	HYDE PARK	SEMINOLE	WEST TAMPA	YBOR
CATALOG REPORT					
Books in Library first of year	50,933	13,799	11,825	8,525	5,647
Purchased	3,076	1,178	1,248	488	732
Gifts	379	35	39	18	13
TOTAL PURCHASES AND GIFTS	*3,455*	*1,213*	*1,287*	*506*	*745*
Transfers	142	3	-	1	-
Reinstated	22	2	26	2	2
TOTAL ADDED DURING THE YEAR	*3,619*	*1,218*	*1,313*	*509*	*747*
Worn out	1,749	588	230	75	229
Lost in circulation	351	54	42	22	65
Lost and Paid for	44	24	5	3	4
Transfers	65	51	-	39	5
TOTAL WITHDRAWN	*2,209*	*717*	*277*	*139*	*303*
Books in Library end of year	52,343	14,300	12,861	8,895	6,091
Catalog cards made	12,731	4,407	4,652	1,933	2,791
Books and magazines bound	487	220	173	40	70
Books mended	1,072	-	53	-	-
Periodicals subscribed for	116	17	13	6	11
Periodicals received free	61	1	-	-	-
Newspapers subscribed for	4	-	-	-	-
State & U. S. Documents paid for	42				
State & U. S. Documents free	817				
CIRCULATION REPORT					
Books Loaned:					
Adult — Fiction	44,680	27,918	22,839	4,266	4,275
Adult — Nonfiction	32,114	7,381	4,728	895	650
Adult — Periodicals	2,256	2,304	2,244	231	115
Adult — Pamphlets	1,368	34	10	5	-
Adult — Pictures	638	-	-	-	-
TOTAL ADULT BOOKS LOANED	*81,056*	*37,637*	*29,821*	*5,397*	*5,040*
Juvenile — Fiction	19,971	17,774	20,470	4,077	5,640
Juvenile — Nonfiction	6,476	4,038	5,697	1,899	2,780
Juvenile — Periodicals	413	225	95	-	151
Juvenile — Pamphlets	24	1	1		-
TOTAL JUVENILE BOOKS LOANED	*26,884*	*22,038*	*26,263*	*5,976*	*8,571*
TOTAL BOOKS LOANED	*107,940*	*59,675*	*56,084*	*11,373*	*13,611*
DIFFERENCE LAST REPORT	+ 10,529	+ 7,279	+ 2,581	+ 1,348	+ 1,214
REGISTRATION REPORT					
Borrowers at end of year:					
Men	1,744	312	250	74	91
Women	1,954	757	601	161	205
TOTAL ADULT BORROWERS	*3,698*	*1,069*	*851*	*235*	*296*
Boys	520	242	482	177	212
Girls	543	289	500	183	217
TOTAL JUVENILE BORROWERS	*1,063*	*531*	*982*	*360*	*429*
TOTAL REGISTRATION	*4,761*	*1,600*	*1,833*	*595*	*725*

EAST	WEST	GENERAL	TOTAL
2,654	2,004	20	95,407
313	213	118	7,366
11	17	-	512
324	*230*	*118*	*7,878*
16	-	-	162
-	-	-	54
340	*230*	*118*	*8,094*
86	33	-	2,990
79	27	-	640
-	-	1	81
1	1	-	162
166	*61*	*1*	*3,873*
2,828	2,173	137	99,628
1,216	825	574	29,129
29	1	-	1,020
134	-	-	1,259
8	9	-	180
-	-	-	62
2	1	-	7
			42
			817
1,870	587		106,435
775	342		46,885
224	135		7,509
-	-		1,417
-	-		638
2,869	*1,064*		*162,884*
2,203	2,241		72,376
1,047	869		22,806
87	66		1,037
-	-		26
3,337	*3,176*		*96,245*
6,206	*4,240*		*259,129*
- 742	+1,381		+ 23,590
34	18		2,523
83	45		3,806
117	*63*		*6,329*
322	137		2,092
370	226		2,328
692	*363*		*4,420*
809	*426*		*10,749*

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

1951 -- 1952

RECEIPTS	
Cash on hand last report	$ 17,440.66
City tax distribution	80,068.01
Fines	3,221.80
Subscriptions	1,752.53
Lost Books	171.71
Total Receipts	$102,654.71

DISBURSEMENTS	
Salaries	$ 54,224.35
Bond	10.00
Rent	1,750.67
Advertising	405.50
Postage, Telephone & Telegraph	588.25
Gas, Water, Electricity & Ice	2,684.42
Office Supplies & Bindery	4,380.25
Automobile Allowance	150.00
Clock Service	13.50
Automobile Expense	124.02
Laundry	10.09
Fuel	88.99
Janitor Supplies	198.45
Plant Foods	9.55
Magazines & Newspapers	2,398.85
Dues	20.00
Freight & Drayage	25.00
Maintenance of Buildings	691.24
Maintenance of Furniture	31.58
Repair of Equipment	125.72
Repair of Tools	2.44
Additions to Buildings	80.33
Additions to Furniture	2,317.45
Additions to Equipment	2,139.42
Additions to Tools	17.10
Books, etc.	18,008.39
Total Disbursements	$90,495.56
Unexpended Balance	12,159.15
	$102,654.71

Filmstrips ~

A library of filmstrips was started this year. Thirty-nine filmstrips circulated 94 times. This service is to be expanded in the next year.

Great Books ~

The Library sponsored a Great Books Discussion Group, with a membership of about 25. The purpose of this group is to read and discuss the books in the Great Books Course. The group is continuing with the second year readings in the current year.

Film Classics League ~

In cooperation with the General Extension Division of the University of Florida, the Library sponsored the Film Classics League of Tampa, with the purpose of bringing to the people of Tampa showings of foreign and American films of artistic merit. Three series of pictures were shown to a membership of 400. Since the same type picture has become available at the local theatres, the League is being discontinued.

Processes ~

Most of our procedures were revised during the year. Gaylord charging machines are used in circulation. Addressing machines and Keysort punched cards are used in our registration system. Punched card systems are also in use in the ordering of books and in the bookkeeping.

ARKANSAS LIBRARY COMMISSION
506½ Center Street
Little Rock, Arkansas.

January 1, 1953

DIRECTORY OF COUNTY AND REGIONAL LIBRARIES

LIBRARY	PLACE	LIBRARIAN	TAX SUPPORT M - ½ M
Ashley County	Hamburg	Mrs. Ann Veazey	½M
Clark County[1]	Arkadelphia	Mrs. Joseph Jackson	M
Cleburne-Independence Counties[1]	Batesville	Mrs. Terry Griffith	M
* Columbia-Lafayette Counties[2]	Magnolia	Miss Florene Jordan	M
Conway-Perry Counties[1]	Morrilton	Mr. E. H. Dahlke (Conway)	M
Craighead County[1]	Jonesboro	Miss Elizabeth Malone	M
Dallas County	Fordyce	Mrs. Graham Shannon	M
Faulkner-Van Buren Counties[3]	Conway	Mrs. Dula Reid	
Fulton County	Salem	Mrs. Mabel Phillips	M
Garland County[1]	Hot Springs	Miss Evelyn Simpson	M
Grant County	Sheridan	Mrs. Clarice Johnson	M
Hempstead County[1]	Hope	Mrs. Hazel Prichard	M
Hot Spring County	Malvern	Mrs. F. R. Young (Malvern)	M
Jackson County	Newport	Mrs. Jessie Bach	M
* Jefferson County[2]	Pine Bluff	Mrs. Earle Spencer	M
Lawrence County[1]	Walnut Ridge	Miss Nadean Crockett	M
Logan County[3]	Booneville	Mrs. L. W. Yates	M
Mississippi County	Osceola	Miss Eula McDougal	
North Arkansas Regional[1]	Harrison	Mrs. Georgiana Greeson	
Ozarks Regional	Clarksville	Mrs. Jack Edens	M
Phillips County[1]	Helena	Miss Lucy Sanders	M
Poinsett County[1]	Harrisburg	Miss I. Jane Bradford	
* Pulaski County[2]	Little Rock	Miss Mary Sue Shepherd	M
Randolph County[1]	Pocahontas	Miss Norah Martin	M
Sebastian County[1]	Greenwood	Miss Wilma Ingram	M
Sharp County[3]	Hardy	Miss Nina Turner	M
Southeast Arkansas Regional[3]	Monticello	Miss Elisabeth Huey	M
Southwest Arkansas Regional[1]	Nashville	Miss Mary T. Reid (Sevier) (Little River)	M ½M
Union County	El Dorado	Miss Lucille Slater	M
* Washington County	Fayetteville	Mrs. Hazel Deal	M
White County[1]	Searcy	Mrs. Inez Bishop	
Woodruff County[1]	Augusta	Mrs. Dave Griffiths	M
Yell County	Danville	Mrs. Robbie Rowlett	

1. Panel Truck — M - One mill tax
2. Bookmobile — ½M - ½ mill tax
3. Delivery Truck

* Outstanding service for Negro citizens.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALFRED MYNDERS, CHATTANOOGA
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ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
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SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

RECEIVED
FEB 1

January 9, 1953

HAROLD J. SANDER
~~Miss Pearl R.~~ Hinesley, Librarian
Roanoke Public Library
722 Jefferson
Roanoke, Va.

Dear Miss Hinesley:

We are attempting to get an accurate picture of library service available to Negroes in the South at the present time. This is part of a larger effort to bring more and better books to all people in our region.

Would you, therefore, be good enough to help us out by answering three questions about the situation in your city?

(1) Do Negroes have free use of neighborhood branch libraries? yes although in practice they use their own branch.
(2) Do Negroes have free use of the main library? yes
(3) Are there any Negroes on your library board or advisory committees? yes

Any additional comment that you find time to give will be greatly appreciated. Also, if any newspaper clippings or magazine articles on your library system deal with service to Negroes, please let us borrow same for one week.

A report on a similar survey is enclosed.

Many thanks for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Anna Holden
Research Assistant

AH: h
encl.

The Virginia Library Association frequently meets in Roanoke. Last Fall there were quite a few Negroes in attendance. They came and were welcomed to general meetings and a dinner meeting.

Sincerely
Harold J. Sander
Director, Roanoke P.L.

Sent to cities other surveys showed having library service for Negroes from main library, plus all citiesof 20,000 or more population in Ala., Ark., Fla., Ga., La., Miss., NC, Okla., SC, Tenn. and Tex., plus all cities of 10,000 or morein Ky. and Va.

Total letters--172

Sent to state library associations in: Ala., Ark., Fla., Ga., Ky., La., Miss., NC, Okla., SC, TEnn., Tex and Va.; to state Negro library associations in Fla. and NC.

January 9, 1953

Mrs. Mildred G. Blattner, President
Virginia Library Association
1039 N. Irving St.
Arlington, Va.

Dear Mrs. Blattner:

We are attempting to get an accurate picture of library service available to Negroes in the South at the present time. This is part of a larger effort to bring more and better books to all people in our region.

Would you, therefore, be good enough to help us out by answering these questions about the situation in Virginia?

1. Are Negroes members of the State Library Association?

2. Please indicate those communities in which:
   a. Negroes have free use of neighborhood branch libraries
   b. Negroes have free use of the main library
   c. There are Negroes on library boards or advisory committees.

Any additional comment that you find time to give will be greatly appreciated. Also, if you have any newspaper clippings or magazine articles describing library service for Negroes in Virginia, please let us borrow same for one week.

A report on a similar survey is enclosed.

Many thanks for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

Sent to state agency concerned with state library service in: Ala., Ark., Fla., Ga., Ky., Va., La., Miss., NC, Okla., SC, Tenn., and Tex.

January 9, 1953

Miss Martha Parks, Librarian
Instructional Materials & Library Service
Tennessee Dept. of Education
Memorial Bldg.
Nashville, Tenn.

Dear Miss Parks:

We are attempting to get an accurate picture of library service available to Negroes in the South at the present time. This is part of a larger effort to bring more and better books to all people of the region.

Would you therefore be good enough to answer the following three questions about the situation in Tennessee?

Please indicate those communities in which:

(1) Negroes have free use of neighborhood branch libraries.
(2) Negroes have free use of the main library.
(3) There are Negroes on library boards or advisory committees.

Any additional comment that you find time to give will be greatly appreciated. Also, if you have any newspaper clippings or magazine articles describing library service for Negroes in Tennessee, please let us borrow same for one week.

A report of a similar survey is enclosed.

Many thanks for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

encl.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
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ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
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DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK

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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

RECEIVED
JAN 15

January 9, 1953

Mrs. Lucille T. Dickerson, Librarian
Jones Memorial Public Library
Rivermont Ave.
Lynchburg, Va.

Dear Mrs. Dickerson:

We are attempting to get an accurate picture of library service available to Negroes in the South at the present time. This is part of a larger effort to bring more and better books to all people in our region.

Would you, therefore, be good enough to help us out by answering three questions about the situation in your city?

(1) Do Negroes have free use of neighborhood branch libraries? No
(2) Do Negroes have free use of the main library? No
(3) Are there any Negroes on your library board or advisory committees? No

Any additional comment that you find time to give will be greatly appreciated. Also, if any newspaper clippings or magazine articles on your library system deal with service to Negroes, please let us borrow same for one week.

A report on a similar survey is enclosed.

Many thanks for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Anna Holden
Research Assistant

Legal

1/14/53

AH: h This library is an endowed institution- the will of the donor stated
encl. that this library was to serve at no charge the white population of the city of Lynchburg; so we have no facilities for the colored.

JONES MEMORIAL LIBRARY LYNCHBURG, VA.

Lucille T. Dickerson,
Librarian

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PRESIDENT
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January 9, 1953

RECEIVED
JAN 16
Southern Regional Council

Miss Mabel Blackwell, Librarian
Gainesville Public Library
University Ave.
Gainesville, Fla.

Dear Miss Blackwell:

We are attempting to get an accurate picture of library service available to Negroes in the South at the present time. This is part of a larger effort to bring more and better books to all people in our region.

Would you, therefore, be good enough to help us out by answering three questions about the situation in your city?

(1) Do Negroes have free use of neighborhood branch libraries?
(2) Do Negroes have free use of the main library?
(3) Are there any Negroes on your library board or advisory committees?

Any additional comment that you find time to give will be greatly appreciated. Also, if any newspaper clippings or magazine articles on your library system deal with service to Negroes, please let us borrow same for one week.

A report on a similar survey is enclosed.

Many thanks for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Anna Holden
Research Assistant

AH: h
encl.

1. We have no branch libraries
2. no
3. no

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALFRED MYNDERS, CHATTANOOGA
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January 9, 1953

RECEIVED
JAN 14
Southern Regional Council

Librarian
Lakeland Public Library
Lakeland, Fla.

Dear Madam:

We are attempting to get an accurate picture of library service available to Negroes in the South at the present time. This is part of a larger effort to bring more and better books to all people in our region.

Would you, therefore, be good enough to help us out by answering three questions about the situation in your city?

(1) Do Negroes have free use of neighborhood branch libraries? 1. They have their own branch (The only branch we have)
(2) Do Negroes have free use of the main library? 2. We serve Negroes in the rare instances when they apply for some special book or to do some special work.
(3) Are there any Negroes on your library board or advisory committees? 3. We do not have a library board. We do not have an advisory committee.

Any additional comment that you find time to give will be greatly appreciated. Also, if any newspaper clippings or magazine articles on your library system deal with service to Negroes, please let us borrow same for one week. The items (newspaper clippings) may be too old to interest you. Are you interested in the early history of our service to Negroes? SBR

A report on a similar survey is enclosed.

Many thanks for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

AH: h
encl.

But they have their own very good collection, housed in the Branch building.

Jerma Bailey Ross
(Mrs. F. Perry Ross)
City Librarian
1/12/53

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
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VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
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January 9, 1953

Mrs. Bessie Schuck, Librarian
Key West Public Library
319 Duval
Key West, Fla.

RECEIVED
JAN 16
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mrs. Schuck:

We are attempting to get an accurate picture of library service available to Negroes in the South at the present time. This is part of a larger effort to bring more and better books to all people in our region.

Would you, therefore, be good enough to help us out by answering three questions about the situation in your city?

(1) Do Negroes have free use of neighborhood branch libraries? none
(2) Do Negroes have free use of the main library? yes
(3) Are there any Negroes on your library board or advisory committees? none

Any additional comment that you find time to give will be greatly appreciated. Also, if any newspaper clippings or magazine articles on your library system deal with service to Negroes, please let us borrow same for one week.

A report on a similar survey is enclosed.

Many thanks for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Anna Holden
Research Assistant

AH: h
encl.

Key West Library is owned and operated by Womans Club. Negroes have a very good library in their high school and it is open to the public. They are not refused the use of ours but seldom ask it. Have no board, only a library chairman.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
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January 9, 1953

RECEIVED
JAN 15
Southern Regional Council

Miss Zella D. Adams, Librarian
Flagler Memorial Library
West Palm Beach, Fla.

Dear Miss Adams:

We are attempting to get an accurate picture of library service available to Negroes in the South at the present time. This is part of a larger effort to bring more and better books to all people in our region.

Would you, therefore, be good enough to help us out by answering three questions about the situation in your city?

(1) Do Negroes have free use of neighborhood branch libraries? They have their own branch with a negro librarian + page
No (2) Do Negroes have free use of the main library?
No (3) Are there any Negroes on your library board or advisory committees?

Any additional comment that you find time to give will be greatly appreciated. Also, if any newspaper clippings or magazine articles on your library system deal with service to Negroes, please let us borrow same for one week.

A report on a similar survey is enclosed.

Many thanks for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Anna Holden
Research Assistant

Edith Hogue
Librarian

AH: h
encl.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALFRED MYNDERS, CHATTANOOGA
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HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK

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January 9, 1953

Miss Bertha Aldrich, Librarian
Miami Beach Public Library
2100 Collins Ave.
Miami Beach 39, Fla.

Dear Miss Aldrich:

We are attempting to get an accurate picture of library service available to Negroes in the South at the present time. This is part of a larger effort to bring more and better books to all people in our region.

Would you, therefore, be good enough to help us out by answering three questions about the situation in your city?

(1) Do Negroes have free use of neighborhood branch libraries?
(2) Do Negroes have free use of the main library?
(3) Are there any Negroes on your library board or advisory committees?

Any additional comment that you find time to give will be greatly appreciated. Also, if any newspaper clippings or magazine articles on your library system deal with service to Negroes, please let us borrow same for one week.

A report on a similar survey is enclosed.

Many thanks for your cooperation,

Sincerely,

Anna Holden

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

AH: h
encl.

(OVER)

1-12-53

Dear Miss Holden:

Thank you for your letter of Jan. 9, 1953, and your interest in this vital problem. We beg to inform you that there are no negroes resident in Miami Beach. Those negroes desiring to use the Library, either for reference or circulation, are served entirely without prejudice.

Sincerely yours,

Bertha Aldrich

Bertha Aldrich
H.L.

Miami Beach Public Library
2100 Collins Avenue
Miami Beach 39, Florida

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
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RECEIVED
JAN 15
Regional Council

January 9, 1953

Miss Pearl Sneed, Librarian
Jackson Carnegie Library
323 N. Congress
Jackson 38, Miss.

Dear Miss Sneed:

We are attempting to get an accurate picture of library service available to Negroes in the South at the present time. This is part of a larger effort to bring more and better books to all people in our region.

Would you, therefore, be good enough to help us out by answering three questions about the situation in your city?

(1) Do Negroes have free use of neighborhood branch libraries? (Colored branches)
(2) Do Negroes have free use of the main library? (Colored main library)
(3) Are there any Negroes on your library board or advisory committees? No

Any additional comment that you find time to give will be greatly appreciated. Also, if any newspaper clippings or magazine articles on your library system deal with service to Negroes, please let us borrow same for one week.

A report on a similar survey is enclosed.

Many thanks for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

AH: h
encl.

(over)

The Jackson Public Library System includes - Central library, 2 Colored branches and one white. Books from time are sent in answer to special requests to the colored branch. All books are bought and processed centrally. The head of the negro service holds a master degree from University of Chicago. The two negro branches has about 7000 volumes, but as stated above the total collection is available.

Pearl Sneed, Librarian
323 North Congress

GERALDINE Le MAY
LIBRARIAN

MRS. R. WILLIS HEARD
CHAIRMAN BOARD OF MANAGERS

Savannah Public Library

SAVANNAH, GEORGIA

January 10, 1953

RECEIVED
JAN 12
Southern Regional Council

Miss Anna Holden
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Holden:

We have your letter of January 9, 1953 making inquiry about library service to Negroes in Savannah.

The Negro library, called the Carnegie Library, is entirely separate from the Savannah Public Library. Its building was presented by the Carnegie Corporation to the Negroes of Savannah and is not owned by the city. The appropriation for its upkeep is made by the city directly to the Board of Managers of the Carnegie Library. There is no administrative tie-up between the Carnegie Library and the Savannah Public Library, and consequently no joint service program at any of the libraries' service agencies.

Some years ago there was discussion of bringing the Carnegie Library into the Savannah Public Library system. It was retained as a separate administrative unit at the request of its own Board of Managers. This discussion took place before I came to Savannah as the librarian of the Public Library. It is possible that you may wish to get further details on this and other matters connected with the Carnegie Library from Miss Celeste Hatcher, the librarian. The address is 537 E. Henry Street.

Sincerely yours,

Geraldine Le May

Librarian

L-gc

Olivia Raney Library, Raleigh, N. C.

RALEIGH
JAN 1
530 PM
N. C.

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

JAN 12
Southern Regional Council

Miss Anna Holden
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Miss Anna Holden
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Holden:
I am sending your inquiry of January 9 in regard to library service available to Negroes to Mrs. Mollie Lee, Librarian of the Richard B. Harrison Library. It is an excellent library for Negroes of Raleigh and Wake Co. She will be able to give you a much better report that I could possible give to you.

Sincerely yours,
(Miss) Clyde Smith, Librarian
Olivia Raney Library, Raleigh

Carnegie Library
Bessemer, Ala.
Jan. 12, 1953

Miss Anna Holden,
Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Miss Holden:

In answer to your letter of the 9th, the negroes of Bessemer have a library of their own with a board composed entirely of members of their own race. A member of the Carnegie Library Board acts in an advisory capacity, at their request.

This library is a deposit station of the Jefferson County Public Library, and also receives an appropriation from the City of Bessemer. Books are purchased through this library (Carnegie Library) to take advantage of a larger discount, from order lists submitted by the librarian and board of the Bessemer Negro Public Library. The Carnegie Library staff catalogs the books before sending on to them.

The answer to question 2 and 3 is in the negative.

Very truly yours,

Vera W. Latham Librarian

Portsmouth Public Library

PORTSMOUTH, VIRGINIA

MISS HELEN KIRKPATRICK
LIBRARIAN

January 12, 1953

Miss Ann Holden
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Holden:

In reply to your inquiry of January 9th Negroes do not use our library (which has no branches) as there is a separate Negro library here, supported by city funds but entirely independent of us.

Sincerely yours,

Helen Kirkpatrick

Helen Kirkpatrick
Librarian

HK:ig

CITY OF GREENSBORO

NORTH CAROLINA

GREENSBORO PUBLIC LIBRARY

OFFICE OF
THE LIBRARIAN

January 12, 1953

RECEIVED
JAN 13
Southern Regional Council

Miss Anna Holden
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Miss Holden:

In reply to the three questions in your letter of January 9, I should like to tell you first that Greensboro and Guilford County maintain two entirely distinct libraries for whites and Negroes. Appropriations from County, City and State Aid fund are divided in proportion to the population .

Students in the several Negro colleges and white colleges use the reference facilities of the public library when necessary. When students wish to borrow books for home use, they bring notes from college librarians stating that requested books are not available in their college libraries.

The trustees of the Carnegie Negro Library are appointed from their race by the City Council in the same way in which trustees of the Greensboro Public Library and all other City governing boards are appointed.

Bookmobiles serving schools and individuals are operated throughout the County by both libraries. Cordial relations exist between the two staffs.

If you have further questions, I shall be glad to try to answer them.

Sincerely yours,

Olivia B. Burwell

Olivia B. Burwell
Librarian

OBB/gf

GASTON COUNTY PUBLIC LIBRARY

GASTONIA, NORTH CAROLINA

January 13, 1953

Miss Anna Holden
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Dear Miss Holden:

In reply to your letter of January 9 requesting information concerning library service available to Negroes in our county:

(1) Do Negroes have free use of neighborhood branch libraries?
We have only one branch library in Gastonia-and it is the Negro Branch. This branch is open to any person in the county- but in addition all small towns, rural areas, and rural schools are served by the bookmobile. Service by bookmobile is to both white and Negro- schools, private homes, community centers, stops where service is direct to individuals, etc. One bookmobile is used and service is every two weeks.

(2) Do Negroes have free use of the main library?

The answer to this must be qualified- Yes, to all resources of books , periodicals, audio-visual materials, reference facilities, etc. A No to free use of the main reading room- however, a conference room is made available to anyone wishing to work within the library and not withdraw the materials.

(3) Are there any Negroes on your library board or advisory committees?

There is not a Negro member on the county library board. There is a local Negro Library Board for the Negro Branch. This board or committee works with the county library board.

There is a trained Negro Librarian in charge of Negro branch library.

Very truly yours,

Barbara E. Heafner

(Mrs.) Barbara E. Heafner
Librarian

PUBLIC LIBRARY

of Charlotte and Mecklenburg County

310 NORTH TRYON STREET, **CHARLOTTE 2, N. C.**

January 13, 1953

Miss Anna Holden
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Holden:

About the only answer we can give to the questions you asked about our library is that day to day change is evident.

In 1903, the Legislature of North Carolina established our Library as a body corporate. One phrase in the enactment stated in substance that there should be one library for white people and one library for colored people. As a result, I have read that the library built for colored people was the first of its kind in the South and perhaps the first library to give free public service to colored people.

The above mentioned act of the Legislature still stands and we do not think it is wise to seek to have the act amended.

About ten years ago, we opened a film service at the Main Library and we began lending films from the Main Library to both Negroes and Whites. We have had no difficulty.

We are on the crest of a library buildings construction program. We will build a new Main Library and four new branch libraries in the City. Construction will begin on the branches this year, but the new Main will not be completed until 1955 or 1956. I cannot be certain, but it is my sincere belief due to the "change" I mentioned in my first paragraph that all segregated services will be ended by the time we move into the new buildings.

At present every book and film available in our library system is available to everybody, but Negroes have not had free use of the Main Library.

There are no Negroes on the Board of Trustees of the Library. We have no real branches in the City at present except the building constructed for Negro library service in 1905.

I am a midwesterner myself, but I have been working in Southern libraries for twenty years. I have watched the changes coming rapidly, and in Charlotte the change has been unusually rapid in recent years. I do not wish to be quoted, but it is my judgment that segregation in Charlotte won't last much longer. Any practice as deeply rooted as segregation cannot be changed over night.

Between now and 1955 or 1956, our library service will be in such a state of flux that few actions need be taken. We must vacate our Main Library going into storage while a new Main Library is being constructed on the same site. We hope to get branches into operation during this period, but by prediction is that segregation will end in library services when we move into the new buildings.

Very truly yours,

Hoyt R. Galvin

Hoyt R. Galvin
Director

SUFFOLK WOMANS CLUB PUBLIC LIBRARY
SUFFOLK, VA.
223 Bank Street

January 15, 1952

RECEIVED
JAN 19
Southern Regional Council

Miss Anna Holden,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Miss Holden:

In reply to your letter of January 9, please, let me say the negro schools have books and libraries in them comparable to the ones in the white schools. This applies to the Nansemond (negro) County schools also.

One specific school I do T. Foster (Negro - Nansemond County) which we have serviced a lot for the past ten years by giving them reference books, both fiction, and non-fiction have a good library.

Whenever a negro teacher has called on us for any service

SUFFOLK WOMANS CLUB PUBLIC LIBRARY
SUFFOLK, VA.

we have given them just the same as white teachers. This source has been tapped or used many times.

Hoping I have given you the information you want and with best wishes. I am

Sincerely yours
Harriet W. Hathorn
Librarian

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALFRED MYNDERS, CHATTANOOGA
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE-DIRECTOR
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

January 9, 1953

Mrs. Harriet W. Hethorn, Librarian
Woman's Club Public Library
223 Bank
Suffolk, Va.

Dear Mrs. Hethorn:

We are attempting to get an accurate picture of library service available to Negroes in the South at the present time. This is part of a larger effort to bring more and better books to all people in our region.

Would you, therefore, be good enough to help us out by answering three questions about the situation in your city?

(1) Do Negroes have free use of neighborhood branch libraries? We have no branch libraries
(2) Do Negroes have free use of the main library? ~~Yes~~ in reference to money
(3) Are there any Negroes on your library board or advisory committees? No

Any additional comment that you find time to give will be greatly appreciated. Also, if any newspaper clippings or magazine articles on your library system deal with service to Negroes, please let us borrow same for one week.

A report on a similar survey is enclosed.

Many thanks for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

AH: h
encl.

Meridian PUBLIC LIBRARY

SERVING MERIDIAN AND LAUDERDALE COUNTY

JEANNE D. BROACH
LIBRARIAN

Meridian, Mississippi
January 17, 1953

RECEIVED
JAN 21
REGIS
South

Miss Anna Holden, Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council
Room 342
63 Auburn Avenue
North Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Miss Holden:

Below are the answers to the three questions you asked in your letter of January 9, 1953:

1. Meridian has only one branch library - one exclusively for the use of the Negroes.

2. Negroes do not have free use of the main library, but any book in the general collection is available to them on request from their branch library.

3. No Negroes are on the governing library board, but there is an advisory committee for the Negro branch which is composed entirely of Negroes.

I believe that I have no particular comment to make on our library service to Negroes except to say that we are well aware of the fact that for many years it was unforgivably sub-standard; we are, however, conscious of this fact and are doing all that we can to bring the Negro library service up to an acceptable standard.

Yours truly,

Jeanne D. Broach

Jeanne D. Broach

jdb/rl

CARNEGIE CITY LIBRARY,
318 North 13th Street,
FORT SMITH, ARKANSAS.

Carnegie City Library

Fort Smith, Arkansas

January 19, 1953

RECEIVED
JAN 23
Southern Regional Council

Anna Holden
Research Assistant
Southern Reginal Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3,Georgia

Dear Madam:

In reply to your letter to Mr. Hillard concerning the library service situation for Negroes in Fort Smith may I say:

(1) We have only one branch library in Fort Smith and it is the Negro branch, located in the Lincoln High School library.

(2) Negroes are served here at the Main library also. Any materials not available at the branch are loaned from here upon request.

(3) There are no negrees on our library Board. We have no clippings which deal into our service.

I hope I have been helpful.

Sincerely,

Gladys L. Krone

Gladys L. Krone
Librarian

January 20, 1953

Mrs. Emily Miller Danton, Director
Birmingham Public Library
Birmingham 3, Ala.

Dear Mrs. Danton:

Thank you for your prompt response to our recent questionnaire concerning library service for Negroes and for your interest in this project.

When a report on the findings is available we shall certainly send you a copy. We are attempting to cover more cities than the number you mentioned in connection with your own study, but as you no doubt noted, our questions are less detailed.

Our files list you as "Mrs. Emily M. Danton."

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

I checked her name in our files. It is listed correctly.

E.C.

BIRMINGHAM PUBLIC LIBRARY

MRS. EMILY MILLER DANTON, *Director* BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA

January 13, 1953

RECEIVED JAN 14

Miss Anna Holden
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Holden:

Your inquiry interests me very much because in February 1948 I conducted a similar one among Southern cities and the results were published in the Library Journal. Recently I was asked for permission to reprint those findings somewhere, but I refused because 1) they are now out of date, and 2) they were somewhat garbled by the Journal in its attempt to condense them. I said I would repeat my inquiry as soon as I had time, and it was in my mind only yesterday to get out a simple questionnaire. Now it may be unneccessary, if you will pass on to me your findings in regard to libraries.

These were the questions I asked: 1. Does your Library give service to Negroes? On same basis as to whites, or segregated? 2. Are there Negroes on your staff? Do they participate in staff meetings? 3. If you have segregated service, are Negroes ever permitted to use your Central Library, and under what circumstances? 4. Are they ever invited to visit exhibits and special displays in the Central Library? I received replies to these questions from 21 cities, all of course in the South. The comments were interesting.

Now to reply to your questions as regards Birmingham:

(1) We have two branch libraries for Negroes, staffed entirely by Negroes, and they do not use other library facilities, except on rare occasions when one comes here (by permission through a branch, usually) to consult a microfilm or some reference work not otherwise accessible. Ordinarily we send a book needed to the nearer Negro Branch, when they have no copy of their own.

(2) Answered by No. 1

(3) It seems almost unnecessary to say that the answer here is negative. [Birmingham is perhaps the chief bulwark of segregation and will be the last city to abandon it, unless there is a drastic change at the City Hall.] There is certainly a growing feeling among the

citizens favoring wider opportunities for Negroes, but legislation will have to be changed, and the temper of the City administration, before it can make itself felt. There is a bi-racial committee in the Jefferson County Council of Coordinating Forces, through which some slow progress is being made. They are working now for the addition of Negroes to the police force.

The above paragraph is of course not for publication. As a city official I cannot criticize the city administration in print. In fairness I should add that the Commissioners really do try to provide "equal service" to Negroes. We have plans for a large central Negro Library, and we are spending as much for books in our two present Negro branches as in the white branches of comparable size and circulation. Physical facilities are not as good, which fact is admitted and will in time be changed.

An attempt was made several years ago to admit Negroes to our state library association, but it failed under rather painful circumstances. The chief barrier, of course, is the convention hotel and the fact that Negroes could not join in the luncheons and the banquet. Some members honestly feel that Negro librarians prefer to remain outside, rather than subject themselves to embarrassment at conventions.

Sincerely yours,

Emily M. Danton

Director

EMD/jm

P.S. Your office has a way of dropping my last name and addressing me as Mrs. Miller. It is not important but perhaps I am so entered on your books.

Green copy

January 20, 1953

Mr. William S. Frieze, Librarian
Tampa Public Library
Tampa 2, Fla.

Dear Mr. Frieze:

Thank you for your prompt response to our recent questionnaire concerning library service available to Negroes.

We appreciate your interest in our survey and will be happy to send you a copy when the report is available.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

TAMPA PUBLIC LIBRARY
TAMPA 2, FLORIDA

WILLIAM S. FRIEZE, LIBRARIAN

15 January 1953

RECEIVED
JAN 19

Miss Anna Holden, Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Holden:

In reply to your questionnaire concerning the library service to Negroes, the answer to all three questions is a qualified NO.

Negroes do not have free use of all neighborhood branches, nor do they have free use of the main library; we do not now have Negroes on the library board.

We have two branches in the city for Negroes. One of these branches, East Branch, is being built up with a general collection and a good reference collection. The activity of the other branch is mostly in children's work and circulation. [There is much to be done to get either branch up to any standard. There is much to be done but there has been a change in attitude within the past seven years with the result that the service is improving.] All books, circulating and reference, may be loaned to East Branch from the main library for the period in which they are needed.

I would appreciate receiving a copy of the results of this study.

Sincerely yours,

W. S. Frieze

Librarian

MIAMI PUBLIC LIBRARY
1 BISCAYNE BOULEVARD
MIAMI 32, FLORIDA

RECEIVED
MAR 5
Southern Regional Council

January 21, 1953

Miss Anna Holden, Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Holden:

Mrs. Parsons has retired and Dr. Frank B. Sessa is our director. Mrs. Anne B. McCreary, the assistant director, asked me to answer your letter.

Negroes have free access to the main library since we moved into the big new Miami Memorial Public Library building (our new main library). There has been only one mention of it (it was mentioned in one of our Columnist articles) in the newspapers. As you know, Miami is very southern in some ways, and it was felt that the less publicity given to this extension of service the less likely we were to have repercussions. It has worked out just that way. Negroes use the library freely, children's room, as well as the adult department. Negroes also attend programs.

There is a special Negro branch which is one the border of a white district. The Negro librarian of this branch says that white people do use this library. I did a special story on this branch recently for the Negro newspaper because the librarian feels that she is losing patrons to the main library.

There are no Negroes on the Library Board and no advisory committees of Negroes. You might be interested in the Negro library in Ft. Lauderdale. Six years ago they had no service for Negroes in the city, even though there are many educated people in the community. At that time, we moved down from Indiana, and met the sister of a member of our Evansville Inter-Racial Committee. To make a long story short, several Negroes of Ft. Lauderdale, my mother and father and I got together, and formed a Library Committee, wrote appeals for books (our most recent gift was two boxes of books from Denmark). I cataloged them simply and trained a high school girl to serve the public. The Committee has changed and grown since its inception. The city has over a period of three years given first, shelves, then a little money for books, then little money for books, supplies and part-time librarian (high school girl). The city is now actively interested and is planning to build a library in the near future.

MIAMI PUBLIC LIBRARY
1 BISCAYNE BOULEVARD
MIAMI 32, FLORIDA

The story of the inter-racial board, and the development of this library is a very interesting story. If you like, I can give you more details.

If there are further questions that I can answer, please ask me.

Sincerely,

Helga H. Eason

Mrs. Helga H. Eason
Librarian, Adult Education

I'm sorry that this seems to have been mislaid. Is it too late to use.

HE

HHE:kaw
Enc. 1

State Department of Education
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

M. D. COLLINS
STATE SUPERINTENDENT
OF SCHOOLS

PUBLIC LIBRARY SERVICE
STATE CATALOG SERVICE
LIBRARY EXTENSION SERVICE
OFFICES AT
92 MITCHELL ST., S. W.

January 21, 1953

RECEIVED
JAN 22
Southern Regional Council

Miss Anna Holden
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Holden:

Several librarians whom I have visited in the past few days have told me that they have received a letter from you asking for information about library service to Negroes. Inasmuch as our latest full check on this service was made last year, I am sure that the information which you will get directly from the librarians will be more up-to-date than that which we now have.

of Choice

However, in reply to your recent inquiry sent to Miss Beverly Wheatcroft, I should like to point up several significant developments in the over-all state library program affecting this service.

State aid funds for library materials are allocated to counties on the basis of the total number of state paid teachers in each county. These funds are granted only for county or multi-county programs. Municipal or club libraries cannot qualify for the funds unless they are participating units of county-wide or regional service.

We have had a consultant on Negro library service on our staff for the past three years. This staff member is a graduate librarian and works under the supervision of our two chief library consultants. She is available for advisory and consultative service to both school and public libraries.

We maintain a travelling collection of library materials at the state level from which large loans of books are made to Negro schools and public libraries rendering service to Negroes.

There are now four Negro library bookmobiles in operation in the state which travel out of four of our regional library headquarters giving service to Negroes in ten counties. The majority of our regional libraries give library service to Negroes through either bookmobile service, branch libraries or deposits in schools and communities. Five of the regions have full-time Negro library assistants on their staffs. In two of these regions the Negro librarians qualify for a state salary. Regions are entitled to only one state salary for each county in the region. The regions not now giving library service to Negroes have plans for extending

the service to all the people as rapidly as local funds and staff are available.

It will interest you to know that seven libraries in the state that give library service to Negroes have been included in the state-wide American Heritage discussion groups. We provided a two-day training program with all expenses paid for these seven Negro librarians and eight Negro lay leaders. This project was made possible through a grant to the State Department of Education from the Fund for Adult Education.

I trust that this information will be helpful to you in your study.

Sincerely yours,

Lucile Nix

Lucile Nix
Chief Library Consultant

LN:nb

January 22, 1953

Miss Dorothy Dodd
State Librarian
State Library Board
Tallahassee, Fla.

Dear Miss Dodd:

Thank you very much for your prompt reply to our recent request for information regarding public library service to Negroes in Florida.

When the findings of our survey are available in report form we shall be glad to send you a copy.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

DOROTHY DODD
STATE LIBRARIAN

ZELLA D. ADAMS
DIRECTOR OF LIBRARY EXTENSION

STATE OF FLORIDA
STATE LIBRARY BOARD

TALLAHASSEE

January 14, 1953

RECEIVED
JAN 15
Southern Regional Council

W. H. ROGERS
CHAIRMAN
TALLAHASSEE
R. W. PATRICK
GAINESVILLE
R. KAY PORTER
PERRY

Miss Anna Holden
Research Assistant
Room 432, Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Holden:

I am replying to your letters of January 9, addressed to this office and to Mr. Paul A. Noon, the latter having been referred to us.

Negroes are not members of the Florida Library Association. Their separate association is the Florida State Library Association.

The following towns have branch libraries for Negroes: Bartow, Clearwater, Jacksonville, Lakeland, Miami, Orlando, Pensacola, St. Petersburg, Tampa and West Palm Beach.

Negroes have free use of the main libraries in Miami and Miami Beach.

We have no information concerning Negroes on library boards or advisory committees.

We have no clippings or articles describing library service for Negroes in Florida.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Dodd

Dorothy Dodd
State Librarian

DD/mn

January 22, 1953

Miss Martha Couty
Reference Librarian
State Library Commission
State Office Building
Jackson, Miss.

Dear Miss Couty:

Thank you very much for your prompt and complete reply to our recent request for information regarding public library service to Negroes in Mississippi.

When the findings of our survey are available in report form we shall be happy to send you a copy.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

Mississippi

State Library Commission

MRS. EUNICE ELEY
SECRETARY

STATE OFFICE BUILDING
PHONE 4-7831

Jackson

January 19, 1953

RECEIVED
JAN 21
Southern Regional Council

Miss Anna Holden
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Holden:

In answer to your questions about library service to Negroes in Mississippi (1) Negroes do not have free use of the white branch libraries, but the libraries listed below have separate Negro branches:

Evans Memorial Library, Aberdeen
Northeast Regional library, Corinth
Meridian Public Library, Meridian
Greenwood LeFlore Public Library, Greenwood
Wm. A. Percy Memorial Library, Greenville
Gulfport-Harrison County Library, Gulfport
Hattiesburg Public Library, Hattiesburg
Pascagoula City Library, Pascagoula
Jackson Public Library, Jackson (2 branches)
Lincoln County Library, Brookhaven
Clarksdale Public Library, Clarksdale
First Regional Library, Hernando

(2) So far as we know, Negroes do not have free use of the main library in any town, and (3) the libraries which have Negro branches have Negroes serving on advisory committees.

The Lee County Library at Tupelo serves the Negro schools by bookmobile, as does the Clarksdale Public Library, and the Lincoln County Library. The First Regional Library has branches for Negroes in each of the four counties it serves.

The Mississippi Library Commission's book collection is available, and there is a special fund appropriated by the legislature ($25,000 for this biennium) to buy books for the use of Negroes.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Eunice Eley, Director
by

Martha Couty

Martha Couty
Reference Librarian

The Public Library
CITY OF ST. PETERSBURG, FLORIDA
"The Sunshine City"
COUNCIL-MANAGER GOVERNMENT

HILDA M. GLASER
Librarian

January 24, 1953

RECEIVED
JAN 26
Council

Miss Anna Holden:
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Holden:

In reply to your letter of January 9th, I can give you the following information on our service to Negroes. We have a branch library for them. It is located in a section of town where most of the residents are colored people. However, they are free to use the main library and borrow any material they need if it is not to be found at the James Weldon Johnson Branch.

We have books for all ages, but most of the users of the library are young children. We have special programs for them during the summer and at Christmas time.

Mrs. Helen Edwards, the librarian, is a negro. She has had little professional training, but is very efficient and dependable. This fall, she participated in classes we had for new employees and clerical help. When she has an opportunity, she is going to take a city civil service examination in order to increase her salary and qualify her to join the pension system.

We do not have a library board. We are a department of the city and directly under the city manager.

Very sincerely,
Mary Workizer
Mary Workizer, Acting librarian

ALABAMA LIBRARY ASSOCIATION

FOUNDED 1904

January 27, 1953

RECEIVED
JAN 28
Southern R

Miss Anna Holden
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Holden:

I am forwarding your letter to Mrs. Lois R. Green, Director, Public Library Service Division, Montgomery, Alabama. Mrs. Green, if she has the information requested in the second question, will send it to you.

In reply to the first question, Negroes are not members of the Alabama Library Association.

Yours very truly,

Sybil Baird

Sybil Baird, President

copy to:

Lois Green

Little Rock Public Library

700 Louisiana Street

Little Rock, Arkansas

Board of Trustees

J. N. HEISKELL
RABBI IRA E. SANDERS
MRS. EDWARD CORNISH
MRS. D. D. TERRY
SHIELDS M. GOODWIN

MRS. CATHARINE T. CHEW
Librarian

MRS. MARGARET BURKHEAD
Executive Secretary

January 28, 1953

RECEIVED
JAN 30
Southern Regional Council

Miss Anna Holden
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Holden:

The Little Rock Public Library system consists of a main library building and one branch library which gives service to Negroes only.

The Main Library of Little Rock was opened on January 14, 1951 to Negroes over sixteen and to students beginning with the seventh grade. The Children's Department is not open because it is already overcrowded and the branch library has a very good collection of children's books. There are no Negroes on the Little Rock Library Board and there is not an organized advisory committee of Negroes. However, when the board decided to give service to Negroes at the main library, a meeting was held with representative Negroes in the community to discuss the change in policy, and they were helpful in determining changes.

Sincerely yours,

Catharine T. Chew

Mrs. Catharine T. Chew
Librarian

THE ALBERTSON PUBLIC LIBRARY
CLARA E. WENDEL, LIBRARIAN
Orlando, Florida

January 30, 1953

RECEIVED
FEB 1
Southern Regional Council

Miss Anna Holden, Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 436
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Holden:

In answer to your letter of January 9:

Improvement

The Negroes of Orlando have free use of one branch library which is centrally located in the section of town most populated by Negroes. The city this year made half of the necessary appropriation for the construction of a new building for this branch and we have every reason to expect the additional half next year.

The Negroes have access to the main library for use of any reference books not provided in the Negro branch. This fact is not, however, advertised nor are the Negroes encouraged to exercise that privilege. We feel that agitation on this matter would be to the disadvantage of the Negroes of our city at this time.

There are no Negroes on our library board, however there is an all Negro Friends of the Library Organization which concerns itself with the promotion of increased facilities for the Negro branch and with the greater use of that branch. This organization constitutes an advisory committee.

Thank you for your inquiry, and if we can supply you with further information we shall be glad to do so.

Sincerely yours,

Winston R. Henderson

Winston R. Henderson
Assistant Director

WRH:mmm

NORTH CAROLINA LIBRARY COMMISSION

RALEIGH

TRUSTEES

EX-OFFICIO:
CARRIE BROUGHTON, CHAIRMAN
CHARLES F. CARROLL
APPOINTED BY N.C.L.A.:
MRS. FORD S. WORTHY, WASHINGTON
SPENCER MURPHY, SALISBURY
APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR
MRS. T. LENOIR GWYN, WAYNESVILLE

ELIZABETH HOUSE
SECRETARY AND DIRECTOR

February 2, 1953

RECEIVED
FEB 4
Southern Regional Council

Miss Anna Holden
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Holden:

In reply to your letter of January 9, 1953, we are sending you a copy of our statistical report for 1951-52 which gives information on questions 1 and 2.

The answer to question No. 3 is as follows:

1. Member on library board
   Carnegie Public, Winston-Salem (Forsyth County)

2. Negro library board with 2 white members
   West Street Public, New Bern (Craven County)

3. Independent Negro library boards
   Richard B. Harrison, Raleigh (Wake County)
   Brown-Carver, Edenton (Chowan County)
   George Washington Carver, Greenville (Pitt County)
   Wilmington Colored, Wilmington (New Hanover County)
   I. B. Turner, Washington
   Martin County Negro, Williamston
   Carnegie Negro, Greensboro (Guilford County)
   Wilson County Negro, Wilson
   Warren County Community Center, Warrenton
   Hertford County Colored Public, Winton
   Stanford L. Warren Public, Durham (Durham County)

We do not subscribe to a clipping service, consequently our newspaper information on North Carolina libraries is limited. Enclosed is a copy of our Biennial Report for 1950-52.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth House

Elizabeth House
Secretary and Director

EH:lg
Enclosures

CUMBERLAND COUNTY PUBLIC LIBRARY

FAYETTEVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA

February 6, 1953

RECEIVED
FEB 9
Southern Regional Council

Miss Anna Holden, Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Holden:

This letter is in reply to your questionaire of January 9th.

(1) There is a branch of this Library exclusively for Negroes. In addition, there are ~~many~~ stops at many Negro homes on our regular bookmobile route, and also at 18 Negro schools.

(2) Books are loaned to Negroes upon requests from the Main Library, but ~~these~~ requests are few, coming chiefly from faculty members at the Fayetteville State Teachers College. Negroes do not use the Main Library's reading room.

(3) There are no Negroes on the Library Board.

Yours sincerely,

Dorothy E Shue

Mrs. Dorothy E. Shue
Librarian

PENSACOLA FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY

PENSACOLA, FLORIDA

LIBRARY BOARD

C. A. WEIS
J. H. SHERRILL
S. P. LEVY
J. H. WORKMAN
J. E. D. YONGE

February 6, 1953

LIBRARIAN
LUCIA M. TRYON

RECEIVED
FEB 10
S.R.C.
Southern Regional Council

Miss Anna Holden
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Holden:

In answer to the three questions you asked these are our answers.

(1) We have only one branch library and it is the Negro branch.

(2) As far as possible we serve Negro borrowers when they come to the main library. Their membership, however, is in the branch.

(3) There are no Negroes on the library board, but there is a Negro advisory board for the branch.

Our Negro branch library is a new building, just opened in August, 1952. It is much used by the high school and junior college students and younger students. Adults seem to be somewhat slow about coming to borrow books. Just last week announcement was made of a gift to the branch of $500. Previously a hundred dollar check was given to buy a record player for use in the story hours each week. There is much interest and many gifts of books and magazines have been received. An interesting fact is that the adult books in circulation are mostly non-fiction rather than fiction. In purchases now, therefore, we are concentrating on non-fiction in all fields.

I hope this information will be of some help to you in your survey.

Very truly yours,

Lucia M. Tryon

Lucia M. Tryon
Librarian

C&P Bank Gives $500 to Library

Citizens and Peoples National Bank of Pensacola surprised the Negro branch library, the Alice Williams Library, with a gift of $500 Tuesday.

Given to the city library board but earmarked for the new branch, the money was accompanied by a letter from G. Wright Reese, president, who said that the money was to be used for permanent improvements or anything the board of trustees might deem wise.

Pine Bluff Public Library

Pine Bluff, Arkansas

Mrs. Earle Spencer, Librarian

February 9, 1953

RECEIVED
FEB 12
Southern Regional Council

Miss Anna Holden, Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Holden:

I hope this reply to your inquiry of January 9 is not too belated to be of value in your survey.

We feel that library service to Negroes in Pine Bluff and Jefferson County, Arkansas is more adequate and efficient today than ever before.

The new Pullen Street Branch has been in operation since December 19, 1950. Miss Thelma Gipson, graduate librarian of the University of Illinois, is in charge, with two assistants.

The book stock now numbers 8,458 volumes and will, no doubt, reach the 10,000th mark by the end of 1953, which is a normal growth.

Negro residents of the city and county receive service from the branch, while the 16 Negro county schools are serviced each month by bookmobile.

The Main library and the Branch library are on an inter-library loan basis, which is of assistance to both libraries.

The members of the Negro board are appointed by the Mayor and the County Judge - and meet with the members of the Main library board when such a combined meeting is so desired.

Under separate cover I am mailing to you a printed program used on our formal opening day.

The picture of the Branch library does not adequately illustrate its present attractiveness now, that the grounds are improved and awnings are installed. An additional brick building now stands at the rear of the library in which the bookmobile is stored.

I should be glad to have you return the program to me at your convenience.

4-30-53

Sincerely yours,

Ellice B. Spencer

Mrs. Earle Spencer, Librarian

EBS:mw

ATLANTA PUBLIC LIBRARY

JOHN C. SETTELMAYER
DIRECTOR

ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

February 11, 1953

RECEIVED
FEB 12
Southern Regional Council

Miss Anna Holden
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Room 432
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Holden:

I sincerely regret the delay in replying to your inquiry of January 9, 1953, regarding the public library service picture to Negroes in Atlanta and Fulton County. However, because of illness throughout our library system the delay has been unavoidable.

The Atlanta Public Library operates three branches exclusively for the use of the Negroes of this area. In addition, we have arrangements whereby if a Negro goes to one of their branches and does not find the information he requires, a call is put into our white library agencies and material is sent to the Negro library immediately. In effect then, all the resources of the Atlanta Public Library are available to the Negroes of this area.

Good under that system LAB

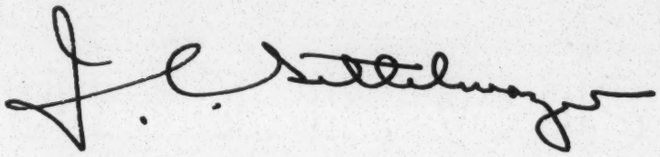
The Negroes are allowed to use only their three branches and do not have physical access to the main library or the white agencies.

Within the last year we organized a Friends of the Library group among the Negroes, and this group serves as an unofficial library board for the Negro library service and also serves as an advisory group to the Board of Trustees of the Atlanta Public Library in matters dealing with service to the Negroes. This group has been instrumental in bringing to the attention of the Negroes of our community the library service available, and we feel that the increase in use in the year 1952 over that of 1951 was due in large measure to their efforts.

In our library system we have a separate department for service to Negroes which is headed by Mrs. A. A. McPheeters, who also serves as the Librarian of our new West Hunter Branch Library. I am asking Mrs. McPheeters to send to you the newspaper clippings which you requested in your letter for use for one week. Mrs. McPheeters, as have other members of our staff, has been very active in promoting the Negro libraries as centers of community activities. For example, we have started at our West Hunter Branch a discussion group patterned after the American Heritage principle.

If you should desire any additional information, please do not hesitate to call on us.

Sincerely yours,



JCS:mm

FORM 12-3

West Hunter Branch

ATLANTA PUBLIC LIBRARY

February 13, 1953

JOHN C. SETTELMAYER
DIRECTOR

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Dear Miss Holden,

I think the reprints which I am sending you will give an overview of the type of service which we have attempted in the Auburn, West Hunter and University Homes Branches. The rest of the material will serve as examples of some of the many activities we do to stimulate and enhance the services of the branches.

If I can be of further help kindly let me know, and when your findings are complete and ready for publication, I would like a copy.

Yours truly,
Annie L. McPheeters
(Mrs.) A.A. McPheeters

P.S. I might add that all activities in the Negro branches are conceived, planned and executed by the staff in these branches.

· AUGUSTA · · LIBRARY ·
of the Young Men's Library Association
540 TELFAIR STREET
AUGUSTA, GEORGIA
Telephone 2-4202

February 16, 1953

RECEIVED
FEB 17
Southern Regional Council

Miss Anna Holden, Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Holden:

I am sorry that I have been so slow in replying to your letter of January 9.

I hope that the following information on your questions will be useful to you and that it will not arrive too late.

(1) We have only 1 library branch, which we began to operate January 1952. It is a Negro Brandh, called The Wallace Branch. Our January report for this year showed an increase in circulation at that Branch from 653 in January 1952 to 1112 in January 1953. A remarkable increase, we think. It must be due in large part to the many new books which we have been able to locate there. They seem pleased with the improvements which we have been able to make.

(2) No, Negroes don't have free use of the main library. However, they can use the Reference collection here. If they want any of our other books in main collection, they can use them by having Wallace Branch borrow them for us.

(3) Our Library Board membership is set by law of several years ago. However, we do have several special non-voting members who represent special interests, such as the other 2 counties in our region. As one of the special members, the former president of the Colored library is invited to meetings of the Board. He has attended the past two months.

not really

Sincerely yours,

Jean D. Cochran

Jean D. Cochran
Director

MAY MEMORIAL LIBRARY

BURLINGTON, N. C.

February 23, 1953

Miss Anna Holden, Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Augurn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dar Miss Holden:

In answer to you inquiry about the use of our libraries by the Negroes:

1. They use the branch libraries as much as the whites

2. They have access to the main library on the same basis as the whites

3. We do not have any Negro member of the library board and we do not have advisory committees

Since the middle forties this library has been open to the Negroes on the same basis as the whites. A resolution of the Board of Trustees set this as a policy. I can truthfully say that they have had this service in actuality as well as in the letter of the law during the past four years.

One of the branches passed a similar resolution in the past year. However, the staff of this library is "not encouraging" to the use of the library by the Negroes.

Our Bookmobile serves the Negroes and the whites on the same routes, with the same staff and the same books and has done so for many more years than the library has been open to them.

Sincerely yours

Evelyn L. Parks

Evelyn L. Parks
Librarian

NORFOLK PUBLIC LIBRARY
NORFOLK, VIRGINIA
ARTHUR M. KIRKBY, LIBRARIAN

March 2, 1953

RECEIVED
MAR 4
Southern Regional Council

Miss Anna Holden, Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Holden:

In response to your query about the Negro privileges in our Library, I am glad to say that Negroes have free use of neighborhood branch libraries and also the Main Library. We do not have any Negroes on our Library Board.

Yours truly,

Arthur M. Kirkby

Arthur M. Kirkby
Librarian

AMK:w

ARKANSAS LIBRARY COMMISSION
506½ CENTER STREET
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

RECEIVED
MAR 18
Southern Regional Council

March 16, 1953

Miss Anna Holden
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Miss Holden:

Miss Irene Mason has resigned her position as executive secretary and librarian at the Arkansas Library Commission. Prior to her resignation she had been on a year's leave of absence to do special library work for the United States Department of State in Bangkok, Thailand. She is planning to accept a second foreign appointment. While she awaits this appointment she is at her home 2813 East Michigan Avenue, Indianapolis 1, Indiana. Since the resignation of Miss Mason, I have been appointed executive secretary and librarian.

Miss Mary Sue Shepherd, Librarian, Pulaski County Library, Little Rock, Arkansas, is answering your questionnaire.

Separately I am sending you the directory of county and regional libraries, city and community libraries and a copy of the July 1952, issue of Arkansas Libraries.

Sincerely yours,

Frances Potter Neal

Mrs. Karl Neal
Executive Secretary and Librarian

FN:vg

LINCOLN UNIVERSITY
Jefferson City, Missouri

Career Conference

May 8, 1953

Dr. L. D. Reddick, Chief
Trevor Arnett Library
Atlanta University
273 Chestnut Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Reddick:

As you suggested, there is no study determining the extent of usage of public libraries by Negroes in Missouri, but there are probably some things that I can tell you which will be helpful.

According to a study now in progress, with Dr. Lowell A. Martin of Columbia as consultant, there are 985,317 Missourians with no library service at all. Approximately 1,025,140 receive limited library service, while 1,944,322 receive library service of considerable variety. There are 76 counties out of a total of 114 which lack county-wide library service. There are four regional units serving two or more counties. According to state law, no county library may discriminate and receive state aid. Most of the discrimination exists in the small city and town libraries. In Jefferson City, for example, the libraries serve both the city and county. Negroes use them freely. Across the river in Fulton, there is no county-wide library service, and Negroes are denied use of the public library, except that the members of the library staff sometimes slip books out for interested Negroes.

In Kansas City and St. Louis there is no segregation or discrimination in the use of any public library. There are 115 tax supported city libraries, with 3/4 of them serving less than 10,000 people each, and with incomes of less than $10,000 per year. One half of them have less than $5,000 a year.

I have just gotten wind that the AAUW has recently made a survey of library service to Negroes in the state which would indicate the kind of material you want is available. If I can get my hands on a copy, I will be glad to furnish you with one or a copy.

We have placed an order for the microfilm copy of the Savannah Tribune. Dr. Pride had written a letter to them but evidently they did not consider that an order.

Sincerely,

Sgd. A. P. Marshall
University Librarian

TREVOR ARNETT LIBRARY
ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
273 CHESTNUT STREET, S. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

May 14, 1953

RECEIVED
MAY 17
Southern Regional Council

Dear Miss Holden:

Here are two letters that I trust will be useful to you in your library survey. If Mr. Marshall does send us a copy of the Missouri survey that he mentions in paragraph 4 of his letter, we will send it on to you immediately.

Sincerely yours,

L. D. Reddick
Chief

LDR/m

Encl: 2

Miss Anna Holden
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

TREVOR ARNETT LIBRARY
ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
273 CHESTNUT STREET, S. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

CY 6431

October 5, 1953

Dear Miss Holden:

Here is our manuscript. Please make whatever changes you may wish in it and pass it on to the editor. Give me a telephone call and let me know about the changes some time soon.

Many, many thanks.

Sincerely yours,

L. D. Reddick
Chief

LDR/m

Miss Anna Holden
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

RECEIVED
FEB 19 1954
Southern Re

February 3, 1954

Dear Librarian,

Early in 1953 we wrote you for information regarding Negro use of the public library facilities in your community.

I am sure you will be interested in the enclosed report of that survey and a companion article "Where Can A Southern Negro Read A Book? "

We are most appreciative of the generous response to our inquiry.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

encl

Thank you for your copy of NEW SOUTH. However, I don't think that we are due any thanks for either we did not receive a query or else our reply wasn't used. We have answered a number of questionaires but I don't recall if yours was one.

We have a new library building recently opened and we allow unrestricted use of both the circulation department and the reading room by Negroes. We also have a branch for Negroes in one of the Negro sections of the city.

Sorry we didn't get included in your survey.

Lucy Hampton Bostick

Mrs. Hagood Bostick, Librarian
Richland County Public Library
Columbia, S. C.

LAWSON McGHEE LIBRARY
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

February 9, 1954

Dear Miss Holden:

Thank you for sending us a copy of the NEW SOUTH, including your report on service to negroes in Southern libraries. It is a very interesting report. Let us hope there can be another at a shorter interval which will show even greater progress.

Yours very truly,

Helen M. Harris

Helen M. Harris, Librarian

February 18, 1954

Mrs. Hagood Bostick, Librarian
Richland County Public Library
Columbia, S. C.

Dear Mrs. Bostick:

We are very glad to learn that Negroes have unrestricted use of the Richland County Public Library's facilities.

Since publication of the survey several other libraries not listed have written that they offer service to Negroes in their main building. We will probably run a list of these in a later NEW SOUTH, with Columbia included this time.

A questionnaire was sent to your library but was not returned.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

green copy

C. Holden

February 19, '54

Dear Mr. Shaw,

We are most grateful for your kind and helpful letter about the Houston main library.

Our original questionnaire to the Houston library was not replied to, and we accepted what was supplied us by the Texas State Library Commission, from a questionnaire which they had circulated. We should not have done that without a direct check, and I am sorry.

We will be printing in a few weeks a revised list, and I would greatly appreciate your supplying us with the results of whatever check you will contrive there in the city.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

February 19, '54

Dabney

Dear Virginius,

You are of course entirely right.

The mechanics of the slip were that the Richmond library didn't reply to our questionnaire (hardly blame them, questionnaires are too many!) and therefore the people who compiled the report had no record that the Richmond library is open. But I knew it, and I should certainly have caught the error, and corrected it.

We'll be putting out a revised list in a few weeks, and this time we'll get Richmond straight.

.....

I feel quite hopeful, at last, that means will be found to expand what we do. Our thanks to you for much real help.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

Richmond Times-Dispatch
PUBLISHED MORNING AND SUNDAY
RICHMOND 11, VIRGINIA

RECEIVED
FEB 18 1954
Southern Regional Council

VIRGINIUS DABNEY
EDITOR

February 16, 1954.

TELEPHONE 7-1851

Mr. George Mitchell,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

Dear George:

I have enjoyed reading the latest issue of New South entitled "The Color Line in Southern Libraries".

Unfortunately, Richmond seems to have been entirely overlooked in the list of cities which give full service to Negroes at the main public library. We have been doing so since June 1, 1947, and have had no trouble whatever. I happen to be on the Library board.

Sincerely yours,

V

Virginius Dabney.

Harrodsburg, Ky.

~~Mrs.~~ Long On Library Board

L'HOUSE & INFM 8-6-54

Mrs. H. W. Long was recently appointed a member of the Live member Darlington County Library Board. Other members are white.

It is believed here that Mrs. Long is the only race member in such an office in the state. The board has control of library operations in the county.

March 23, 1954

Mrs. Gretchen Conduitte
Jackson Free Library
Jackson, Tenn.

Dear Mrs. Conduitte:

We are very glad to learn that the Jackson Free Library is doing everything that it can to give regular service to Negro patrons.

Since the publication of the survey several other libraries that failed to return questionnaires, or have changed policy since the query, have written to tell us that they too belong on the list. We are planning to list these in NEW SOUTH in the near future, among with the information that Darlington, S. C. has recently elected a Negro library board member.

Dr. Reddick and I have been exchanging responses from the two articles, and I know he will be particularly interested in your letter.

I sent two copies of the library issue to you separately on March 18th. We are able to distribute only a limited number of publications free and would appreciate your sending ten cents each for the issues.

Thank you for your interest and information.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

Jackson Free Library

JACKSON, TENNESSEE

RECEIVED
MAR 18 1954
Southern Regional Council

March 15, 1954

Miss Anna Holden, Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Holden:

Thank you for your letter of February 3rd and for the report on your survey on Negro use of public library facilities.

Could you send me two more copies?

Our staff feels that this library should have been listed among the libraries giving Negroes regular service. At the time of your survey, however, certain aspects of it were not in force.

For your own information, on January 1st, 1954, this library began issuing regular readers' cards to the Negro patrons of this library. Heretofore, a limited number of faculty members and high school and college students and a few children had withdrawn books by special permission. We could not claim that we give full reference service even now because our seating capacity in the reading room is limited, but it is our intention and practice to give regular service to all patrons of the library within the restrictions of our physical plant and the size of our book collection. All books, magazines and newspapers are available to everyone.

We found your survey very interesting. I personally found Dr. Reddick's article of special interest because I was a member of the staff of the New York Public Library when he was curator of the Schomburg Collection.

Sincerely yours,

Gretchen Conduitte

(Mrs.) Gretchen Conduitte, Librarian

RECEIVED
APR 22 1954
Southern Regional Council

Kurth Memorial Library
MRS. ORA MCMULLEN, *Librarian*
LUFKIN, TEXAS

April 20, 1954

Miss Anna Holden,
Research Assistant,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Dear Miss Holden:

I was pleased to see the Lufkin Library listed in the New South as one of those Southern libraries that give limited service to Negroes. We began giving this service in 1933 when our library was first opened. Since 1952 we have been giving full service and to our surprise we have not had one word of criticism from our patrons. I have lived most of my life in this county and town. I have seen the time when such a move would have been entirely out of the question. I am sure that 25 years ago every citizen of Lufkin would have disapproved and shown it in one way or another. Now we have had no word of complaint. I believe this entire change of attitude is due to the attitude of the younger generation, from college students down to the grades. They do not demand a humble attitude from the Negro, but seem to take service to people, regardless of race, for granted.

Yours very truly,
Ora McMullen

OM/hj

Mississippi

Library Commission

MRS. EUNICE ELEY
DIRECTOR

403 STATE OFFICE BUILDING
PHONE 5-9361 — EXT. 559

Jackson

23 APRIL 1954

ANNA HOLDEN
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA (3)

DEAR MISS HOLDEN:

WE HAVE APPRECIATED THE THOROUGHNESS OF YOUR ARTICLE IN JANUARY, 1954, NEW SOUTH ON "THE COLOR LINE IN SOUTHERN LIBRARIES." AND WE SHARE WITH YOU A PRIDE IN ACCOMPLISHMENT ALONG THIS LINE AND SHARE WITH YOU, TOO, AN AWESOME COMPREHENSION OF THE DISTANCE WE STILL HAVE TO GO. WHILE THIS ISN'T VERY FAR ALONG THAT DISTANCE WE ARE PLEASED TO REPORT THAT LAST WEEK WE INAUGURATED BOOKMOBILE SERVICE IN ONE COUNTY IN THE STATE WHERE ALL OF THE PEOPLE ARE TO HAVE THAT MOBILE LIBRARY'S FULL SERVICES WITH THE SAME STAFF AND THE SAME BOOKS, ETC. THIS MAKES TWO INSTANCES OF SUCH INTEGRATED SERVICE IN THE STATE NOW - IN TWO COUNTIES, THAT IS. PLEASE DO NOT THINK THAT WE FAIL TO REALIZE THAT THERE ARE STILL 80 COUNTIES TO GO. BUT TO HAVE THE COURAGE TO TACKLE THE OTHER 80 WE HAVE TO LOOK FREQUENTLY AT THE 2.

I DO WANT TO CALL YOUR ATTENTION TO ONE ERROR IN YOUR ARTICLE THAT I AM SURE YOU WILL BE GLAD TO KNOW IS NOT TRUE. AT LEAST, WE CERTAINLY ARE GLAD THAT IT ISN'T TRUE. ON PAGE 8 IT STATES: "IN BUT ONE STATE - MISSISSIPPI - IS THE LIBRARY BY THE LAW OF THIS CATEGORY DEFINITELY TIED IN WITH THE SYSTEM OF PUBLIC EDUCATION." IF YOU ARE REFERRING TO THE PUBLIC LIBRARY SYSTEM, AND THE INFERENCE IS THAT YOU ARE, THEN IT IS NOT TRUE THAT WE ARE TIED IN WITH THE SYSTEM OF PUBLIC EDUCATION. IN MISSISSIPPI WE HAVE A DISTINCT AND SEPARATE PUBLIC LIBRARY LAW (COPY ENCLOSED) THAT HAS ABSOLUTELY NO RELATION TO THE SYSTEM OF PUBLIC EDUCATION EXCEPT THAT IT CONTAINS PERMISSION FOR A SCHOOL TO CONTRACT WITH A PUBLIC LIBRARY FOR SERVICE IF SAID SCHOOL WISHES TO DO SO. THERE IS A VAST DIFFERENCE IN THE SCHOOL'S HAVING PERMISSION TO CONTRACT WITH AN EXISTING LIBRARY AND IN THE SITUATION WERE IT REVERSED. IN THIS CASE THE POLICY OF THE PUBLIC LIBRARY WHICH IS SET DEFINITELY BY LAW FOR THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES WOULD DETERMINE WHAT THE LIBRARY DID. THE LAW GIVES THE TRUSTEES OF THE LIBRARY EXCLUSIVE CONTROL OF THE LIBRARIES.

NOT ONLY DO WE HAVE A SEPARATE PUBLIC LIBRARY LAW EVEN THE

MISSISSIPPI LIBRARY COMMISSION IS NOT A DIVISION OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AS IS TRUE IN MANY OTHER STATES. WE DO NOT PRESENT, AT THIS TIME, ANY ARGUMENTS FOR OR AGAINST THAT HIGHLY DEBATABLE ARRANGEMENT; WE ONLY MENTION IT TO SHOW THAT AT NO LEVEL, STATE, COUNTY, OR LOCAL, ARE THE PUBLIC LIBRARIES AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM TIED TOGETHER. WE WORK TOGETHER IN MANY INSTANCES (AND I WOULD HOPE ALL INSTANCES) FOR THE COMMON PURPOSE OF RAISING OUR EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS, BUT THE POLICIES OF ONE ARE IN NO WAY AFFECTED BY THE OTHER.

WE DO NOT PRESENT THIS AS ANY DEFENSE OF WHAT WE HAVE DONE OR OF WHAT WE HAVE NOT DONE; BUT I DID THINK THAT YOU WOULD REJOICE WITH US THAT ONCE WE CAN MARSHAL PUBLIC OPINION AND MONEY ENOUGH WE WILL NOT BE ADDITIONALLY HAMPERED BY LEGISLATION IN OUR EARNEST DESIRE THAT ALL OF THE PEOPLE OF MISSISSIPPI SHALL HAVE EQUITABLE LIBRARY SERVICE.

BY THE WAY, IN PASSING, HAVE YOU SEEN THE NOTATION IN THE RECENT LAW (FIRST PASSED IN 1950) REGARDING THE METHODS OF USE OF SOME MONEY APPROPRIATED TO BUY BOOKS FOR THE COLORED PEOPLE. WE THINK THAT THE FOLLOWING UNDERSCORED PORTIONS OF THAT LAW WERE STEPS CERTAINLY IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION.

* Provided, however, that eight thousand seven hundred fifty dollars ($8,750.00) of the sum of fifty four thousand, eight hundred ninety dollars ($54,890.00) appropriated above, shall be used exclusively in the purchase of books for the use of the colored race, and for supplies, equipment and bookshelves for said books. Provided further, however, that such books, supplies and equipment shall be housed in the quarters of the state library commission in the Woolfolk State Office Building, and shall be distributed in like manner as such other books now under the control of said commission.

THEN, MAYBE YOU HAVE NOT SEEN THE ENCLOSED COPY OF LIBRARY NEWS.

THANK YOU AGAIN FOR THE ARTICLE. IT HAS BEEN HELPFUL ALREADY IN ONE INSTANCE TO BOLSTER A LIBRARY BOARD IN THEIR DESIRE TO MAKE THEIR FACILITIES AVAILABLE TO EVERYBODY WHO WANTED TO READ.

CORDIALLY YOURS

MISSISSIPPI LIBRARY COMMISSION

BY: Lura G. Currier

(MRS.) LURA G. CURRIER
FIELD REPRESENTATIVE

* The 1952 session of the legislature raised this sum to $25,000.00

April 27, 1954

Mrs. Lura G. Currier
Field Representative
Mississippi Library Commission
403 State Office Building
Jackson, Miss.

Dear Mrs. Currier:

Thank you for your letter of April 23rd.

It is indeed encouraging to learn that two counties in your state have inaugurated integrated book-mobile service. We will look forward to progress in the remaining eighty counties and in the community libraries in Mississippi.

Your comments on the relationship between the public library system and the public school system are also encouraging. The statement concerning the tie-up between the public school system and the public library system appeared in Dr. Reddick's article, and I am forwarding your letter on to him.

I had not seen the issue of MISSISSIPPI LIBRARY NEWS you enclosed, and read it with a great deal of interest.

I think you will be interested in the enclosed article "Literacy and the Free Mind" and in the supplementary list of libraries giving service to Negroes on page eight.

We appreciate your thoughtfulness in bringing all the items in your letter to our attention and would be very pleased to hear from you from time to time as other libraries in the state change their policy concerning service to Negroes.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

encl

October 19, 1954

Miss Lura Currier
Mississippi Library Commission
403 State Office Building
Jackson, Miss.

Dear Miss Currier:

We appreciated your referring Miss Wessells to "The Color Line in Southern Libraries" and have sent her three copies (see enclosure).

I am sending you several additional copies under separate cover.

You will be interested in the fact that Richmond, Va., Charlottesville, Va., Columbia, S. C. and Lufkin, Tx. now give full service to Negroes at their main public libraries.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

encl

October 19, 1954

Miss Helen E. Wessells
Editor, Library Journal
c/o R. W. Bowker Co., Publishers
62 W. 45 St.
New York 36, N. Y.

Dear Miss Wessells:

I am sending the enclosed copies of "The Color Line in Southern Libraries" at the request of Miss Lura Currier of the Mississippi Library Commission.

Should you want additional copies, we will be glad to fill your order. Back issues of NEW SOUTH, in which the article appeared, sell at ten cents each.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

encl

cc: Lura Currier

A. H.

Mississippi

Library Commission

MRS. EUNICE ELEY
DIRECTOR

403 STATE OFFICE BUILDING
PHONE 5-9361 — EXT. 559

Jackson

Return to ack

October 18, 1954

Miss Ann Holden, ~~Reserve~~ Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Holden:

At the recent meeting of the Southeastern Library Association in Atlanta I had a long and interesting conversation with Helen Wessells, Editor of Library Journal. During the course of our talk I asked her if she had seen your article "The Color Line in Southern Libraries". She hadn't. I promised to send her a copy but discover that I have only one. Much as I think of Miss Wessells personally and professionally I have no intention of parting with my copy. Will you send her one so that she may have this particular piece of the south's library service to fit into the pattern that she will see evolving in her study?

Sincerely yours,

Lura Currier

Lura Currier
Field Representative

LC/je
Cc: L. D. Reddick
Helen Wessells

Library Journal

Over 75 years of library leadership

62 WEST 45TH STREET · NEW YORK 36 · MU 2-0150

October 27, 1954

Miss Anna Holden
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Holden:

Many thanks for sending me the copies of The Color Line in Southern Libraries. They will be very useful and I am only sorry that I did not know about the publication before this.

Sincerely yours,

Helen E. Wessells

Helen E. Wessells
Editor

HEW:DJB

March 7, 1955

Mr. Paul Bixler, Secretary
Intellectual Freedom Committee, ALA
Antioch College Library
Yellow Springs, Ohio

Dear Mr. Bixler:

Thank you for your letter of March 4 inquiring about the practices of Southern public libraries concerning admission of Negroes.

I am enclosing a copy of the March, 1954 NEW SOUTH which carries a news note on several libraries that were not included in the January report. We have published no material on public library integration since the March NEW SOUTH, but learned from the librarian at Lufkin, Texas in April that the Kurth Memorial Library (public library at Lufkin) now gives full service to Negroes.

Miss Helen E. Wessells, Editor of the Library Journal, 62 West 45th St., New York 36, N. Y. recently wrote us for information concerning integration of public libraies in the South. I understood from her letter that she is currently engaged in research in this area. I am not aware that she has published anything along this line recently, but it would probably be worthwhile to check with her.

If we can be of further assistance, please feel free to call upon us.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Information Assistant

encl

AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION
EXECUTIVE OFFICES: 50 EAST HURON STREET, CHICAGO 11
Sent from: Antioch College Library, Yellow Springs, Ohio

March 4, 1955

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Mr. Harry Ashmore has referred me to you for information about the practices of Southern public libraries concerning the admission of Negroes. I have just received the January, 1954 New South on the subject. Do you have anything later or more complete than that?

Sincerely yours,

Paul Bixler

Paul Bixler, Secretary
Intellectual Freedom Committee

PB/gp

Oct 1964 ALA Bulletin
map showing operating
expenditures for local lib
services by state / cap/ta
pop

Aug-Sept 1952

From → Dr. Golden's survey

Library	Main Library Service	Date	Branch Library Use	Date	Effect on Use	
Wilmington, Delaware	Regardless of Race	1893 Library opened 1899	Regardless of race	1893		Interracial use taken as matter of course. No records by race. Certain that there was free use by Negroes by 1904, possibly since opening.
Washington, D.C.	" "		" "	1899		
Tampa Public Library	White persons only		2 strictly Negro branches - other branches for whites			Apparently interracial use has been proposed but not approved. Reference to supreme Court decisions.
Jacksonville, Fla	Limited service to Negroes. Reference service extended at a table especially for use of Negroes.	This started in 1952.	1 Branch Library especially for Negroes.			Reference service used "only by students" since reference service at Negro branch is inadequate. No expressed negative reaction
Baton Rouge, La.	Regardless of race	Sept 1953	Regardless of race	Sept 1953		→ use has increased. No public fanfare over opening. Told personnel of colored branch of new policy & Negroes started using Library. Four of 5 board members approved opening, one abstained from voting
New Orleans, La. Shreveport	Regardless race	1954	Regardless of race. Negro branch for Negro citizens	1954	Increased.	Segregated service for 18 yrs prior to 1954. Board won't consider interracial use as long as schools are segregated
Charlotte, N.C.	Regardless of race	Gradual use: began 10-15 yrs ago.	Regardless of race	Gradual use over last 5 yrs.	Increased use.	Gradual increase in use by Negroes.
Tulsa, Okla.	Regardless of Race	1939	Regardless of Race	1939		No particular effect noted. No objection ever raised
Oklahoma City	Regardless of Race	Legally never been any restriction only recent yrs since Negroes used Main Library	Regardless of Race	started 30 yrs. More Negroes used		No answers —

Library	Main Library Serving	Date	Branch Library	Date	Effects
Austin, Texas	Regardless of Race	1951	Regardless of Race	1951	No effect on white use of Library. Negroes use main library a little more each year. Make much use of Carver Branch & seem to use it less each year. They use the Bookmobile more than branch. No disturbances
Corpus Christi Texas	Regardless of Race	1921	No branch library		Increased because of growth of City - No effect.
El Paso Texas	Regardless of Race	1st organized	Regardless of Race	1st organized	No figures as the situation has not changed since the library was built
San Antonio Texas	Regardless of Race	1949	Regardless of Race	1949	One one Negro branch & 2 sub-branches are being used by whites. Now — Negro patrons have always been served in Main library in special study rooms. No disturbances

Library	Main Library Service	Date	Branch Library	Date	Effect on Use	
Chattanooga, Tenn	Regardless of Race	1949	Regardless of Race	Branch 1956 Formerly Negro Bookmobile 1949		No effect on the extent of use by white persons & the use by Negroes has grown gradually + the use of the library in all departments has continued to increase. People have forgotten that library was formerly open only to whites
Knoxville, Tenn	Regardless of Race	1958	Regardless of Race	1958		
Nashville, Tenn	Adult Negroes only (Negroes requested access to Adult Collection only	1949	Negro Branch (Some white patrons) White Branch (Some colored borrows) (Serve anyone who comes in	1955		More Negroes - particularly Knoxville College students use main city library Negroes Exception without question. No effect on white use. Lost no readers. Negro use is small perhaps 30-60 a day - high school & College students. Sit anywhere they choose

Library	Main Library	Date	Branch	Date	Effect	
Norfolk, Va	Regardless of Race	1947	Regardless	1947	Main	Library use is principally by students among Negroes, but there are others. Total Negro use of Library has increased. Total white also. No disturbances
Richmond, Va	" "	1947	Bowser Branch opened only to Negro. New branch will be opened in October when construction completed, Local station c[illegible] white which restricted to white school officials	October (1950)		Most of Negro use of main library is by high school & college students, use by general public growing. Many Negroes still prefer Negro branch. Disturbances - (minor) - Rest rooms operated by a troublemaker with a long record of complaints about practices not involving segregation issue

Library	Main Library	Date	Branch	Date	Effects
Memphis, Tenn.	Whites only		Whites only service for colored + one bookmobile for colored.		
Atlanta, Ga.	Whites only Resources are available on request to borrower of 3 Negro branches Auburn, Atl. University + West Hunter				

Sept 1956

RACIAL PRACTICES IN SOUTHERN LIBRARIES

The Library Committee of the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations engaged in a survey of racial practices in Southern libraries, in order to ascertain whether any trend existed in the South. Questionnaires were sent to the 31 Southern cities which have a population of 100,000 or over.[1] Twenty-eight questionnaires were returned.

The questionnaire attempted to find out whether these cities provided library service regardless of race or to white persons only, both in the main library and in the branches. The findings of the survey are as follows:

Of the 28 cities which returned the questionnaire, 18 give service in the main library regardless of race. The cities are: Austin, Tex.; Baton Rouge, La.; Charlotte, N. C.; Chattanooga, Tenn.; Corpus Christi, Tex.; Dallas, Tex.; El Paso, Tex.; Fort Worth, Tex.; Knoxville, Tenn.; Louisville, Ky.; Miami, Fla.; New Orleans, La.; Norfolk, Va.; Oklahoma City, Okla.; San Antonio, Tex.; Tulsa, Okla.; Washington, D. C.; and Wilmington, Del.. Three cities offer limited service to Negroes -- Jacksonville, Fla.; Nashville, Tenn.; and Richmond, Va. Eleven of these cities have brought about this change since 1947 -- a clear trend toward unsegregated service within the last 10 years. Only seven[2] of the 28 responding cities restrict their main library to white persons only.

Sixteen cities provide service regardless of race in their library branches. Two cities provide such service in one or more of their branches.

1The states included are those listed in the U.S. Census as "South Atlantic," "East South Central" and "West South Central." Population figures were taken from the 1950 Census.

2Atlanta, Georgia; Memphis, Tenn.; Mobile, Ala.; Montgomery, Ala.; Savannah, Ga.; Shreveport, La.; Tampa, Fla.

These libraries report that, since the change was brought about, the amount of use of the library has either remained the same or increased. There were no disturbances which interfered with the adjustment. In general, public opinion has been either neutral or favorable. In most cases the change was initiated and carried through by the Library Board; the next largest group consists of changes brought by the Librarian.

Joseph Golden

Joseph Golden, Ph.D
Library Committee
Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations

Tennessee Library Association

U. T. M. B.
Martin, Tennessee

January 21, 1957

Miss Florence B. Irving
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Irving:

In response to your request of August 23, 1956, the requested information has finally been completed and is enclosed.

Very truly yours,

H. D. Ferris
President

HDF:cf

TENNESSEE STATE LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES

NASHVILLE 3, TENNESSEE

STATE LIBRARY DIVISION

December 7, 1956

Mr. H. D. Ferris, President
Tennessee Library Association
U.T.M.B. Library
Martin, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Ferris:

Enclosed is information compiled as a result of the Southern Regional Council, Inc. request for information on "the main branches of public libraries in Tennessee whose services are available to Negroes".

If you need further information or data before your reply to the Southern Regional Council, let me know. Percentages have not been computed as they were not requested, however this can easily be done if desired.

I hope everything is going well with you.

Very truly yours,

Eleanor

(Mrs.) Eleanor J. Burt
State Library Division

TENNESSEE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION
Public Libraries Section
October 19, 1956

TO: Tennessee Public Librarians

FROM: Public Libraries Section, Tennessee Library Association, Mrs. Eleanor J. Burt, Reporter.

SUBJECT: Questionnaire on Public Library Service to Negroes in Tennessee.

The Tennessee Library Association has been asked to compile information on public library service to Negroes in Tennessee for the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Please fill-in and return the bottom part of this sheet as soon as possible.

Name_____ Title_____

Name of Library_____ County_____

Post Office Address of Library_____

ARE THE SERVICES OF YOUR PUBLIC LIBRARY (MAIN BRANCH) AVAILABLE TO NEGROES?

	Adults	Children(under 14)
1. To check out books, records, etc.:	yes ____	yes ____
	no ____	no ____
2. To use reading rooms:	yes ____	yes ____
	no ____	no ____

REMARKS:

Return to: Mrs. Eleanor J. Burt, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville 3, Tennessee

		NUMBER
1.	Libraries having ALL main branch services available to Negroes.	52
2.	Libraries having SOME main branch services available to Negroes.	15
3.	Libraries having NO main branch services available to Negroes.	25
4.	Libraries that did not answer "yes" or "no". (13 have no Negroes in their community)	16

LIBRARIES WITH NO NUMBER DID NOT RETURN QUESTIONNAIRE.

TENNESSEE
COUNTY AND MUNICIPAL LIBRARIES
November, 1956

Public Libraries NOT Affiliated with the Tennessee Regional Library System

COUNTY	P.O.ADDRESS OF LIBRARY	NAME OF LIBRARY	LIBRARIAN
Anderson	Oak Ridge	Oak Ridge Public Library	Mrs. Minnie Duncan
Blount	1 Maryville	A. K. Harper Memorial Library	Mrs. Kate Nance
Davidson	Old Hickory	Old Hickory Community Library	Mrs. Blanche Latimer
Dyer	Dyersburg	Dyersburg Public Library	Mrs. Walter Draper
Fayette	Somerville	Fayette County Free Library	Mrs. S. A. Wetzler
Greene	Greeneville	Greene County Library	Miss Kathleen Piper
Hamilton	1 Chattanooga	Chattanooga Public Library	Miss Elizabeth Edwards
Haywood	3 Brownsville	Brownsville Public Library	Miss Ethel C. Bain
Henry	3 Paris	Paris City Library	Mrs. Georgia Boice
Lake	Tiptonville	Tiptonville Public Library	Mrs. Margaret Newton
Lincoln	Fayetteville	Lincoln County Free Library	Mrs. Cyrus E. Moores
Madison	1 Jackson	Jackson Free Library	Miss Frances Smith
Sullivan	1 Bristol	Bristol Public Library	Mrs. Douglas Widener
	1 Kingsport	Kingsport Public Library	Mr. Kenneth F. Duchac
Washington	1 Johnson City	Mayne Williams Public Library	Mrs. George Fredericks
Williamson	1 Franklin	War Memorial Library	Mrs. Corinne W. Overton

Metropolitan Libraries which Carry on Certain County-Wide Activities under Contract with Tennessee State Library and Archives Commission

Davidson	2 Nashville	Nashville Public Library	Dr. Robert Alvarez
Knox	1 Knoxville	Knox County Library Community branches: Mascott, Tennessee Fountain City, Tennessee Inskip, Tennessee Powell, Tennessee	Miss Emma Suddarth
	1 Knoxville	Lawson McGhee Library	Miss Helen Harris
Shelby	3 Memphis	Memphis Public Library 258 South McLean Boulevard	Mr. Jesse Cunningham

Public Libraries Affiliated with the Tennessee Regional Library System

COUNTY	P.O.ADDRESS OF LIBRARY	NAME OF LIBRARY	LIBRARIAN
Anderson	1 Andersonville	Andersonville Public Library	Mrs. W. A. Irwin
	Briceville	Briceville Public Library	Mrs. Clarence Norman
	1 Clinton	Anderson County Library	Mrs. Sam Peters
	1 Devonia	Devonia Public Library	Miss Patsy Ruth Miller
	Lake City	Lake City Public Library	Mrs. Carl Alley
	1 Norris	Norris Community Library	Mrs. Gordon Colborn
Bedford	1 Shelbyville	Bedford County Memorial Library	Mrs. S. S. Moody
Benton	Camden	Benton County Library	Mrs. Edith Nunnery
Bledsoe	1 Pikeville	Bledsoe County Library	Mrs. Arthur Meyer
Bradley	Cleveland	Cleveland Public Library	Miss Ruth Chambers
	Cleveland	College Hill Colored Branch	Miss Henrietta Prigmore
Campbell	4 Caryville	Caryville Public Library	Mrs. Joe Ann Chambers
	4 Clinchmore	Clinchmore Public Library	Mrs. Olaf Jordan
	Elk Valley	Elk Valley Public Library	Mrs. Charlotte Welch
	1 Jacksboro	Jacksboro Public Library	Miss Vida Baird
	1 Jellico	Jellico Public Library	Mrs. Hugh P. Finley
	2 La Follette	La Follette Public Library	Mrs. J. D. Wender
	Morley	Morley Public Library	Mrs. Goldie Childers
Carroll	1 Huntingdon	Carroll County Library	Mrs. Pearl Harder
	3 McKenzie	McKenzie Public Library	Mrs. Lester Hines
Carter	2 Elizabethton	Elizabethton Public Library	Mrs. Maude P. Ingle
Claiborne	Tazewell		
Cocke	2 Newport	Cocke County Library	Miss Lou Morrell
	Parrottsville	Parrottsville Public Library	Mrs. T. Ellison
Coffee	1 Tullahoma	Coffee County Public Library	Mrs. W. L. Raugh
	Manchester	Manchester Branch of Coffee County Library	Mrs. Richard Rowe
Cumberland	4 Crossville Box 262	Art Circle Public Library	Mrs. O. C. Eldridge
Decatur	3 Decaturville	Decatur County Library	Mrs. Grace Vise
DeKalb	1 Smithville	DeKalb County Library	Mrs. A. B. Hiser
Dickson	4 Dickson	Dickson County Library	Mrs. Albert Hines
Dyer	3 Dyersburg	Dyer County Library	Miss Linda Harness
	Trimble	Trimble Public Library	Mrs. Perry Baker
Franklin	1 Winchester	Franklin County Library	Miss May Richardson
Gibson	3 Humboldt	Humboldt Public Library	Mrs. Weldon Oliver
	3 Milan	Milan Public Library	Mrs. G. H. Dickey
	3 Trenton	Gibson County Library	Mr. Leslie Smith
Giles	2 Pulaski	Craig Library	Mrs. Mary H. Long
Grainger	1 Rutledge	Grainger County Library	Mrs. H. H. Waller
Grundy	1 Trace City	Grundy County Library	Mrs. Alton T. Geary
	1 Altamont	Grundy County Library	Mrs. H. B. Williams
	1 Palmer	Grundy County Library	Mrs. George Sandon
Hamblen	1 Morristown	Hamblen County Library	Mrs. Carrie B. Stuart
	2 Russellville	Russellville Public Library	Mrs. Hugh Patterson
Hancock	3 Sneedville	Hancock County Library	Miss June Seal
Hardeman	3 Bolivar	Bolivar-Hardeman County Library	Mrs. Vincent Black
Hardin	2 Savannah	Hardin County Library	Miss Pauline Hosea

COUNTY	P.O.ADDRESS OF LIBRARY	NAME OF LIBRARY	LIBRARIAN
Hawkins	Bulls Gap	Bulls Gap Library	Mrs. Calvin Long
	2 Church Hill	Church Hill Library	Mrs. Hale Thomas
	Church Hill, #4	Liberty Hill	Mrs. Taylor Vance
	Rogersville	Hawkins County Library	Mrs. Lillian Patton
	4 Bulls Gap	St. Clair	Mrs. Eunice Rowland
	1 Surgoinsville	Surgoinsville	Miss Patsy Elkins
Henderson	1 Lexington	Henderson County Library	Mrs. A. R. Wallace, Jr.
Henry	Paris	Henry County Library	Miss Ruth Smith
Hickman	3 Centerville	Hickman County Library	Mrs. W. E. Warren
Houston	1 Erin	Houston County Library	Mrs. J. C. Bunnell
Humphreys	1 Waverly	Humphreys County Library	Mrs. Bruce Crane
Jefferson	1 Dandridge	Jefferson County Library	Mrs. Jewell Hodge
	4 Jefferson City Box 14	Jefferson City Library	Mrs. John Formwalt
Johnson	2 Mountain City	Johnson County Library	Mrs. Tyler Wilson
Lauderdale	3 Ripley	Sugar Hill-Lauderdale County Library	Mrs. D. G. Dennie
Lawrence	3 Lawrenceburg	Lawrence County Library	Mrs. H. D. Derrick
Lewis	1 Hohenwald	Lewis County Library	Mrs. W. B. Sublette
Loudon	1 Lenoir City	Gen. L. D. Tyson Library	Mrs. Alice Perkey
	Loudon	Loudon Public Library	Mrs. Glen Goodwin
	Greenback	Greenback Public Library	Mrs. Roy M. Brooks, Jr.
McMinn	Athens	McMinn County Library	Mrs. H. L. Ray
	4 Etowah	Carnegie Public Library	Mrs. Roy Holtzclaw
Madison	1 Jackson	Madison County Library	Mrs. Sara Messner
~~Madison~~	~~Jackson~~	~~Jackson Free Library~~ on page 1	~~Miss Frances Smith~~
Marshall	2 Lewisburg	Marshall County Free Library	Mrs. Judith Steel
Maury	2 Columbia	Maury County Public Library	Mrs. May Evelyn Stephenson
	2 Mt. Pleasant	Maury County Public Library	Mrs. Paul Daniels
Meigs	1 Decatur	Meigs County Library	Miss Agnes Cross
Monroe	Madisonville	Monroe County Public Library	Miss Margaret Wilson
	2 Sweetwater	Sweetwater Public Library	Miss Jane Brown
	4 Tellico Plains	Tellico Plains Public Library	Mrs. B. L. White
Montgomery	3 Clarksville	Clarksville Public Library	Mrs. Fred Brown
	Clarksville	~~Montgomery County Library~~ (colored)	Mrs. Katherine Roberts
	Clarksville	~~Cobb Library Branch~~	Mrs. Edith A. Brooks
	New Providence	New Providence Library	Mrs. Maurice Johnson
Moore	1 Lynchburg	Moore County Public Library	Mrs. Mark Osborne
Morgan	4 Burrville	Burrville Public Library	Mrs. Emma Greer and Miss Blanche Broyles
	4 Coalfield	Coalfield Public Library	Mrs. Betty Carsons
	3 Deer Lodge	Deer Lodge Public Library	Mrs. Ibbie Pittman
	1 Oakdale	Oakdale Public Library	Mrs. R. A. Angel
	1 Petros	Petros Public Library	Mrs. Alice Whitus
	1 Oakdale	Pine Orchard Library	Mrs. Thelma Hatfield
	1 Sunbright	Sunbright Public Library	Mrs. Grace Jones
	3 Wartburg	Morgan County Library	Mrs. Jack Freytag
Obion	3 Union City	Obion County Library	Mrs. W. R. Harrigan
Overton	Livingston	Overton County Library	Mrs. Sarah Williamson

COUNTY		P.O.ADDRESS OF LIBRARY	NAME OF LIBRARY	LIBRARIAN
Perry	1	Linden	Perry County Library	Miss Ruth Godwin
Polk		Benton	Public Library of Polk County	Mrs. Ruth McKown
	2	Copperhill	Public Library of Polk County	Mrs. Ruth McKown
		Ducktown	Public Library of Polk County	Mrs. Ruth McKown
Putnam	1	Cookeville	Putnam County Library	Miss Clara Starnes
Rhea	3	Dayton	Dayton Public Library	Mrs. Boss Broyles
		Spring City	Rhea County Library	Mrs. Audrey Pack
Roane	1	Kingston	Roane County Library	Mrs. John Roberts
		Harriman	Harriman Public Library	Mrs. Harold Williams
	1	Rockwood	Rockwood Public Library	Mrs. Reba Edwards
Robertson	3	Springfield	Glenn Memorial Library	Miss Sue D. Taylor
Rutherford	2	Murfreesboro	Linebaugh Public Library	Mrs. Myla Parsons
Scott	4	Huntsville	Scott County Library	Mrs. Nona Lee Chambers
	3	Norma	Norma Public Library	Miss Ada Lawson
	3	Oneida	Oneida Public Library	Mrs. Oscar West
	4	Robbins	Robbins Public Library	Mrs. C. L. Kline
Sevier	1	Gatlinburg	Anna Porter Public Library	Mrs. Wade King
		Pigeon Forge	Pigeon Forge Library	Miss Helen Duggan
	1	Sevierville	Sevierville Public Library	Mrs. Stanley McMahan
Smith	1	Carthage	Smith County Public Library	Mrs. Mabel Thompson
Stewart		Dover	Stewart County Library	Mrs. Orlean Walter
Sullivan	1	Blountville	Sullivan County Public Library	Mrs. Mattie Parris
Sumner		Gallatin	Gallatin Friendship Library	Mrs. John B. Brown
	4	Hendersonville	Beech School	Mrs. Ed Lanier
	4	Portland	Portland Community Library	Mrs. R. D. Gilliam
Tipton	3	Covington	Tipton County Library	Mrs. Blanche Shelton
Union	4	Maynardville	Maynardville Public Library	Mrs. Mary Nell Hurst
Van Buren	4	Spencer	Van Buren County Library	Mrs. Louise Miller
Warren	1	McMinnville	Wm. H. & Edgar Magness Library	Mrs. David Ray
Wayne		Waynesboro	Wayne County Library	Mrs. Helton
Washington	1	Jonesboro	Washington County & Jonesboro Public Library	Mrs. Panhorst Cooke
Weakley	3	Dresden	Weakley County Library	
	1	Greenfield	Greenfield Public Library	Mrs. Essie Barton
	3	Martin	Martin Woman's Club Library	Mrs. Irene Coffman
Wilson	1	Lebanon	Wilson County Library	Mrs. Willie Boyd

Compiled and Issued by
Public Libraries Division
Tennessee State Library and Archives
Nashville 3, Tennessee

10/25/56 BK 100 cys.

The enclosed questionnaire was sent to the 142 public libraries in Tennessee which are on the most recent list issued by the Public Libraries Division of Tennessee State Library and Archives.

TABULATION OF RESPONSE:

142.....Number of questionnaires sent.

108.....Number of replies received through December 5, 1956.

52.....Libraries replying that all main branch services and facilities are available to Negroes.

15.....Libraries replying that some main branch services and facilities are available to Negroes.

25.....Libraries replying that no main branch services and facilities are available to Negroes.

16.....Libraries that did not answer the questions, but made remarks.

TABULATION OF REPLIES BY QUESTION:

Are the services of your public library (main branch) available to Negroes?

		Adults	Children (under 14)
1. To check out books, records, etc.:	yes	67	64
	no	25	28
2. To use reading rooms:	yes	58	52
	no	34	40

REMARKS:

1. Among the remarks made by libraries having all main branch services and facilities available to Negroes are the following:

   "very few have taken advantage of it"

   "available if desired"

   "available to all citizens"

   "Negroes do use our library, and the same courtesy is shown them as to white people. So far they have not used the reading room, but could if they wished."

   "All library services are available to all regardless of race."

REMARKS:

1. continued-

"very few avail themselves of the provilege"

"very little use is made ... perhaps [because] we have not advertised the service"

"Very few of them do sit down in the reading room, but they are at perfect liberty to use it. We have never had a single complaint from the white readers..."

2. Among the remarks made by libraries having <u>some</u> main branch services and facilities available to Negroes are the following:

"we always help, never refuse"

"I have been instructed by our library board not to refuse books to any Negro requesting them."

"We do not refuse service to Negroes."

3. Among the remarks made by libraries having <u>no</u> main branch services and facilities available to Negroes are the following:

"decided against for the present"

"Have endeavored to establish stations for Negroes ... asking someone of their number to look out for the books ... trust we may be able to help them to help themselves."

"the building that furnishes our space is for the use of white people only except for the Tennessee Employment Security"

"we have had no requests from the Negroes here"

"we buy ... books each year [for the Negro school library]"

"we do not have any Negroes"

"If they want anything special I let them have it."

"Negroes have their own library ... and they have never requested books from our library."

"We have a branch library for Negroes."

REMARKS: continued-

4. Among the remarks made by libraries that did not answer the questions were the following:

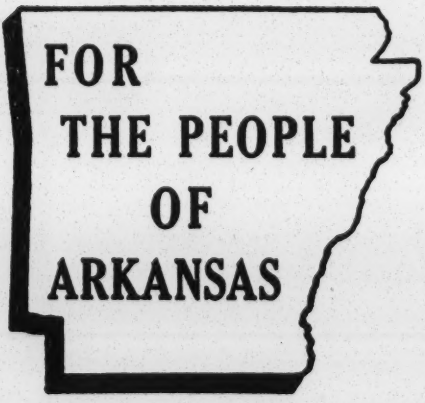
"No Negroes live in this community."

"We do not have this problem."

"[This] library has never had a request for books from a Negro."

"[We] have had only two Negroes to check out books [in my 10 years here]. One did not return the book."

BOOKS AND LIBRARY SERVICE



ARKANSAS LIBRARY COMMISSION
506½ Center Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Y O U R Library Commission Serves

1. Individuals—living in areas without a public library.

2. Clubs and service organizations—in areas without a public library.

3. Libraries — county, regional, city, community.

4. Schools in areas without county or regional library—supplementing school collections.

HOW YOUR LIBRARY COMMISSION GIVES THIS SERVICE

DIRECT LOAN SERVICE BY MAIL

Lends books, pamphlets, and magazines
to individuals without access to local library service.

to county, regional, city, community and school libraries.

Answers reference questions.

EXTENSION OF LIBRARY SERVICE

Helps to initiate and establish new regional libraries.

Provides professional advice on library problems to any library in the state upon request.

Aids in the improvement of school libraries.

Maintains THREE SPECIAL COLLECTIONS of books at headquarters in addition to the central collection:

PUBLISHERS EXHIBIT COLLECTION containing copies of new books for children and young people. These books are loaned to groups and individuals for examination before purchase.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR FIRST PURCHASE by Children's Catalog and Standard Catalog for High School Libraries. This is a non-circulating collection. Librarians, teachers, parents, interested citizens are invited to use this collection at headquarters.

ARKANSAS COLLECTION—Notable books by Arkansans and about Arkansas.

Y O U can help us

Let us know what YOU want

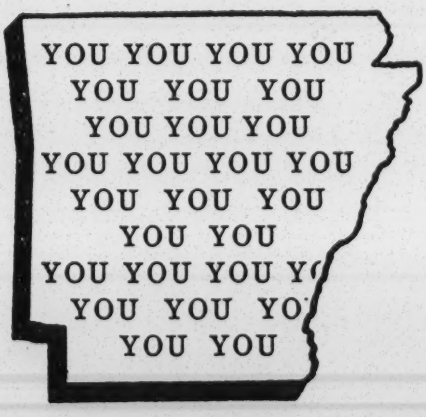
ASK—librarian in your community

WRITE—directly to us if no library is available

Arkansas Library Commission
506½ Center Street
Little Rock, Arkansas
Telephone 4-3954

TELL your friends and newcomers in your community about the services

B O O K S
for



ARKANSAS LIBRARY COMMISSION

Headquarters

506½ Center Street
Little Rock, Arkansas
Telephone 4-3954

Hours

Monday - Friday
8:00 a.m. - 5 p.m.

YOUR
ARKANSAS LIBRARY
COMMISSION

has

Books and library materials

* * *

70,000 volumes
And receives 100 magazine subscriptions

* * *

1,909,511 people to be served, (1950 census)

* * *

81,270 books and magazines were circulated from headquarters July 1951—June 1952.

* * *

There are 33 county and regional libraries serving 46 counties in Arkansas

* * *

If you do not have library service write or call:

Arkansas Library Commission
506½ Center Street
Little Rock, Arkansas
Telephone 4-3954

1-29-53

59 Replies (34%)
20 more 4-10-53

79 — 46%

46
172) 79.00
68.8
1020
1032
172) 59.08
516
7488
6888

8

Sent to cities other surveys indicated having library service from main library for Negroes (37), plus all cities of 20,000 or more population in Ala., Ark., Fla., Ga., La., Miss., NC, Okla., SC, Tenn., and Tex., plus all citiesof 10,000 or more in Ky. and Va. (Total letters sent--172)

American Lib. Directory, 1924

R. Bowker Co.

62 W. 45th St.

NY 19

1954 lack 3 years

$12.50

$1.00

Lake —

60 E. Huron St.

Chicago 11, Ill.

I. Significance of the Problem

A. Relation of the Unit to Student Needs

High up on the list of loyalties, knowledges and the disciplines necessary to free men in a democratic society have been placed those which have to do with the feee men's relation to other individuals. The free man is loyal to the principle of human equality and brother-hood; he has a knowledge of the history of mankind and of the long struggle to liberate the human mind and civilize the hum an heart; and he entertains a conception of welfare that embraces all elements of the population.[1] That this conception of the general welfare must be grounded upon some knowledge of all of the elements in the population foreswears discussion.

Numerous experiments have been conducted to determine the attitude of children toward the Negro.[2] Not all of these have been experiments to measure the attitudes held by children of other than Negro groups. Many of them were aimed at discovery of the attitudes which Negroes held about themselves[3] - attitudes which, when held by others toward Negroes, are often described as prejudiced.[4]

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1. For a discussion of the loyalties, knowledges and disciplines essential to free men see George S. Counts, The Education of Free Men in American Democracy. Educational Policies Commission. Wash. D.C. 1941. This statement has been adapted from that account.
2. For a description of the racial attitudes of children see Bruno Lasker. Race Attitudes in Children New York. Henry Holt and Co. 1929. See also: Donald Young. "Some Effects of a course in American Race Problems on the Race Prejudices of 450 undergraduates at the University of Pennsylvania, "Journal of abnormal and social psychology.22:235-242 (1927); J.M. Reinhardt, "Students and Race Feeling" Survey 61:239-240 (1928).
3. H.W. Baumgardner "Measuring Negro Self-Respect" Journal of Negro Education 4:490-9, Oct. 1935. Thomas E. Davis. "Some Racial attitudes of Negro College and grade school students. "Journal of Negro Education VI-157-165 April, 1937.
4. Ira De A. Reid. The Negro Immigrant New York, Columbia University Press, 1939 pp. 107ff.

It is generally agreed that a lack o knowledge about another or one's own group may be one factor in the retention of stereotypes and the promotion of prejudice, expecially when that prejudice assumes the role of "race" hate. It is only reasonable to assume, then, that knowledge of the peoples against whom we have prejudicws is indispensable to the disintegration of prejudice. But the mere acquisition of knowledge does not mean and the end of prejudice, for prejudiced attitudes have shown an amazing resiliency and ability to survive in the presumably hostile atmosphere of widespread factual information. Indeed it is not uncommon to find individuals in the possession of great quantities of factual information retaining their own prejudices even though many of these may be grounded in the basest of ignorant beliefs and superstitions. If the researches of Lichtenstein,[5] Rosander,[6] Wrighstone,[7] Eckert and Mills,[8] and a host of other writers[9] on the correlation between the amount of knowledge which the pupil has or to which he has, through formal courses, been subjected and his attitude toward certain issues are to be accepted as valid, then the emphasis upon knowledge must be qualitative rather than quantitative.[10]

To accept this shift in emphasis from quantitative to qualitative knowledge is to imply the rather close relationship between attitudes (which are to be affected by knowledge) and value patterns (which may determine the manner in which knowledge is used). We may assume, then, that "our conception of race or ethnic prejudice is rooted in a series of dogmas of the rights of man and of the equality of man".[11] Ethnic prejudice may then be defined as a general term pointing to behavior by members of one ethnic group toward another ethnic group in society contrary to the norm that is held for the relations among the groups".[12] Thus the primary function of the school may

standards and the creation of new and additional democratic ones - and in

5. Arthur Lichtenstein. Can Attitudes be Taught? Johns-Hopk ins University Studies in Education, No.21. Baltimore: Johns-Hopk ins Press, 1934.
6. A. C. Rosander. "A Quantitative Study of Social Attitudes". School Review xliii. October, 1935. p.616.
7. Ruth C. Eckert and Henry C. Mills. "International Attitudes and Related Academic and Social Factors". Journal of Educational Sociology.IX November, 1935. pp. 142-153.
8. J. Wayne Wrighstone. "Civic Beliefs and Correlated Intellectual and Social Factors". School Review XLII. January, 1934. pp. 53-58.
9. For a discussion and summary of each of the preceding and many other studies see Lavone A. Hanna. The Development of Value Patterns. Stanford Social

Education Investigation. Bulletin No. 13. Stanford University. May 1941.
10. For a discussion of the qualitative approch to knowledge see Robert Lynd, Knowledge for What. Princeton. Princeton University Press. 1939
11. Alfred L. Severson. "What is Prejudice?" Journal of Educational Sociology Feb. 1943-344
12. Ibid p. 345. Dollard describes race prejudice as a conflict between the sominant American mores as expressed in the Declaration of Independence (the equality of man concept) and the regional mores of the South (the concept of the superiority of one race or the inequality of man). See John Dollard. Caste and Class in a Southern town. New Haben. Yale University Press. 1937 Chapter 1.

be conceived as the implementation of the desirable value patterns to which pupils already subscribe and the institution of new ones in the place of those which are undemocratic and therefore undesirable. It is to this end that the school must make use of its opportunities and promote the knowledges of pupils. Information (Knowledge) then has value only in proportion as it achieves these goals and is intelligently used in the democratic solution of our problems: thus, in the same degree as it provides some experiences for the implementation of existing de ocratic value patterns, the displacement of undemocratic standards and the creation of new and additional democratic ones - and in proportion -- as it s pplies the information necessary to the solution of a problem on the basis o democratic ideals is a unit on the Negro or any other group or subject justifiably included in a school program designed to educate free mento live in a free world. Because we believe the study of the Negro meets these criteria we offer this resource unit and relate it to the needs of the pupils.

There are, however, other and extraneous reasons why we have developed this unit. They concern themselves primarily with Negroes. It has been observed that....

> "Race may not dominate but at least it throws its shadow across every phase of the Negro youth's life in the North and envelopes every aspect of it in the South. From birth to death his is not only an outer environment of social and economic problems and adjustments, but also an inner environment of being Negro. Both of these environments are real, effective and inescapable. They not only determine the status of Negroes but they also create the Negro personality.....[13]

We have already indicated that Negro children are themselves often the victims of the stereotyped beliefs which are prevalent about Negroes. The rather low opinions which numerous tests have shown they hold of the group (and, though they may not realize it, of themselves as indistinguishable members of the mass) may provide us with a key to an understanding of one reason for a feeling of not belonging. It is permissible to assume that much of this group feeling arises from a lack of knowledge of themselves as members of the group and the group as one of the contributing elements to

American live. There are those who would charge that this failure to include the contributions of the Negro to American life and history when retelling the story of the nation is the result of a conspiracy deliberately designed to rob Negro youth of their historical heritage and at the same time give the semblance of historical truth to the "hewers of wood and drawers of water" shibboleth.[14] But whatever the reasons for the failure to givedue credit to the contributions of the Negro to American life, it has served to rob Negro Youth of that degree of status which follows upon one's knowledge that he, too, is a member of a group whose contributions have helped to make our nation great. The study of Negro life and history, past and present, serves to close this gap in the educational experiences of Negro youth. (Thus a basic psychological need of the Negro student is, in part, served.)

B. The Relation of the Unit to the Sequence

Some consideration should be given to the study of the peoples who make up the American population at each of the grade levels in the school. The present sequential organization of the social education experiences of youth which place the study of family and school relations (problems of immediate concern) in the seventh grade, problems of community life (often labeled American History) in the eighth grade, problems of adjustment and selection in the ninth grade, and the more remote problems of world civilization (usually confined to a study of European history) in the tenth grade, returning in the eleventh grade to the stud of American history and culminating in the twelfth grade with a study of American problems admirably lends itself to the consideration of the relation of minority groups, especially ethnic minorities, to the total body of a democratic society.

13. Ira De A. Reid. In a Minor Key. Washington American Council on Education. 1940. p. 4.
14. See W. E. B. DuBois Black Reconstruction. New York. Harcourt, Brace and Co. 1935. Chapter 17. See also Helen Boardman. "Racial Attitudes in American History Textbooks" Journal of Negro History XIX, pp.257.

While the seventh, eighth and ninth grades should each give some consideration to the study of minority groups in American life, it is in the eleventh and twelfth grades that the intensive study of these groups should take place. The growing tendency to discontinue the study of the Negro as a separate entity and to include him in the study of minority groups in American life possesses certain inherent dangers. First there is the danger that pupils in their eagerness to get a proper perspective of the problem of minority groups and of the Negro as a part of them will assume for themselves tasks which are too time consuming and too all inclusive to be handled in a really effective manner. The result then is often a mere enumeration of individuals and events in the lives o the several minority groups, giving at best an opportunity for only the most cursory examination of the real problem. The second danger arises out of the nature of the Negro question itself. The Negro is not a voluntary immigrant nor a second or third generation American.

Neither is he in possession of culture traits which must be fused before he can become completely assimilated. He has no language difficulties, no foreign ties. In short, he is already an American in every sense of the word and his rejection rests not on the fact that, like certain other minorities, he seeks to retain certain indigenous cultural traits foreign to the American patter, but upon the biological traits (skin color, hair, tec.) which mark him as different and easily distinguishable. Thus the approach to the study of the Negro must be different from the approach taken in the study of the immigrant French, Czech, Italian or Mexican. It is this that the class which lumps the Negro along with other minority groups for study may overlook. It would appear, therefore, that the study of the Negro in relation to other minority groups might best serve to acquaint pupils on the lower grade levels with the introductory survey facts about minority groups in American while the work on the upper grade levels would be of a more intensive nature and, when dealing with the Negro, treat him in a separate study.

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The primary justification for the intensive study of the unit at the eleventh and twelfth grade levels rests on the assumption that students at these levels have reached a degree of social and intellectual maturity which will enable them to give sustained attention to, delelop effective insights in and effectively hypothecate solutions for problems. This does not mean that pupils, because they have reached the upper grade levels, are always more capable in these skills than those at lower levels, nor can it be considered an argument in support of the contention that adolescents can find the answers to all of our problems. Neither does the suggestion that the periods of intensive study be reserved for the eleventh and twelfth grades reduce to any degree the very great responsibility of the classroom teacher at every grade level to work continuously for the development among pupils of those attitudes toward all peoples of differing races, nationalities and cultures which man honestly be labeled democratic.

C. The Unit in Relation to Other Units in the Curriculum

The suty of the problem of the integration of the Negro may rather easily follow a unit on democracy. Pupils could readily be guided into recognition of the relationship between the problem of the integration of the Negro and the ultimate achievement of democracy in the United States. The discussion mighto follow a nuit on civil liberties or, in a more formal American history class, the whole question of Reconstruction may give rise to an attempt at an evaluation of the role of the Negro during that period and a study of his subsequent development. A unit on labor would afford a real opportunity to study the Negro-a virtually untapped source of labor.[15]

15. The ideal to be hoped for, of course, is that time when the teaching of American history will proceed normally to include the contributions of all groups to that history, thus making it unnecessary to include units of study on the contributions of various groups to American history in the curriculum as footnotes to be "dragged in by the eyebrows". Until that time arrives, however, we must continue to devise new and better ways of achieving the same ends within the present framework.

D. The Unit in Relation to the Democratic Philosophy

We have already remarked that the Negro is a problem in the United States because he precipitates a conflict between our philosophically accepted ethical values and our methods of dealing with peoples. The former is rooted in our veneration for the past and in our conception of the nature of man and his relation to the Supreme Being, while the latter is anchored in our historic tendency to compromise. The one finds its expression in our articles of faith (the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights and the Constitution) and conceives of democracy as a way of life while the other finds its expression in a laissez faire philosophy and rugged individualism and conceives of democracy as a mechanism - the doctrine of majority rule. The resultint clash between ideal and practice has posed for us the crucial test of the strength of our ideals.

There was a moment in history when the manner in which a nation resolved its internal problems was of relative insignificance in the determination of the attitudes of other peoples toward that nation. But that was a fleeting moment. Today modern transportation and communication facilities, the resurgence of the ideals of human decency as apposed to the excessed of the racists and the undemocratic tendencies in democratic and totalitarian countries alike, have all served to dissipate space and bring men closer together, to emphasize their interdependence and to make more vocal and vociferous the voices which, throughout history, have answered Cain's eternal question with a loud affirmative. The present world conflict with its subdued but pervasive emphasis on race has only served to make more imperative the resolution of the cultural conflict in accord with democratic ideals. For today a riot in Detroit, a lynching in Florida or a police murder in Los Angeles are no longer mere incidents in our domestic life but potent weapons used against us by our enemies. These things not only aid our enemies but they frighten our friends. For whether we like it or not the United States has become the curcible in which the strength of our faith

is being tested under the watchful eyes o friends and foes alike. The way in which we meet that test will determine in large part the attitudes which others will hold toward us in the post-war years.

The shcool which is concerned with the preservation of the democratic ideal must actively seek to promote the ideal as a way of life for all Americans and conceive of mechanistic democracy as but a means to aid in the achievement of the ideal. Such a school will not long ignore the questions raised by the presence of the Negro in America and will lend its weight to those who work for a solution to the problem in accord with the democratic goals in America .

II Anticipated Outcomes

A. In terms of Student Behavior

The Criterion for the successful evaluation of any unit of work should be the changes in student behavior wihich occur as a result of the study of the unit. Teachers and pupils about to engage in the study of a unit bearing on the Negro and his relations to American life will naturally want to formulate their own objectives and to work with these in mind. Any listing of objectives here then would be quite out of order were they not designated as purely suggestive or indicative of the kinds of behaviors teachers and pupils might want to work for. (It is important however, that teachers and pupils state their objectives in terms of anticipated observable changes in behavior).

1. Knowledges and understandings. The effective democratic citizen has a knowledge of and increasingly understands:

1.1. the evolutionary concept of history.

1.2. the techniques for combatting intolerance.

1.3. the basic social and psychological factors which make for group prejudices.

1.4. the meaning and use of pressure groups.

1.5. the nature of the social order and the coercive influence of tradition upon modes of action.

1.6. the basic problems of group survival in a nation that tends toward the democratic ideal.

1.7. the issues involved in the present war and their relations to race.

1.8. the basic economic, political and social problems affecting his group status in American life.

1.9. the contributions of others to American life.

1.10 the meaning of the democratic ideal.

1.11 the responsibilities of an American citizen.

2. Habits, skills, and abilities. The effective democratic citizen:

2.11 consciouly develops and proposes hypothetical solutions to group problems accepting modifications, changes and discarding theirs entirely when the evidence seems to warrant it.

2.2. makes the necessary adjustments and accommodations in his every day living but seeks constantly to eliminate those forces which make undemocratic adjustments and accommodations necessary.

2.3. sees his group problem in its proper historical perspective and views it objectively.

2.4. actively supports the efforts of all groups seeking to make universal in practice the democratic ideal.

2.5. tries to create favorable impressions about himself and his group in the minds of others.

2.6. pleads his cause in an intelligent yet forceful manner.

2.7. discriminates between races anf racism.

2.8. chooses his leadership with care-ignoring the demogogues, the agitator and the messiah who would prey upon his emotions.

2.9. increases his ability to discover and eradicate his own weaknesses and attempts to eliminate ignorance in his group.

2.10. increases in his ability to face his wown and his group problems realistically but escapes self-pity.

2.11. increasingly works to over come the barriers which prevent the full realization of democracy.

2.12. resents insults to his dignity and self respect but expresses that resentment in an intelligent and effective manner.

2.13. reserves judgment on all issues until there is sufficient evidence on which to base a conclusion but is always willing to re-examine that conclusion in the light of new evidence or valid criticism.

3. Value Pattersn - attitudes, appreciations and interests. The effective democratic citizen:

3.1. unfailingly rejects revolutionary and violent means as a method in effecting desirable changes.

3.2. increasingly uses his talents, skills and abilities to promote individual, national and group progress always subordinating individual progress to the achievement of the greater goodfor the whole.

3.3. works actively to change institutional behavior to fit the needs of the group and to promote the national ideal.

3.4. appreciates and understands the meaning of human freedom and uses that appreciation and knowledge to effectively promote the democratic way of life.

3.5. works with others in the extension and improvement of the democratic way of life and in so doing guarantees the ultimate full participation in that way of life by all groups.

3.6. appreciates and takes pride in the past experiences of his group and its contributions to world culture but is not a racial chauvanist.

3.7. takes a positive stand in the present war and recognizes it as a war of survival and actively seeks to promotes the full utilization of all our manpower and other resources in its conduct.

3.8. recognizes the essential unity of all men, rejecting any doctrine that ascribes peculiar traits of character and intelligenee to province of a particular race, and seeks to implement the doctrine of the brotherhood of all men through the utilization of all the forces at his command.

3.9. is developing and constantly re-inforcing a sustaining belief in existence of a moral law of the universe and uses this belif to create for himself a personal philosophy of life.

3.10. asserts and maintains his own dignity and self respect and respects the dignity of others.

3.11. effectively assails rumor-mongers and the carriers of cliches that tend to smear or blacken the characters of others.

3.12. recognizes the great strides in progress made by Negroes during the past seventy-five years but knows that this progress was possible only in a democracy.

B. In Terms of Generalizations.

Generalizations may be thought of as guide line for the selections of subject matter content for they are the broad concepts or understandings which the teacher wants the students to get.[16] Hanna describes useful generalizations as being of four kinds: "some are descriptive in that they aummarize a number of facts or situations; some show the cause and effect relationship revealed through the examination of many situations; others state principles which if understood and accepted serve as guides for futureaction; while a fourth type may be described as conclusions to a course of action to be adopted after all the reliable and pertinent data have been examined."

The generalizations which the teacher has may not be the ones which the pupils finally adopt. No democratic teacher will attempt to impose his own generalized ideas upon the pupils and on a question about which there is so wide a range of opinion as the present one the forceful imposition o teacher opinion upon students would be an educational catastrophe. So too would be the attempt to set up a list of generalizations as the ones which teachers should accept. This list then may be viewed in its true light as a suggestive one and in no way an exhaustive one.

1. Economic.

1.1. The basis for choosing employees should be merit, ability to perform required tasks, ability to work cooperatively, and responsibility rather than race.

1.2. While segregation has forced the Negro to develop his own institutional organizations e.g. insurance companies, banks, stores, etc., this is not a valid reason for the continuance of segregation.

1.3. The statement "the Negro is the first to be fired and the last to be hired" is a truism in American life and reflects much of the pattern of the economic life of Negroes.

1.4. While the employment opportunities for Negroes have increased during the present war the pattern of Negro employment has changed only slightly.

1.5. The precedent established during the period of the operation of the National Industrial Recovery Act of giving official government sanction to the principle of wage differential based on race is a dangerous one, the recent War Labor Board decision abolishing such differentials notwithstanding.

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16. Lavone A. Hanna. Resource Unit on Health. Stanford Social Educatio Inves. Stanford University

1.6. The establishment of the Fair Employment Practices Committee to handle cases involving race prejudice and job descrimination in industry is a legitimate exercise of governmental authority in an effort to establish the basic Am. idea

1.6. The practice o writing racial protective clauses in national and state legislation is made necessary by the acts of groups who would deny Negroes equality of employment opportunities, but it is dangerous in practice for the minimum may fast become the maximum.

1.7. The use of legislative coercion to prevent the full and equal employment of Negroes in governmental agencies is a grave threat to democracy.

1.8. The full utilization of the available Negro manpower is essential to winning the war.

1.9. The disappearance of the traditional "Negro job" and the closing of other job opportunities to Negroes create grave problems of ecomomic stability for them.

1.10 The Negro laborer was early forced into the role of strikbreaker by the attitude of labor unions toward him.

1.11 The Negro farmer has been steadily losing out as a farm owner since 1920

1.12 The theory of collective bargaining is predicated on the assumption that every worker should have a right to join the bargaining agency. Then labor unions bar Negroes from membership they weaken the principle of collective bargaining and violate the spirit of democracy.

1.13 Much race friction is basically economic.

1.14 The Negro is a capable, efficient and loyal employee when given an equal opportunity to work.

1.15 The use of "vagrancy laws" in some states to force Negroes to work at low wages has often brought them into conditions of semi-peonage.

1.16 The attempts to restrict the mobility of Negro labor in the South are gross violations of the democratic traditions.

1.17 The Fair Employment Practices Act brought increased wage incomes to thousands of Negro laborers, particularly those in the South.

1.18 Negroes suffered most during the depression the denial of job opportunities and the discriminatory practice of relief agencies.

1.19 Groups, like business concerns, should strive to obrain a balance between productive and non-productive wealth. A large portion of the Negro's wealth is in non-productive enterprises.

1.20 The economic problems of the Negro are in large measure a part of the total economic problems of the nation but the problem is made more acute for the Negro through economic discrimination.

1.21. Labor unions as the spokesman for all laborers are a part of a democratic system.

2. Social:

2.1. Some of the prejudice against Negroes arises out of the recency of their slave heritage.

2.2. Race riots, lynchings, and other forms of lawless violence undermine and tend to destroy the Negro's faith in America's belief in democracy.

2.3. A denial to the Negro of equal opportunity in any area is a negation of the democratic ideal.

2.4. There is general and widespread discrimination against the Negro in all sections of the United States.

2.5. Negroes have contributed and are yet contributing to every field of scholarly and intellectual endeavor.

2.6. While a few individual Negroes have broken through the barriers set up against the group, the continued denial to Negroes of certain elementary opportunities deprives the nation of the many contributions a larger group could make.

2.7. The appearance of such characters as Father Divine, "Elder" Michauz, and others reflect the uncertainty and confusion among Negroes during the depression and recovery years.

2.8. To the reconstruction legislatures can be traced the firm establishment in the South of the system of universal free education.

2.9. Real estate zoning laws and restrictive residential covenants which prohibit any American citizen from living in a given area because of race are denials of the democratic principle.

2.10. All reacial, national anc cultural groups have contributed to the growth of the American Nation and should share equally in its privileges.

2.11. A free, equal and universal system of public education is a fundamental tenet of democracy.

2.12. The denial to any group of an equal opportunity in any area is a violation of democratic principles.

2.13. The National Youth Administration and Civilian Conservation Corps served to rehabilitate thousands of Negro youth.

2.14. The life expectancy of Negroes is shortened from five to seven years as a result of the conditions under which they are born and have to live.

2.15. The low cost housing program financed by the U. S. Government has greatly improved the living conditions of thousand of Negro families.

2.16. The spectre of an overwhelming increase in the Negro population has no basis in fact.

2.17. The medium size of the Negro family is smaller thanthat of the white.

2.18. Southern cities are particularly lax in their concern for the sections of the city populated largely by Negroes.

2.20. There are no valid tests proving the innate inferiority of any racial, national or cultural group.

2.21. Environmental conditions are primarily responsible for the high crime rate among Negroes but to this must be added the undemocratic practices of local courts and police agencies in dealing with Negroes.

2.22. There is little or no correlation between lynching and the actual commission of a specific crime.

2.23. The "fee system" of paying the local law enforcement agents in inherently dangerous to democracy.

2.24. Juvenile delinquency among Negroes, as in all other groups, has increased as a result of the war.

2.25. The lack of public library facilities for Negroes is a factor conditioning their further intellectual progress.

2.26. The high cost of medical care is a grave threat to the health of the nation and agravates the gravity of the health situation among Negroes.

2.27. Mortality and morbidity rates are highest among Negroes in the lease favored environmental conditions. This reflects the general pattern of mortality and morbidity which are high among any people whose environmental conditions are poor.

2.28. There is an inadequacy of Negro professionals in every category except the ministry.

2.29. The most significant single contribution to American folk music is the Negro spiritual.

2.30. Recreational facilities for Negroes are inadequate in every section of the U. S. but this inadequacy is heightened in the South by the discriminatory policies regarding the use of available public facilities.

2.31. The Negro church, which once served as the focal point of Negro activities, interests and programs is fast losing its influence over the group.

2.32. Illiteracy among Negroes has decreased steadily since 1880.

2.33. In no Southern state are there sufficient financial resources for the support of an adequate system of public education but the inadequacies of the system are aggravated for Negroes by the discriminatory policies of public education officers.

2.34. The matriarchal pattern of the Negro family reflects the economic and social conditions under which Negroes live.

2.35. The economic insecurity of the Negro family makes for a greater degree of family disorganization.

2.36. The historian's disregard for the role the Negro has played in American history deprives children of a full knowledge of the contributions Negroes have made.

2.37. There is no scientific evidence to support the theory that Negroes are innately more musical than other groups.

2.38. Attitudes, customs, and mores become more coercive with traditions, therefore, no sudden and overwhelming change in these should be expected.

2.39. A knowledge of the role the Negro has played in the total history of the U. S. is necessary before any valid evaluation of his contributions to American society and culture can be made.

2.40. Negroes are not unique asa people of slave heritage. Every racial group has been subjected to this institution at various periods in history.

2.41. Negroes have a long history as fighters for liberty.

2.42. The Negro has completely absorbed American cultures. Except for color there is no distinguishable difference between him and any other native American.

3. Political.

3.1. The creation of laws designed to infringe upon the rights of any American citizen is a violation of the democratic ideal.

3.2. The political apathy of large numbers of Negroes in the South is, in part, the result of a series of disappointing experiences in attempting to exercise the franchise.

3.3. The use of the ballot to achieve immediate and long term gains is the potent weapon not yet clearly understood or exercised by Negroes even in those communities where they are relatively free to do so.

3.4. The passage of a Federal Anti-lynch law would probably serve to reduce the numbers of lynchings only if it were vigorously enforced.

3.5 The policy of "race voting" may serve temporarily to achieve specific goals but is dangerous in principle.

3.6. Political action will solve many group problems but not all of them.

3.7. The dramatic shift of Negro voting strength in 1932 meant the assertion of political independence by large numbers of Negroes.

3.8. The ballot is a sacred trust and should be used to promote the democratic pattern for all.

3.9. The political power of Negroes (asmeasured in potential voting strength) is declining.

3.10. The organization of the Negro political party in those states having large Negro populations does not seem practical.

3.11. The continued existence of the one party system in the South is a grave threat to democratic progress.

3.12. Political parties are quasi-public organizations and should be open to all regardless of race.

3.13. While the Communist party has secured some Negro converts it has never appealed very storngly to the Negro masses.

3.14. "Lily-whiteism" in politics is an undemocratic practice.

3.15. It is impossible to legislate attitudes but it is possible to legislate against undemocratic actions based on undemocratic attitudes.

3.16. Pending the repeal of discriminatory legislation denying the ballot to large numbers of citizens, congress should re-apportion, for purposes of representation, the various states.

3.17. The U. S. Supreme Court through its interpretation of the Constitution has prevented many discriminatory laws from becoming binding. On the other hand the court has given legality to segregation and thereby promoted, indirectly, discrimination.

3.18. The existence of large numbers of Negroes in a compact area of an urban community often leads to "gerry mandering" which leaves the group politically impotent.

3.19. The doctrine of States' Rights prevents federal action in certain areas and has often been used to impede democratic progress.

3.20. The Bill of Rights and the Constitution offer real protection to every American citizen but Southern Courts of law often ignore and violate these guarantees in dealing with Negroes.

3.21. The policy of taking "judicial notice" of current practices has given legality to many acts of opression in the South.

3.22. Corruption and debauchery in government do not necessarily follow the entrance of the Negro in politics.

3.23. There is a class structure, though not a highly rigid one, among Negroes.

3.24. Religion is a strong determinant of a people's culture. The Negro has accepted the religion of the dominant group giving it his own in erpretation and emphasis but in no way creating a new religion.

3.25. There are two principal kinds of majority and minority grouping, quantitative and qualitative. One may shift in his role as a quantitative minority or majority but can seldom shift his status as a member of a qualitative minority.

3.26. Acculturation refers to the process of cultural borrowing or the inter-change between cultures.

3.27. Associational contacts between peoples on an equal plane lead to an understanding and appreciation not possible where such association is forbidden.

3.28. There have been many proposed "solutions to the Negro problem" but most of these have been outside the pale of democratic principles and have therefore been rejected.

III. Approaches to the Problem.

Teachers in different school situations and viewing the larger problem of how we best can promote the full integration of the Negro in American life from varying points of vantage may decide upon any one of several possible approaches. As stated here the problems approach is assumed but the question lends itself equally to the chronological or topical approach. The teacher who views the problem from the point of view that the most effective method for securing the necessary information is the chronological organization of historical facts will probably use that approach. For the teacher who favors the topical approach the following sugrestions may have merit:

The Negro as a factor in the Civil Warand Reconstruction periods.
The Negro and the National Defense Effort.
The Segregated School Systems of the South.
The Negro's Participation in American Politics.
The problems of Health among Negroes.
Job opportunities for Negro youth.
Recreational facilities for Negroes in the Unites States.
Slavery and the abolition movement.
The Negro press and race relations.
Negro uplift organizations.
The slave insurrections.
The growth of Negro Colleges and Universities.

Even the teacher who makes use of the problems approach may want to narrow the range of study to a consideration of the immediate local aspect of the unit. Such a teacher may find these suggestions of help:

How can we improve our own health habits and raise the health index of the community?
What can we do to promote the full use of Negro labor in the local war industry?
How can we best promote inter-racial understanding in the local community?

What can we do to help secure the right to vote if not for our partents now, then for oursevles in later years?
What can we do to provide our Negro community with better recreational facilities?

Whatever the approach the teacher should strive to insure that the study involve more than mere academic calisthenics. There should be some conclusions drawn, some solutions proposed, some understandings, skills and habits acquired, and where practical, some overt action taken. Teachers should not however, steer clear of the study of a unit of this king on the grounds that intensive study will lead to no more than further frustrations because of an apparent inability to act. Overt action does not have to follow the process of problem solving.[17] Indeed neither overt, immediate or direct action need follow a problem solving unit. In many instances all forms of immediate, direct and overt action about a given problem may be taboo. Pupils and teachers together however, can obtain a degree of satisfaction from the knowledge that the study has broadened their own outlook through improved skills, changed attitudes and a real desire to improve the situation.

IV. Suggested Activities

A. Initiatory Activities

Upon the initiatory experiences offered the pupil entering upon the study of a new unit may well depend the ultimate success of the whole unit. Teachers should therefore, plan their initiatory experiences in such a way as to conserve the already indicated interest of the pupil and at the same time create a more powerful and dynamic interest which will sustain him as he and the teacher cooperatively plan the details of the work together. Each teacher must know her pupils and her local situation if she wishes to get the highest type of pupil response as she launches out on a new unit. In this task a third person can go no further than to suggest a number of activities any one of which or none of which may be of help. It is with their fact clearly in mind that the following activities are suggested:

1.0. Pre-Tests:

1.1. Attitudes tests. An attitudes test given a t the outset of any unit dealing with any aspect of race has two distinct advantages. 1). It can be used to determine, in part, pupil prejudices and thus serve as the first step in the evaluation of the work under the unit. 2) it will aid the teacher in determining "clusters of opinion" on which work might or might not need to be done depending almost entirely upon whether those opinions are negative, neutral, uncertain or positive. The teacher must be careful however, in the discussion of the test results with the class not to identify any individual point of view as revealed by the test for to do so not only violates the confidence of the pupil but might serve to defeat the purpose of the test.

1.2. Informational tests. Informational tests worked out by the teacher and designed to discover the quantity and quality of information already in the possession of the pupil may be used to discover the areas or weakness of strength. The results of these tests in terms of the strengths and weaknesses revealed may be used in a class discussion to initiate the unit. While there are no standardized information tests on the Negro, suggested question items might be obtained from the Association for the study of Negro Life and History, 1538 Ninth Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. and from the ~~Commission on Inter-racial Co-operation~~, 703 Standard Building, Atlanta, Georgia

Southern Regional Council

2.0. Radio programs. Recordings and phonograph records. Often pupil interest can be aroused and directed toward a given subject through the judicious use of radio transcriptions. While there are not many such recordings dealing with Negroes there are some excellent ones available at little or no cost to the teacher. These recordings do however, require special turntable equipment. There are some agencies that rent the necessary equipment. while the Secondary School Study which owns the equipment of the kind needed has been very generous in making it available to the schools of the South. Teachers desirous of borrowing this machinery should write Mr. W. A. Robinson, Driector-Secondary School Study-Atlanta University-Atlanta, Georgia for information about this service.

2.1. Play the recording of the program "The Negro in America" (Immigrants All-Americans All Series) ask pupils to identify the names they recognize. Urge them to submit bits of information about the Negro which they already have been included in the radio presentation. Suggest that they begin the collection of data in order to present a similar "radio program" to the whole school.

2.2. As an alternative recording the teacher might use the first twelve minutes of the first program in the Freedom's People series.

2.3. Play the recorded version of the first program in the Brown Heroines series of radio programs heard over a nationwide hookup. Since this series deals with the role of Negro women in American history and particularly in the present war, raise questions dealing with the nature of a minority group. Ask pupils if they can see any relationahip between our insistence

upon woman's inferior role in American life and the role of the Negro. A discussion of the tactics used by women in the early suffragette movement may be used to create interest in a discussion of the techniques that might be employed by American Negroes to gain a measure of equality.

2.4. Play the recording The Story of Toussaint L'Ouverture. Ask the students their ppinion of L'Ouverture and the Haitian revolt. Raise with the pupils the question as to the probable reasons for the success of the Haitian revolt and the repeated failures of the slave insurrections in the Un S. (A word need be said here though about exercising care in the handling of the material dealt with in the recording for it can easily lead children to a desire for consideration of the life of L'Ouverture thus setting in motion a unit for which the teacher is unprepared. While the study of Haiti is a romantically interesting one and one with which the children ought to be slightly familiar, it must be remembered that the object here is to initate a unit on the methods of integrating the Negro into American Life. Recording no longer available but script sent free on request to N. B. C.

3.0. Phonograph records-ordinary phonograph records have value also as initiatory aids.

3.1. Play the Paul Robeson recording of Ballad for Americans. Raise with pupils the value of such a recording. What does it express in terms of the American ideals to them? What reasons can they suggest for the selections of Robeson to introduce the song?

3.2. Play several carefully selected records illustrative of the gradual evolution of modern swing music from the early blues songs and the itinerant Negro jazz bands of an early period. Raise with pupils the balue of such contributions to American music and to American life in general. Ask if music is the only area to which Negroes have contributed.

3.3. Play the musical numbers Summertime and I've Got plenty of Nothing. Ask the pupils to describe the mental picture of the Negro which the lyrics of these songs create. Have the class make a composite of the pictures thus described and use this as a point of departure in initiating the unit.

3.4. Play the spiritual Swing Low Sweet Chariot and the second movement from Dvorak's New World Symphony. Ask the pupils if they can recognize any similarities in theme. Point out that much of the New World Symphony is bases on variations in the themes of several spirituals. Ask the pupils if they recognize any others. Raise with them the question of the influence of the spiritual upon American folk music.

3.5. Read selected portions of Stephen Benet's narrative poem John Brown's Body using the story of John Brown to illustrate to pupils 1) the kind of driving zeal which led many a lover of human liberty to defend at all costs the rights of an oppressed people and 2) the futility of precipitate action in attempting to wreak change upon a cultural institution.

3.6. Secure a copy of the Saturday Review of Literature for Dec. 19, 1942 and read the articles on the Negro press (Reprinted in the Readers Digest January, 1943). Secure also a copy of the magazine Common Ground (Spring Issue '43) and read Roi Ottley's reply to the articles in the Saturday Review of Literature. Ask the class to discuss the relative merits of the articles - points raised, conclusions reached and the validity of the arguments. This should lead to a discussion of the function of a newspaper and the reasons for the existence of the Negro press.

3.7. In cooperation with the Librarian and art teacher arrange an attractive display on Negro life in the United States. Put books and other materials on the display shelf so students can pick them up and handle them. Raise questions in class about the display, its purposes, important events and personages represented and steer the discussion in the desired direction.

3.8. Read to the class from Rackam Holts Biography of George Washington Carver the story of the exchange of the boy for the horse. (The story is also told in Readers Digest February, 1937) Raise questions concerning the relative value of animals (horses) and human beings at the time of the exchange. Inquire of pupils their guesses as to what might have happened to this scientific genius and southern farm life had he not been exchanged for a horse on this particular Sunday morning. Inquire of them about the wastage of human resources because of prejudices which prevent their discovery and development and the full utilization of their potentialities.

3.9. Read to the class the article "What a Negro Mother Faces" published in Forum magazine for August 1938. Relate the pupils discussion to the basic American creed of the right of every citizen to a free and equal existence. Are the mother's fears justified? Does the situation she describes epist-generally or is it an isolated situation? Do pupils understand the basic facts underlying the real and imaginary fears of the expectant mother?

3.10. Recount for pupils the story of the refusal of the District of Columbia Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution to permit Marian Anderson to appear in conert at its Hall and her later dramatic appearance on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial before an audience of 75,000. Raise with the pupils the question of the ideals of the "founding fathers" as expressed in various documents (notably the Declaration of Independence) and the denial of those values in the names of these "fathers" by their great grandaughters. What were the attitudes of Jefferson, Washington, Franklin, Morris and others towards slavery in a democracy? Ask pupils if they think that the 75,000 people who attended the Anderson Concert were conscious of a positive reaffirmation of faith in the democratic ideal.

3.11. From the report of the Director of the Selective Service read to the pupils the statistics on the number of Negroes rejected for armed service and the reasons therefor, ask pupils if they know or feel that they understand the basic reasons for these rejections.

3.12. Secure a copy of the pamphlet Black Justice (American Civil Liberties Union 31 Union Square W. New York, N. W. price 10¢) and read from it factual stories relating to the treatment of Negroes before the courts. Ask pupils if the denial to Negroes of basic constitutional guarantees does not impede the progress of democracy in the United States.

3.13. Recount the story surrounding the death of Juliette Derricote because of discrimination in the administration of public health facilities (the most complete and detailed report of the facts surrounding this incident is contained in the Report of the Commission on Inter-Racial Cooperation regarding the automobile accident in Dalton, Georgia, November 6, 1931. (Free) For a critical analysis of this report see the editorial appearing over the signature of W. E. B. DuBois in the Crisis magazine for March, 1932).

3.14. Read the poem "Lift Every Voice and Sing". Ask the pupils their opinion about its use as the anthem of the Negro group in America. Do Negroes need a separate anthem? Why do they often regard the music of this poem as their national anthem? (A verse from the poem and a statement about its use is given in Time for the week of September.

3.15. Display the large map "America- a nation of many people from many countries". (The map may besecured from the Council against Intolerance, 60 East 42 Street, NewYork City; Free). Ask pupils to suggest some reasons for the relative lack of occupational diversity among Negroes: Why are the greatest number of Negroes living in the South?

3.16. Read excerpts of the War Labor Board opinion in the case of Abolishing wage differantials based upon race. Why is the decision hailed as a great democratic victory? What were the reasons for the establishment of wage differentials? Were these reasons justifiable in a democracy? Does the decision end all wage differentials based on color?

3.17. From the pamphlets Story of Civil Liberty (secured from the American Civil Liberties Union, 42nd Street W. New York, N. Y. 10¢) The strange Case of Mrs. Eaton (also secured from the Civil Liberties Union; Free). Tampa-Tar and Terror (committee for the Defense of Civil Rights in Tampa-Tampa, Fla; Free). Recount gactual stories that illustrate prejudices against other than racial minorities. Ask pupils what makes a minority: What causes prejudices?

3.18. In cooperation with the English, Art and Drama teachers have the students of another class, perhaps another grade, present in dramatic form the story of some outstanding achievement by a Negro, (the work of Dr. Drew of Howard University Medical School in developing the blood Bank System for the American Red Cross is an example), the story of a lynching or perhaps narrate, through the use of public address system, the story of one of the slave uprisings, the undreground railroad, life of an individual, or some event of interest.

3.19. Secure copies of the Durham Resolutions (write Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University-Nashville, Tennessee). The platform of the March on Washington Movement (write A. Phillip Randolph, American Federation of Labor Building, Washington, D. C.) and the Detroit Statement of Issues of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.). Extract from each of these the pertinent materials dealing with proposed solutions. Present them to the class for consideration and discussion. Point out that each of these was based upon the group's interpretation of the facts of the situation. Suggest that the class make a similar survey of facts in order to evaluate the proposals.

4. Motion Pictures- Motion pictures are a great initiatory aid. By dramatizing a dituation they give life to it. Often the film shown at the commercial theatre will present questions of race stereotyping which can be used to arouse and stimulate discussion. But for the controlled group situation, the teacher can more nearly guarantee a common b ackground of pupil experiences through the use of films secured for that purpose and whose material has been definitely integrated into the work pattern of the unit. The following films are suggested for use as initiatory experiences.

4.1. The Liberian Republic This film tells the story of the founding of Liberia as a haven of refuge from American slavery. Modern developments are shown and the president of the Republic is shown addressing the legislative body and performing the normal functions of his office. (Bell and Howell Co. 1801 Larchmont Ave. Chicago, Illinois).

4.2. Henry Browne-Farmer (United States Department of Agriculture). A Negro farmer is shown making his contributions to the war effort through increased production. A son is in training at the nearby Army Aviation Training Center at Tuskegee. Brief shots of the Center are included. Canada Lee star of Native Son is the narrator.

4.3. They all go to Evander-(American Film Center, 45 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N. Y.) Shows democracy in action as a group of children of different races, cultures, and nationalities engage in cooperative activities. Comments on American democracy.

4.4. World we Want to Live In (National conference of Christians and Jews 381 Fourth Avenue, New York, N.Y.) Depicts the growth of religious and racial intolerance durin g the past decade. A Roman Catholic, Protestant and Jewish child play on an American beach while across the ocean intolerance against minority groups grows. There is a discussion of some of the kinds of intolerance that have grown in the United States. Wendell Willkie, Thomas E. Dewey, Charles Evans Hughes, Eddie Cantor and Alfred E. Smith speak out for a greater degree of tolerance in America.

4.5. One Tenth of Our Nation - (College Film Center, 59 E. Van Buren Street, Chicago Illinois) This is an attempt at a documentary film on Negro life in the United States. It has been widely used in schools of the nation. Attempts to present an over all picture of development. A little unbalanced on the education side.

4.6. Three Counties Against Syphilis (United States Public Health Service) Here is shown a concertrf attack upon venereal disease. Has merit here because it portrays, by implicationk the high incidence of syphilis a ong Negroes. Teachers s ould warn students that though Negroes are shown in the greater number of sequences, they ar æ not the only victims of the disease nor are al l Negroes infected .

4.7. Housing in Atlanta (Atlanta Housing Authority-University of Georgia Extension, 223 Walton St., N. W. Atlanta, Georgia) A clear picture of the effect of poor housing upon a community and the way in which improved housing will affect community standards. Numerous shots of the pre and post development periods in Negro areas.

4.8. Negro Colleges in Wartime (Office of War Information, Washington). The contributions of Negro Colleges to the War effort.

4.9. Work of the Jeanes Teachers (Harmon Foundation, Inc. 140 Nassau St. New York, N. Y.) Work being done by the Jeanes supervisors to improve educational facilities and living conditions in the rural South.

4.10. We work Again. (American Film Center, 45 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N. Y.) Negro work activities under the Federal Work Program.

4.11. Sharecroppers (March of Time, 1936) Brief shots of living concitions among sharecroppers in the South, White and Negro. One or two scenes showing improved conditions after farm loans have been made.

4.12. Story of Dr. Carver (Teaching Film Custodians, may be secured from any depository). The life story of Dr. Carver, Some scenes from his laboratory and an enumeration of his contributions to Southern agriculture.

4.13. Y.W.C.A. Harlem New York (The Harmon Foundation Inc. 140 Nassau St. N.Y.C.) Depicts scenes in the life o an urban Negro youth, as a girl writes a letter home describing life in the Metropolis.

5. Non fiction books often raise questions on which there is considerable disagreement or they make analysis and proposals which meet with immediate debate. The teacher can frequently make use ofthese to initiate units. The assumption here of course is the pupils have a common background-having read the book themselves or having listened to the reading of it in the class.

5.1. Historical fiction is perhaps better adapted to serve as an initiatory activity than the ordinary novel for the historical novel carries with it an aura of authenticity not shared by the ordinary novel. The historical novel therefore is likely to have more real influence upon the pupil-especially if it treats of a period or of events with thich he has had some contact through other courses or other experiences. The teacher might provide the necessary common background from a piece of hsitorical fiction by reading a part of the dialogue, a description of an event, or by retelling the plot.

5.2. The short story though often lacking in the same elements as the historical novel can be used frequently in the same manner as the former. For the short story often carries a moral or hidden meaning which can be with a minimum of difficulty extracted and presented to the class as a point of departure.

6.0. Written materials - Various kinds of written materials can be used to initiate a unit. Short stories, historical fiction, poems, news items, columns and editorials amd magazines articles each have value. Particularly do newspaper stories, editorials and magazine articles often arouse considerable pupil interest in issues relating to race. Such sources should be used. A work of caution is added, however. The appearance of a news article, editorial or magazine article seldom, if ever, co-incides with the exact moment when the teacher and the class are about to launch upon a unit connected with that subject and teachers should not, no matter what pupil interest may be, interrupt and leave unfinished an activity upon which they have cooperatively entered and are thus committed in order to capitalize on this initial interest to inaugurate a new unit comtemplated for the future. Instead, such materials should be collected, filed away, and brought out again at the proper moment when the new unit is about to be launched. To skip from unit to unit in order to capitalize on pupil interest in new areas at any and all given times is to destroy a basic educational goal...the planning and execution of a program.

7.0. Holidays - National observances.
Various holidays and national observances can be used to initiate a unit. The observance of Lincoln's birthday, National Negro Health Week, and the preparation for the observance of Negro History Week each offer initiatory opportunities.

8.0. Essay Contests
The interest engendered by essay contests may also be used to initiate a unit. Each year the American Legion, the American Magazine and other agencies sponsor Nationwide essay contests dealing with some aspect of Americanism.

The attention of pupils can be directed to a discussion of the extension of basic democratic privileges as a part of Americanism. In this way a new unit may be begun. More direct incentibes for a study of the Negro are offered by the annual National Urban League and National Association for the Advancement of Colored People essay contests promoted and sponsored through their respective house organs- Opportunity and Crisis. The teacher should make use of these stimuli and at the same time not ignore that perennial promoter of units on the Negro-the annual essay contest sponsored by the National Tuberculosis Association.

Phylon

B. Developmental Activities - For the purpose of collecting data

The developmental activities of a unit have a two-fold purpose (1) to gather data and (2) to present data. This does not mean to imply the subordination of other educational objectives basic to the unit such as the development of specific skills, attitudes, habits, etc., to the process of data collection and presentation. Rather does

the collection and presentation of data constitute a most effective technique for the promotion of these objectives.

No attempt has been made here to compile a complete list of developmental activities for the possibilities are unlimited. Further, the resourceful teacher will utilize her own imagination plus the combined imaginativeness of all of here pupils and produce her own list of activities. These must, of necessity, be better suited to her situation for she will decide upon them only after due consideration has been given all of the factors influencing the teaching of any unit and particularly, a subject so fraught with dangers as the one herein suggested. The question posed for consideration in this unit is one which will require the teacher in those areas where the subject creates an emotional tension - to use the utmost skill and tact. The collection and presentation of data (here I include as a part of the data-the conclusions and recommendations of the class) must be done in such a manner as not to arouse undue hostility in the community. Yet it is this latter phase of the work which, in terms of community needs, needs most widespread dissemination not only in the class but throughout the community for it is only through the use of fact finding techniques and intelligent but widespread open forum and discussion that the question posed in this unit will be answered. Nevertheless the teacher must take into consideration the exigencies of the moment and accept a less agressive definition of action. The promotion of critical thinking about a pressing problem which must be solved within the democratic framework is action.

There are several patterns of classroom organization which the teacher might use. One is an organization of the class as committee of the whole to study one phase of the unit permitting each pupil to make individual contributions to the group effort. Another pattern is that in which the class organizes itself as a deliberative body, electing

a chairman or president, etc., and assigning responsibilities to to various persons or groups. Still another pattern is one in which the class divides itself into groups accourding to common or allied interests each group assuming the responsibility for the collection and presentation of data bearing on its particular problem. Thus one group might work on the economic problems facing the Negro, another the origin and meaning of race, the historical and psychological bases of race prejudices and antagonisms, the meaning of certain sociological concepts and their application to the American scene, while other groups may concern themselves with a study of such problems as occupational, and population distribution, health, housing, juvenile delinquency and recreational facilities. Care should be taken, however, to preventthe development of the rather stereotyped grouping typical of so many studies of this kind - a group to work on the Negro in Music and Art, Science and Invention, etc. While such groups do have a definite place in the study of the unit their research has a different purpose. These groupings have a tendency to be mere information gathering agencies often with no view in sight other than the presentation to the class of the newly discovered information. In the study of this unit these groups will operate to collect information as evidence necessary to the intelligent formulation of an hypothesis in answer to the problem raised.

1.0. Surveys are a useful method of collecting data. The class might decide to survey:

1.1. the gross revenue potentialities of new business concerns coming into the areas occupied primarily by Negroes. On the basis of this data they might organize a campaign to urge the employment of Negroes in these concerns.

1.2. the recreational facilities available to Negroes in the local community. As a part of this procedure they m ight use a questionnaire to determine the types of facilities desired by the students in the school.

1.3. the housing, recreational, library and other facilities available to Negroes in those sections of the community where the largest number of crimes are committed. A similar study could be made with regard to juvenile

delinquents.

1.4. Occupational needs, trends and patterns in the community and draw-up an index of qualifications necessary to enter successfully those occupations.

1.5. the kinds of public services offered the customers by the local department stores and the extent to which these services (e.g. rest room facilities, drinking fountains, elevator service) are available to the Negro customers.

1.6. job losses sustained by Negroes of the community over a given period of time.

1.7. the number of Negro lawyers, doctors, and dentists in a given community and the average income of the group.

1.8. the types of business establishments owned and operated by Negroes and the approximate volume of business.

1.9. the housing facilities for Negroes in the nation, in the community.

1.10. population shifts in the community. This data could be used to suggest the location of new or additional business establishments, schools and revisions in zoning laws.

1.11. the types and numbers of businesses (industries) that have migrated to or recently established in the community and the kinds of job opportunities they offer Negroes.

1.12. the number of Negro homes in the c mmunity that have private libraries, the types of books owned and the number o f books in the community.

1.13. the number of Negroes owning homes in the community, the types of homes, and the assessed and market values of the homes.

1.14. the reading habits of all the pupils in the school.

1.15. the number of automobiles (make, model and purchase price) radios, electric refrigerators, and other modern household appliances owned by Negroes

1.16. the health facilities available to the community and the number available to Negroes.

2.0. Projects-Individual groups may work on specific projects other than those reading and writing. Among others the groups might work on such projects as the following:

2.1. A study of educational opportunities for Negroes in the South.

2.2. A compilation of the number of homicides among Negroes over a given period of time. This can be done very effectively through studying newspaper reports and police blotters.

2.3. Keep a clipping file or other record of cases of police brutality with the immediate environs.

2.4. The compilation of a set of criteria for the efficient operation of various business concerns and apply that criteria in judging the quality of Negro business concerns.

2.5. A collection of restrictive residential covenants and city ordinance barring Negroes from various parts of various communities.

2.6. A follow up study of the graduates of the school during the past few years.

2.7. Work with the local Ministers Alliance in effecting a program of community service for the church.

2.8. Sponsor a clean up-brush up-campaign in the community.

2.9. Begin the collection of free and inexpensive materials relating to the Negro as a permanent addition to the library.

2.10. Begin the collection of old phonograph records of early Negro jazz bands in order to build a permanent collection illustrative of the evolution of swing music.

2.11. Make an analysis of its own and a number of other American history textbooks to determine the author's attitude toward the Negro.

2.12. Set up an information clearing center which would take the responsibility for clearing all requests for new materials and distributing the available and additional materials of all groups on an equitable basis.

2.13. Take the responsiblity for the bulletin board and use it to psot items of interest on the Negro.

2.14. Begin the collection of reproductions of works of Negro artists and works of other artists which depict some aspect of Negro life and add these to the library collection.

2.15. Begin a clipping service and provide information on the Negro to all areas of the school.

2.16. Develop and administer attitudes tests to members of the class or others.

2.17. Read and analyze some of the speeches made by Negro legislators during the reconstruction period.

3.0. Interviews.

The use of interview techniques to gain information can be very effective if the students have a clear conception of the kinds of information they want, have skill in evaluating the answers given by persons interviewed and can so direct the interview as to obtain the maximum amount of desired information in a minimum of time. A very important element of success lies in the correct selection of the "interview". This is no way implies that the average high school student must attain the skill of an expert trained in interview techniques before he can be permitted to conduct an interview. He needs only have, for the initial experience, a fair dedree of tact, courtesy, a definiteness of purpose, a pleasing personality, appearance and the normal exurbance of youth. Among the persons whom the pupils might interview are:

3.1. The local newspaper editor to ascertain his ideas concerning the role the Negro should play in national life and particularly the role he thinks he should play in the local community. Pupils might use this opportunity to present a program for community development to the editor and ask his support of the project. Again the pupils might seek the interview to discuss his newspaper's policy in general towards race relations in the community or to protest an editorial or news item or to state the "other side" of a question.

3.2. E-slaves or old persons in the community who might have first hand knowledge of the Slavery and Reconstruction days. (Such interviews should be carefully recorded for they have real historical value.)

3.3. Local Negro leaders for the purpose of ascertaining their programs of action.

3.4. The officers in various fraternal and uplift organizations for purposes of ascertaining the problems their organizations face.

3.5. Labor leaders for the purpose of ascertaining the policies of their union in dealing with Negroes. How are jobs assigned by the Business Agent? What grievance procedures has the Union set up?

3.6. The local minsters for the purpose of ascertaining the extent of their interest in and program for thedevelopment of the church as an active agency for community service.

3.7. Leaders in the white community such as the president of the Bar Association, the president of the Rotary or Kwianis Club for the purpose of ascertaining the program of their organizations for the improvement of the total group living in the community.

3.8. The Chief of Police and the Mayor for the purpose of ascertaining their attitudes on police brutality, crime, police protection for Negroes and the role which they are willing to play in the extens on of democracy to in clude all the people.

3.9. The officers in the organizations of white women such as the Missionary Society, the League of Women Voters, Daughters of the Confederacy for the purpose of ascertaining their attitudes about and willingness to help secure for Negroes more democratic rights in the community.

3.10. The officers of the Salvation Army for the purpose of determining the attitude of their organization toward Negroes....The number of Negroes they serve and their willingness to extend Christian democracy to them.

3.11. The ministers of the white Methodist, Baptist and Presby terian churches for the purpose of ascertaining the sincerity of their "Everybody Welcome" signs and the degree of support they are willing to give to the program of the commission on Inter Racial Relations of the Federal council of Churches in Christ.

3.12. A Jewish leader for the purpose of ascertaining the amount of prejudice he feel operating against him and his willingness to promote the cause of democratic liberties for Negroes in the nations and the community.

3.13. A Negro laborer for the purpose, if a member of a union, of ascertaining the kinds of treatment he has received at the hands of the Union or, if not a member of a Union his opinion toward labor union?

3.14. The probate judge for the purpose of ascertaining the disposition of Negro juvenile delinquents who are held over by the courts.

4.0. Reading Activities, Reading activities are yet one of the most, if not the most effective method of collectingdata. But reading, like all other activities, should have a definite purpose. There are many types of things about which pupils will want to tto read. The following are purely suggestive of the kinds of things about which pupils might read:

4.1. The rise and development of the Negro College.

4.2. The history of the Underground Railroad.

4.3. The attitude of labor unions towards Negroes.

4.4. The basic causes of the race riots of 1917, 1918, and 1919.

4.5. The anti-slavery movement in the U. S.

4.6. The Post Reconstruction efforts of the South to disfranchise the Negro.

4.7. The attitude of the frames of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution toward the Negro and slavery.

4.8. The attitude of the church toward slavery during various periods.

4.9. The participation of Negroes in America's wars.

4.10. The development of the Ku Klux Klan.

5.0. Visitors to the Class.
The class might invite any of the persons interviewed to visit or it might dispense with an interview procedure and use the class invitations instead. But whatever combination is used these additional persons ought to be invited to appear before the class:

5.1. The president of the local National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to explain the policy and procedures of the Association in handling various issues.

5.2. The secretary of the local Urban League to outline the work of his organization and to differentiate between its work and that of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

5.3. The Manager of the local office of the U. S. Employment Service to explain the policy of his agency in the matter of Negro work referals.

6.0. Excursions:
While the war has put an end to the practice of many secondary schools in engaging in excursive tours that carried them over wide areas or great distances away from school and has drastically curtailed the use of automobile facilities for excursions of any kind there is still some opportunity for short tours away from schools. The students might make any of the following

6.1. A trip to the areas of greatest crime and delinquency in the community to observe living conditions in the homes, and the general environmental situation.

6.2. A trip to the local hospital to see what facilities are provided for Negro patients.

6.3. A trip to the local court to observe the manner in which accused persons are treated.

6.4. Attend the local church services in order to collect data on the practical social significance to the community of the sermons.

6.5. A trip to the county welfare offices to observe the procedural setup for handling the cases of Negro relief clients.

7.0. Movies - Motion pictures shown during the course of a study can supplement in a most effective manner the materials being used. These films might be used: (all are 16 mm. sound).

7.1. We Work Again. (American Film Center, 45 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N. Y. $1.00) A description of Negro work activities under the Federal Work program.

7.2. A Day in Virginia. (American Film Center, 45 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N. Y.) Negro Civilian Conservation Corps workersat work. Emphasis upon rehabilitation aspects of the work.

7.3. Sharecroppers (March of Time-1936. Division of General Extension, University System of Georgia, 223 Walton Street, N. W. Atlanta. $1.00). A graphic description of the economic plight of the South. The government sends money to pay cotton planters for restricted production, the landowners pocket the money. Unrest grows and landowners make use of prejudices to prevent tenants from organizing. Southern Tenant Farmers Union distributes handbills on wage demand. A woman organizer and sympathetic minister severely beaten by landowners. Conclusion states: The fault lies in the one crop system, not individuals.

7.4. The American Way. (American Film Foundation. University System of Georgia Division of General Extension, 223 Walton St., N. W. Atlanta,). A dramatization of the American Constitutional System emphasis upon the Bill of Rights and their "Universal" application in the United States. Excellent for raising questions and promoting future study.

7.5. Fury(M.G.M. Division of General Extension, University System of Georgia. 223 Walton St., S.W. Atlanta). There are three excerpts from this major theatre production. The lynching sequence shows how circumstantial evidence is used to arrest an innocent man. The community passions are aroused and a mob forms. The mob sets fire to the jail with the victim trapped inside. The second excerpt indicates the governors responsibility in preventing acts of violence-illustrates how the governor's vacillation in this instance contributed to the death of an innocent man. The third sequence illustrates the manner in which a whole community will often perjure itself to protect lynchers.

7.6. Art in the Negro Schools. (Harmon Foundation, Inc. 140 Nassau St., New York, N.Y.) A misnomer this film gives a rapid survey of the rise of the Negro since 1865. A map of the U. S. shows the location of schools available to Negroes in the South. Some slight reference to the growing tendency to provide opportunities for art study in these schools .

7.7. Black Legion (Warner Brothers. Division of General Extension. University System of Georgia. 223 Walton St. N. W. Atlanta). There are two excerpts from this major production. One of these shows how undemocratic groups seize upon the economic fears to promote prejudice and unlawful action. The second of these deals with the acts of violence perpetrated by undemocratic organizations.

C, Developmental activities for the purpose of presenting data.

1.0. Charts-graphs and tables.
Students may present their findings through the use of charts-graphs and tables. A composite of these might show .

1.1. The income distribution among Negroes in the local community as compared to the nation.

1.2. the extent and distribution of various kinds of health facilities for Negroes.

1.3. the occupational distribution among Negroes.

1.4. the extend of Negro participation as soldiers ineach of America's wars.

1.5. the incidence of crime and juvenile delinquency among Negroes.

1.6. the incidence of various diseases among Negroes.

1.7. the number of disfranchised potential voters among Negroes.

1.8. the number and distribution o Negro College graduates.

1.9. inequalities in educational facilities for Negroes in the South.

1.10. the total wealth of Negroes at various periods since 1865.

1.11. the number of Negro unemployed employables.

1.12. the rates of infant mortality among Negroes.

1.13. the number and distributions of Negro labor union members.

1.14. the life expectancy of the average Negro.

4.0. Maps can be used to indicate:

4.1. the extent and location of the Negro voting population.

4.2. the course of Negro migration over a given period of time.

4.3. the location of homicides in a given community.

4.4. the states which have civil rights laws.

4.5. the location of cities having restrictive residential covenants.

4.6. the areas of great concentration in the Negro population.

4.7. the location of Negro colleges and universities.

4.8. the migration and relocation of industry.

4.9. the areas of great labor reserves.

4.10. the states least able to provide for adequate educational facilities.

4.11. the states having restrictive laws regulating the social relations between groups.

4.12. the political complexion of the nation as determined by various national elections.

4.13. the states in which Negroes served in Reconstruction legislatures.

4.14. the areas of soil erosion, tenant farming, and low health standards.

4.15. the states involved in the election dispute of 1876.

4.16. the location of early slave uprisings.

D. Culminating activities

A study of a unit on integrating the Negro in American society might culminate in any of the following activities.

A series of Community Forums in which the students would present their findings. conclusions and recommendations to the members of the community.

A panel discussion before the whole student body allowing for questions and comments from the audience.

A series of dramatizations based on historic events or personages and highlighting various achievements of the group.

A Credo in which the students would set forth their essential findings, conclusions and recommendations in mimeographed form and proclaim these as their basis of future action or thought. (While this is a very good way in which to culminate a unit the teacher must exercise reasonable care in using it for such an activity may arouse a community to such hostility as to lead to acts of violence against the pupils, their parents or the teacher or all Negroes).

A radio program in which the students present their findings, conclusions, and such recommendations as they are permitted to make over the local or nearby radio station. (With the payment of a small fee, an electrical recording of the program may be had from the radio station which can be placed in the library as a permanent addition).

A quiz program of the popular type in which the students from the class constitute a "Board of Experts" answering questions from students in the audience.

Written reports from individual pupils or groups embracing the findings, conclusions and recommendations of the pupils or the group.

A debate or "town meeting" discussion in which students take opposing sides and discuss various proposals for the solution of the problem.

A display of materials in which pupils would place on exhibition the materials used in their study-copies of various paintings and work of art by Negroes-books by and avout Negroes-their findings, conclusions and recommendations.

An awards program in which pupils would state their criteria for a democratic citizen actively working to promote better race relations and announce the election of individuals in the community to their Honor Roll of Race Relations .

V. Evaluation

There are many approaches to the problem of evaluation each of which may have value. The techniques used by a given teacher will, in all probability, reflect, in part, the basic educational philosophy to which the teacher subscribes. If her approach to evaluation is entirely in terms of measuring the amount of information which the pupil has acquired then, we may reasonably conclude that she believes the transmission of knowledge to be the principal function of a school. If she approaches the problem from the point of view of measuring the manipulative skills of the pupils then we may, with equal reasonableness, assume her educational philosophy to place an emphasis upon the development of manipulative skills. If, on the other hand, the teacher approaches evaluation from the point of view of one who wishes to measure changes in skills and sttitudes only we may conclude, depending upon our own philosophy, that this teacher has a broader and more appropriate philosophy of education. But in neither instance would we feel that the teacher had developed an effective evaluation program. To say therefore that the evaluation program must be in terms of the objectives is not enough. We must go on from that point to say that the effective evaluation program is both a quantitative and qualitative measurement of the objectives as well as a quantitative and qualitative measurement of the total growth of the pupil. Few techniques are so poorly understood by teachers as the techniques involved in the construction of instruments of evaluation. In recent years there has been a growing recognition of this fact and a number of efforts have been made to change the situation. Workshops in evaluation have been held, bulletins circulated, magazine articles published, and not a few books. Notwithstanding this the masses of teachers are still looking for some techniques for the development of simple, yet reliable, insturments for the measurement of

growth in pupils. The simple instruments of measurement attached hereto do not answer the larger question, but are illustrative of the kinds of instruments that can, with some care, be deleloped by any teacher.

Factual Test

Directions: In the following questions check the answer which you think correctly completes the statement.

1. The Kansas-Nebraska Act-

   ( ) repealed the Missouri Compromise and left the question of slavery to popular sovereignty.
   ( ) outlawed the Whig party.
   ( ) granted popular sovereignty to new states but reasserted the principles of the Missouri Compromise.

2. The Supreme Court in the Dred Scott decision-

   ( ) made Negroes free and equal citizens.
   ( ) approved of Jim-Crow laws.
   ( ) declared the Negro had no rights the white man had to respect.

3. The Fair Employment Practices Committee was created-

   ( ) as an Executive Agency to locate jobs for Negroes.
   ( ) as an independent agency to enforee the minimum wage and maximum hour law.
   ( ) as an Executive Agency to investigate complaints of jobs discrimination based on race and religion.

4. The so-called "Grandfather clasue" legislation

   ( ) permitted only those Negroes to vote who had been slaves.
   ( ) barred Negroes and poor whites from the polls.
   ( ) set up ancestral qualifications which Negroes could not meet and therefore could not vote.

5. The North opposed the Black Codes because -

   ( ) they robbed Southern whites of the right to vote.
   ( ) they granted the Negro full civil and political rights.
   ( ) they were discriminatory acts against Negroes.

6. Seward opposed the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation because -

   ( ) he feared its effect upon British public opinion.
   ( ) he did not want to see Negro slavery abolished.
   ( ) he felt Negroes incapable of becoming worthwhile citizens.

7. The process bywhich a people are sent or voluntarily return to their native soil is called -

( ) ostracism.
( ) isolation.
( ) repatriation.

8. The African Negro Kingdoms reached the height of their civilization and culture.

( ) in the 11th and 12th centuries.
( ) in the 13th and 14th centures.
( ) in the 16th and 17th centuries.

9. The doctrine of "States Rights" received its most serious set back before the Civil War.-

( ) in the nullification controversy.
( ) in the passage o the Compromise of 1850.
( ) in the publication of the "Ostend Manifesto".

10. The Supreme Court of the U. S. has appellate jurisdiction

( ) in cases arising out of disputes between this country and other nations.
( ) in cases involving federal questions.
( ) in cases of equity.

11. The basic law of the United States is set forth-

( ) in the Declaration of Independence.
( ) in the Constitution.
( ) in the Constitutions of the various states.

12. The "Negro Seamen Acts" of South Carolina-

( ) prohibited Negroes from working as sailors
( ) provided for the arrest of all Negro sailors entering South Carolina Ports
( ) fixed the hours and wages of Negro sailors.

13. The founder of the "Universal Negro Improvement Association" was

( ) Marcus Garvey.
( ) Booker T. Washington.
( ) Benjamin Banneker.

14. The first organized convention of the Republican party was held in -

( ) 1848
( ) 1854
( ) 1860

15. The American Colonization Society favored

( ) the abolition of slavery and the settlement of all Negroes in a separate part of the United States.
( ) the prohibition of free Negroes owning slaves.
( ) the establishment of a free Negro colony outside the U. S.

16. The slave trade was legally obolished in-

( ) 1828
( ) 1789
( ) 1808

17. The three-fifths compromise in the Constitutional Convention

( ) resulted in a total disregard of slaves.
( ) provided for the enumeration of slaves to fix representation from the states.
( ) granted suffrage to three-fifths of the free Negroes.

18. The last nation to abolish slavery in the Western hemisphere was-

( ) the United States.
( ) Brazil
( ) Santo Domingo.

19. The Emancipation Proclamation -

( ) freed all Negro slaves.
( ) freed only the slaves in the territory.
( ) freed all salves then in territory occupied by Union armies and in the rebellious states.

20. The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution

( ) Made the Negro a citizen but did not grant him the right to vote.
( ) did not grant the Negro immediate citizenship but outlined the stept by which he could become a citizen.
( ) granted the Negro citizenship and the right to vote.

20. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787.

( ) legalized i slavery in the Northwest territory.
( ) prohibited slavery in the Northwest territory.
( ) prohibited the further importation of slaves in the Northwest territory.

22. The War Labor Board decision in the Texas Shipbuilding Case.

( ) granted war industries the right to make differential wage payments based on color.
( ) abolished wage differentials based on color in all industries.
( ) abolished wage differentials based on race only in those industries having war contracts.

23. The average public school expenditure per Negro child in the Southern states in 1939 was nearest

( ) $45.00
( ) $17.30
( ) $ 9.20

24. The approximate ratio of Negro medical doctors to the Negro population is -

( ) one to every 3,125.
( ) one to every 4,602.
( ) one to every 2,892.

25. The approximate percentage of Negro schools of the 1, 2, or 3 teacher variety

( ) 65% of the total.
( ) 38% of the total.
( ) 90% of the total.

26. The median size of the Negro family is -

( ) 5.2
( ) 2.3
( ) 3.1.

27. The approximate amount of wealth in the hands of Negroes in 1861 was-

( ) 25,000,000.
( ) 15,000,000.
( ) 20,000,000.

28. The Supreme Court declared the conviction of Angelo Herndon illegal

( ) the judge was prejudiced.
( ) the law under which he was convicted was unconstitutional.
( ) Negroes did not serve on the Grand Jury.

29. The Negro death rate from Tuberculosis for the age group 10 to 14 during the period 1911-1935.

( ) was approximately twice that of whites.
( ) was approximately five times that of whites.
( ) was approximately ten times that of whites.

30. In Mississippi there are more than 1,000,000 Negroes. They have access-

( ) to 8 of the 22 public libraries in the state.
( ) to none of the 22 public libraries in the state.
( ) to 2 of the public libraries in the state.

Sources of Information

The sources of information on the Negro are practically inexhaustible. The references listed below are, with some exceptions, of general use to teacher and pupil alike. The list is selective only in the sense that everything is not included.

Bibliographies

State Department of Education, Nashville, Tennessee. The Negro, A Selected List for School Libraries of Books by or about the Negro in Africa and America.

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Delafosse, Maurice. Negroes of Africa (Translated by F. Fligelman) Washington: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1930.

The Most readable and best documented source on the subject.

Detweiler, Frederick G. The Negro Press in the U. S. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press., 1922.

Dollard, John W. Caste and Class in a Southerntown. New Haben: Yale Univ. Press, 1939.

Doyle, Bertram W. The Etiquette of Race Relations in the South: A Study of Social Control.

Brief, but authentic and interesting.

DuBois, W.E.B. Black Reconstruction. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1935

An over-all picture from one of the nation's most brilliant pens. The chapter on the propaganda of history will interest pupils

DuBois, W.E.B. Black Folk Then and Now. NewYork: Henry Holt & Co., 1939

Feldman, Herman. Racial Factors in American Industry. Harpers, 1931. A discussion of racial discrimination in industry and a suggested remedial program.

Frazier, E. Franklin. The Negro Family in the United States. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939.

Indispensable source for a study of the historical, socio-economic and psychological problems of the Negro family. Has been described as the greatest single contribution to the sociology of the family during the past two decades.

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An easily read treatment of the activities of the Ku Klux Klan against Negroes, Jews and Catholics.

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The favorite over-all source. Basically sound, though not yet brought up to date.

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Poverty in the seep South. Illustrated with interesting case studies. Pupils working on farm tenancy will find it of real value.

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* A statistical survey made for the Rosenwald Fund.

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A compendium of information about the South. May be used by most advanced students.

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The nearest approach to an adequate treatment.

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Good for a description of the plantation system. Excellent tables.

Wright, Richard. 12 Million Black Voices. N. Y. Viking Press, 1941.

*Primarily for teacher-use.

Some sources of Pamphlet and other Materials on the Negro.

Much of the material dealing with the Negro is issued in pamphlet form. Some of this material is free upon request while in most instances the cost seldom goes higher than $0.25 for a single pamphlet with reduced rates for bulk orders. Teachers should be alert to take advantage of new pamphlet issued and can do much to build up a collection on practically any phase of Negro life. Agencies dealing primarily with Negroes and issuing occasional[1] material: The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History 1538 Ninth Street, N. W. Washington. Publishers during each of the school year The Negro History Bulletin, a bulletin of from twelve to twenty pages written on the secondary school level and dealing largely with important events, personalities and phases of Negro history in Africa, Europe, and the United States. (Sub. price is $1.50 per year). The Association also publishes a scholarly quarterly The Journal of Negro History.

Associates in Negro Folk Education - 1326 R. St., N. W. Washington D.C. The Associates are responsible for an occasional bulletin. These are usually well edited and easily read. There are plans laid for an ambitious publication program for the future.

National Negro Congress - 717 Florida Ave. N. W. Washington D.C. An active organization lobbying for Negro interest. Publishes an occasional bulletin.

1. A similar and longer listing will be found in Ira De A. Reid In A Minor Key.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. 69 Fifth Ave. N. Y. Frequently issues statements bearing on the Negro. Publishes regularly each month a magazine Crisis which presents news of developments in the nation as they affect Negroes. Short stories, poems, editorials, and news of the activities of the various organizational branches are also included. (Sub. $1.50 per year).

National Urban League - 1133 Broadway, N. Y. Publishes occasional studies on the economic and social problems of the Negro in urban communities. Publishes each month Opportunity: Magazine of Negro Life. Includes short stories, poetry, book reviews, and news of developments on the industrial front as they affect Negroes.

Negro Rural School Fund - Anna T. Jeanes Foundation, 726 Jackson Place, N.W. Washington, D.C. Works primarily with rural schools of the South and issues an occasional bulletin of some phase of life in the rural south.

Inter-Racial and other agencies that issue occasional material on the Negro. American Civil Liberties Union, 31 Union Square West, New York, N.Y.

Catholic Inter-racial Council - 20 Vesey St., New York, N.Y.

Commission on Inter-racial Cooperation 710 Standard Bldg., Atlanta, Georgia.

Common Council for American Unity, 222 Fourth Ave. N. Y.

Council against Intolerance in America, 60 E. 42nd St., NewYork.

Council for Democracy, 11 W. 42nd St., New York.

Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in American Division of Race Relations 105 East 22nd St., New York, N. Y.

Friendship Press, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York.

General Education Board, 49th St., New York.

Harmon Foundation Inc., 140 Nassau, New York, N. Y.

International Labor Defense, 80 E. 115th St. New York, N.Y.

Inter-cultural Education Workshop, 204 E. 18th St., New York, N. Y.

Methodist Episcopal Church-Board of Home Missions, 1701 Arch St. Philadelphia, Pa.

National Conference of Christians & Jews, 381 Fourth Ave., New York, N. Y.

National Council of Student Christian Associations, 347 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.

National Recreation Association-Unit of Colored Work, 315 Fourth Ave., New York, N. Y.

National Tuberculosis Association, 50 W. 50th Street, New York, N. Y.

Negro Yearbook Associates, Monroe Work, Editor, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama.

Phelps-Stokes Fund, 101 Park Ave. New York. N. Y.

Public Affairs Committee, Inc. 30 Rockefeller Plaza, N. Y.

Julius Rosenwald Fund, 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

A partial list of some representative Negro Newspapers and Magazines.

The Atlanta Daily World, Scott newspaper syndicate publisher-Atlanta, Ga.

Baltimore Afro-American. Carl Murphy Publisher, Baltimore, Maryland.

Chicago Defender, John Robert Sengstacke, Publisher, Chicago, Ill.

Norfolk Journal and Guide, P. B. Youn , Sr. Publisher, Norfolk, Va.

People's Voice - People's Voice Inc. Publisher - New York, N. Y.

Pittsburg Courier - Ira Lewis Publisher, Pittsburg, Penn.

Magazines.

The Journal of Negro Education. Charles Thompson, Editor, Howard University press, Washington, D. C. Published quarterly this is an ably edited magazine that treats of developments in the education of Negroes.

Phylon The Atlanta University Review of Race and Culture. W.E.B. DuBois Editor. Atlanta University Press, Atlanta, Georgia. Quarterly. One of the most ably edited magazines in America. Publishes both scholarly research papers and articles on contemporary affairs. The chronicle of race relations contained in each issue is the most comprehensive world wide coverage of race in any magazine in America, $1.00 per year.

Magazines which frequently publish material bearing on the Negro.

Common Ground & Common Sense - Common Sense Publishing Co. N.Y. $250 Monthly

Fortune & Time Inc. Chicago Illinois. Monthly $10.00 Special rate for teachers when sent to school address. $7.50.

Nation. Nation Inc. N. Y. Weekly $5.00 per yr. 13 weeks introductory offer $1.00

New Republic. See Below.

Social Forces Division of Social Sciences University of N.C. Chapel Hill, N. C. $4.00 (Quarterly).

Social Frontier - Commission on Inter-racial Cooperation, 701 Standard Bldg. Atlanta, Ga. $0.25 per year.

The South Today Miss Lillian Smith, Editor, Clayton, Georgia, $1.00 (Quarterly)

Survey Graphic - Survey Associates, Inc. Monthly $3.00 Occasionally offers special introductory rates.

Agencies from which films and information about audio-visual aids to a study of the Negro may be obtained: (Teachers are advised to write for catalogues).

American Film Center 45 Rockefeller Plaza, New York.

Bell & Howell Co. Films and Educational Divisions, 1811 Larchmont Ave. Chicago, Ill.

College Film Center, 59 E. Van Vuren St., Chicago, Ill.

Directory of U. S. Government Filsm U.S. Office of Ecucation. Washington D. C. Lists all government filsm available for distribution.
Division of General Extension, University System of Georgia, 223 Walton St., N. W., Atlanta, Georgia

Erpi Classroom Films, Inc. 1841 Broadway, New York.

Film Forums, 45 Rockefeller Plaza, New York.

Federal Radion Education Committee-United States Office of Education, Washington, D. C.

Walter O. Gutlohn, Inc. 25 W. 45th St. Dept. X-4, New York.

Harmon Foundation, Inc. 140 Nassau St., New York.

National Council of Young Men's Christian Association-Motion Picture Bureau 347 Madison Avenue, New York.

Office of War Information-Bureau of Motion Pictures-Washington, D. C.

New Republic Editorial Publication, Inc. New York, N. Y. $5.00 Weekly. 13 Weeks introductory offer $1.00

Visual Aids for Instructional Use in Schools.

Pamphlet No. 80 (revised 1941) U.S. Office of Education, Washington D. C. This pamphlet lists over 1000 agencies from which various kinds of audio-visual aids may be secured. May be obtained from Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C.

II. Dr. Herbert A. Miller is a prominent sociologist. In 1931, Dr. Miller was dismissed from his position as Professor of Sociology at Ohio State University. Dr. Miller has been an out spoken advocate of complete racial equality and was known as a liberal thinker. (As a result of his work he had participated in revolutions in Ireland, Czechoslovakia, Korea, India, and Mexico). In the spring of 1931, he was already in disfavor with the Board of Trustees for his views. In the Spring of that year he took a group of students to Wilberforce University (a Negro school) where some of the white girls danced with Negroes. The Ohio State Journal demanded Dr. Miller's dismissal. In view of his disfavor with the Board Dr. Miller should-

( ) have refrained from any further expression of his beliefs on race and liberal movements.

( ) have publicly reprimanded the girl for dancing with the Negro.

( ) have resigned from the faculty since his views were unpopular.

( ) have continued his positive expressions of his belief in racial equality even though this lead to his dismissal.

III. Iowa State College is located in Ames. Only a small number of Negroes attend the college. The college maintains dormitories for girls and strictly supervises the private homes in which undergraduate girls live. Traditionally Negro girls are not permitted to live in the dormitories. In 1930 two Negro girls were without rooms and reported their predicament ot the chief of the Housing Bureau. Rooms were available in the college dormitory for girls.

The chief of the Housing Bureau should-

( ) break precedent and place the Negro girls in the dormitory.

( ) Advises the girls to withdraw from the college since there were no living accommodations available.

( ) appeal to the white citizens of the community to provide space for the girls.

( ) assume no reponsibility in the matter whatever and let the girls fend for themselves.

IV. In 1931 the George W. Hamilton Memorial Hospital located in Dalton, Georgia. had no ward for colored patients. The hospital was supported out of public tax funds. On November 6, 1931, Miss Juliette Derricotte, Dean of Women at Fisk University, (colored) was severly injured in an automobile accident near Dalton. A passing motorist rushed her to Dalton to the Hamilton Memorial Hospital. Because there was no ward for Negroes, the receiving surgeon was disturbed as to the correct course of action. The Doctor should-

( ) break precedent and admit the injured woman to the hospital.

( ) administer temporary relief and send her to Chattanooga (40 miles away) for examination and hospitalization.

( ) refuse any kind of treatment or advice.

( ) refuse admission to the hospital, but send her to a local doctor's office.

V. ( ) Among the largest and most modern hotels in Detroit is the Book-Cadillac. In November, 1930 the Executive Committee of the Student-Faculty Conference signed an agreement with the management under the terms of which the hotel agreed to provide accommodations for an expected delegations of 1200 persons. It was pro vided in the contract that all delegates, white and Negro, were to have equal access to all the facilities of the hotel except the main dining room. Upon arrival of the delegates the Negroes were segregated, refused service in the Coffee Shop and otherwise discriminated against. The conference protested

the hotel's violation of its written agreement. The manager of the hotel pointed out that he had not been manager when the contract was signed, that some of the Negro delegates had made themselves obnoxious to other guests of the hotel, and that the conference had only 800 delegates instead of the promised 1200. He refused to serve the Negro delegates in the Coffee Shop but agreed to serve them in the conference dining room at Coffee prices and agreed further, to place the Negro delegates throughout the hotel. Upon investigation it was found that the Wolverine Hotel would grant all of the conditions of the conference and guaranteed against any similar situation, The conference should-

( ) continue in the hotel, making use only of those services equally available to all delegates.

( ) move to the Wolverine Hotel where a policy of Non-segregation and non-discrimination was guaranteed.

( ) sent a strongly worded protest to the hotel management restating the conference's attitudes on race and calling attention to the embarrassment caused by the hotel.

( ) take no official action, but leave each member free to do as he chose.

Old list

Service to Negroes at Main Libraries

ARKANSAS

Little Rock. Open to Negroes over 16 or enrolled in 7th grade or higher in the public schools. ATLANTA JOURNAL, 1-15-51

FLORIDA

Miami. Full privileges. NAIRO REPORTER, 10-51

KENTUCKY

Covington and Kenton County. Full privileges. NEGRO HANDBOOK 1947

Lexington and Fayette County. Partial service. Gleason, SOUTHERN NEGRO AND THE PUBLIC LIBRARY.

Louisville. Full privileges at main library since 1948; in all divisions of Louisville public library system, 1952. ATLANTA WORLD, 4-17-52

Newport. Partial service (borrow but not full privileges). Gleason

Paducah. Partial service (borrow but not full privileges). Gleason

Paris. Partial service (borrow but not full privileges). Gleason

OKLAHOMA

Ponca City. May have cards (no other information available). Gleason

TENNESSEE

Chattanooga. Full privileges. CHATTANOOGA TIMES, 5-4-49

TEXAS

Austin and Travis County. Full privileges in main library; segregation in Carver Branch abolished at same time. NAIRO REPORTER 2-52

Brady and McCulloch County. Full Privileges and also station in Negro section. Gleason

Corpus Christi. Service through regular channels. NEGRO HANDBOOK 1947.

Dallas. Service through regular channels. NEGRO HANDBOOK 1947.

El Paso. Full privileges. Gleason

Ft. Worth and Tarrant County. Partial service and also stations in the Negro section. Gleason

Lufkin. Service through regular channels. NEGRO HANDBOOK 1947

Missions. Service through regular channels. NEGRO HANDBOOK 1947

Pecos. Service through regular channels. NEGRO HANDBOOK 1947

Port Arthur. Partial service, summer only. Gleason

San Antonio and Bexar County. Service through regular channels. NEGRO HANDBOOK 1947

(Texas)

Stinnett and Hutchinson County. Service through regular channels. NEGRO HANDBOOK 1947

Wharton and Wharton County. Service through regular channels. NEGRO HANDBOOK 1947

VIRGINIA

Boydton and Mecklenberg County. Full service privileges but separate reading room. Gleason

Charlotte Court House and Charlotte County. Full service privileges but separate reading room. Gleason

Charlottesville, Va. Full privileges. Charles S. Johnson, INTO THE MAINSTREAM

Galax and Grayson County. Borrow books but not use reading room. NEGRO HANDBOOK 1947

Halifax and Halifax County. Full service privileges but separate reading room. Gleason

Lynchburg. Separate reading room. BLACK DISPATCH, 12-22-51

NewPort News. Full privileges. ATLANTA WORLD, 7-17-52

Norfolk. Full privileges. BLACK DISPATCH 12-22-51

Petersburg. Room in main library with separate entrance. NEGRO HANDBOOK 1947

? Richmond. (Janes notes)

Replies from Communities

Questionnaires sent to following communities:

(1) those where main library gave service to Negroes according to other sources

(2) Cities of 20,000 or more population in Ala, Ark, Fla, Ga, La, Miss, NC, Okla, SC, Tenn, and Tex

(3) Cites of 10,000 or more in Ky and VC.

Total sent — 172

Returned — 79 (46%)

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **MARGE MANDERSON**

See Race Relations Law Reporter as source for texts of all segregation legislation.

Pol

BOOKS ON WHEELS

By EDITH FOSTER, *Director West Georgia Regional Library, Carrollton, Georgia.*

She is in the seventh grade now. She has just finished reading the life of Helen Keller. Seven years ago she had only copies of a "yellow-sheet" magazine before her eyes at home, she said. In the six and one-half years since the bookmobile first touched her life, she has read 741 books. She prefers books about real people. Her eyes sparkle with vision . . .

Six and one-half years ago it was only a dream – a pioneering dream of service; now it is a forceful library program with a heart and soul, whose purpose has been to offer educational facilities to all the people – a program on wheels, traveling some 2,000 miles per month to library stations over 1,000 square miles. To work and plan together, to hunt out our needs, to discover our potentialities, to pool our resources, to shape an effective rural library service irrespective of race or creed – that has been the driving force behind the creation and organization of the West Georgia Regional Library program.

The first concrete step was a careful survey of our territory under the guidance of I. S. Ingram, President of West Georgia College, and two county school superintendents, J. H. McGiboney and N. A. Rogers. The survey showed that the all-rural territory was a fertile field. For one thing, West Georgia College was performing a very effective and practical service through its fine educational program. The two original counties (we are now three, and probably by the time this article appears we shall comprise four counties) were already closely drawn into the circle of direct influence of West Georgia College. Since its beginning West Georgia College has not only successfully trained teachers for rural schools but has also lifted the educational morale of the surrounding counties by shaping its program as a college program *for the people.*

Another vital point the survey indicated was that there is no geographic barrier – or any other for that matter. The pattern of life involved would be fairly stable and easily recognized. The focal points of meeting in "the country," it was noted, are definitely the church and the school – to a lesser degree, the cross-road store.

The director journeyed for three months all over the rural sections, studying programs, meeting the average citizen, visiting the schools, weaving a service pattern. There were many things to consider, such as distances, types of roads, size of communities and schools, variety of businesses, existing library resources.

In the fall of 1944, after making a careful analysis of the findings of the survey and the on-the-spot study, the director drew up a proposed plan of library service. The plan called for an eventual over-all program but an immediate service to schools via some sort of bookmobile. The library would build a foundation for a finer tomorrow – beginning with today. Through the media of the school personnel and the school programs, touch would inevitably be made with Mr. and Mrs. Average Rural Citizen . . .

"Help us plan our P. T. A. program for the year . . . Please gather material for my sixth grade to use in a unit on 'Trees-Soil Conservation'. . . I'm a scout. Can you advise me on books about making birdhouses to sell? I want to go to summer camp and I must help pay my way . . . Please – I need help on how to behave when dating . . . Grandpa said please get him another book as good as the one he had about George Washington . . ."

The county boards of education were so eager to have permanently-at-hand good reading materials in their schools and for their school patrons that they immediately allocated local school funds to the regional library budget. Carroll Service Council, civic clubs, P. T. A.'s and other groups participated in the fund-raising projects so that at least a minimum budget might be maintained.

West Georgia College assumed responsibility for maintaining headquarters, offered a car to be used for two years as a bookmobile and secured $3,100 over a period of two years to aid in initiating the program. The Library Division of Georgia's Department of Education (of which all regional libraries in the state are field agencies for direct service) approved the proposed plan, accepted the Carroll County Board of Education as the regional library's legal board, and released immediately funds allocated to our regional library under the state plan.

State consultants — well-known and respected in national and international library circles, Lucile Nox, Sarah Jones and Beverly Wheatcroft, among them — consistently served the region with warm-hearted devotion to Georgia's new all-out library effort. They took a keen personal interest in each developing program, feeling that all the state's regional librarians must work as a team towards a better way of life through library service.

The initial years found the library bearing growing pains—doing a tremendous job with few materials and small staff. The dream, however, began to take on the shape of actuality. Using a record player and recordings, the librarian conducted "story hour" everywhere to break down the feeling of strangeness in the thinking of the children. From 775 books "borrowed" from the State Library Extension Service, the stock grew by the end of the first year to 5,463 new volumes, with circulation totaling about 34,000. The end of the sixth year found 30,000 volumes moving over the region in two bookmobiles, and to answer immediate needs, a mail service was started resulting in a total circulation exceeding 260,000! Other materials included a ceiling projector with 50 microfilmed books to lend to the ill and bedridden, and a fine collection of film strips for educational purposes.

Through cooperative school and library effort direct public library service was achieved even in the most remote districts. Library stations were established all over the region in stores, filling stations, homes, churches and in one "rolling store." These stations expanded the service vastly beyond the powers of the bookmobile acting alone, for in order to cover the territory the bookmobile must make relatively short stops, and those infrequently. All this was made possible by the active support and interest of J. Hubert Griffin, Carrollton's progressive Mayor and Chairman of the regional library's executive board, by the city council, the Carroll County Commissioners and many civic clubs. For best results the program should be tax-supported.

The Negro program has brought about a fine example of race relations. A committee composed of Negro and white citizens started it. The city of Carrollton gave the land for the library. A garden club (white) landscaped the library property, bought shrubbery and planted it. Through cooperative efforts of the races, King Street Branch (Negro) rose in simplicity and dignity on the brow of the

A very exciting day in the life of the rural school. "Yonder she comes!"

hill. To a marvelous extent, the success of this effort can be directly accredited to the Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc., and its Iota Chapter (Atlanta) under the leadership of Dr. Virginia Lacey Jones, Administrator of the Library School, Atlanta University.

Attracted by the Iota Chapter to a study of our program for Negro library service, Delta Sigma Theta Sorority recently designated our service emanating from King Street Branch the outstanding Negro library effort in the nation, awarding us a new Ford Vanette Bookmobile equipped with new books, a moving picture projector and a record player. A graduate Negro librarian is to be added to the regional library staff in September. Through such excellent understanding and assistance, we feel that shortly the Negro rural library service in our area will prove to be effective and wholesome.

From King Street Branch via bookmobile goes a collection of new, carefully processed materials to answer the needs of the schools and communities. *Into* King Street Branch constantly pour groups of Negroes to hold all kinds of cooperative meetings whose purpose is a bettering of life for all. Up to its doorway drives the Bloodmobile, which often is seen side by side with the Bookmobile, as if to say to the world: "We learn; we serve."

The definite purpose of any over-all regional library program is to have sufficient materials to meet all felt needs and achieve complete library service for the area; to safe-guard the materials and activate services under trained personnel; to cut out overlapping in expenditures; and to equalize educational opportunity through library service.

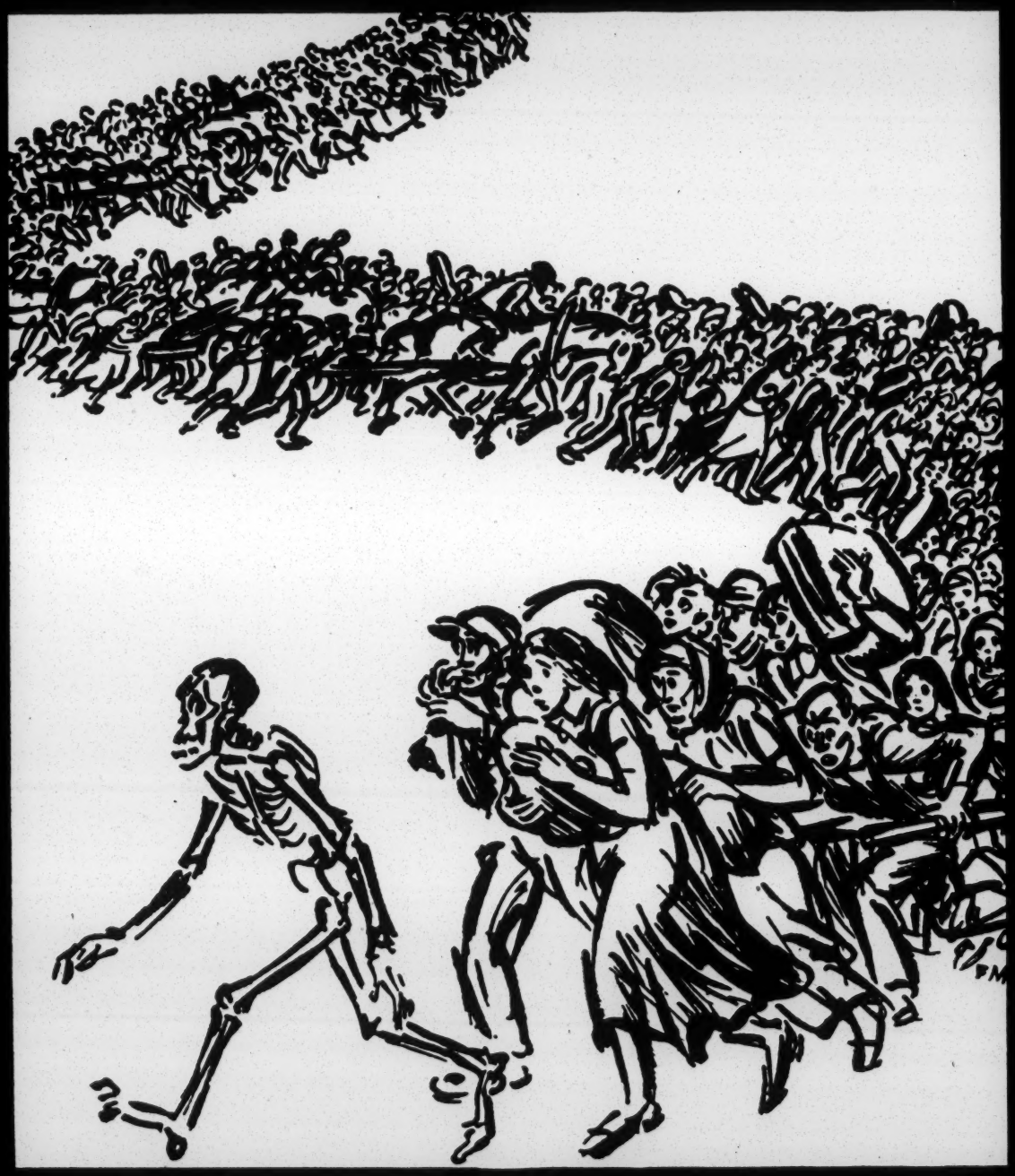
260,166 circulation! What does that mean? Wide area of reading? Yes. Many books? Yes. One would never have dreamed these rural people would read so much, when they were at last given the opportunity. This implies a human value that is not to be measured; it is the resource of having a regular and dependable supply of reading matter, of professional advice and information about what is available, and free choice concerning subject matter and area of interest. If we may judge by our six and one-half years of experience it seems certain a library service that really reaches rural districts will both spread the benefits that come from the habit of reading and raise the intellectual level of reading and consequently of living.

Parent-Teacher group plans to hold a clinic in the library.

DECEMBER 1947

SURVEY GRAPHIC

40 CENTS A COPY



OURS THE FOOD: THEIRS THE HUNGER

HELEN HALL AND PAUL KELLOGG

CHRISTMAS BOOK SECTION

AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR Bulletin

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR
1751 N Street, N. W. Washington 6, D. C.

Number 15 April 1953

THIS IS THE MONTH OF THE THIRD ANNUAL CONFERENCE TO BE HELD IN WASHINGTON, D. C., ON APRIL 22 - 23.

The conference will meet at Pierce Hall, All Souls Church-Unitarian, 16th and Harvard Streets, N.W., Washington, D. C. See pages two and three of this bulletin for information about the program.

Registrations can still be received. If no registration blank is at hand, it will be enough to send your name and address; the name of your organization, and a check. The registration fee is $3.00 ($1.00 for single sessions). The luncheon is $1.25.

THE OPENING SESSION OF THE CONFERENCE WILL DISCUSS MIGRANT LABOR.

Several NCALL members who have been closest to the migrant labor scene this year, will tell us at this session not only of any changes observed but of any new ideas that have come to them as to how the conditions of migrant labor can be improved. It will be an afternoon for discussion of issues and of strategy for progress. The panel and the audience will participate throughout.

DELEGATES FROM THE SOUTH WILL BE PRESENT FOR THE DISCUSSION OF LOW INCOME FARMERS AND FARM WAGE WORKERS IN THE SOUTH TODAY.

NCALL members who have been working with migrant labor families in Florida of late have been interested in the fact that many of the migrant workers of Florida and the "low income farmers" of Alabama (or some other nearby state) are the same people. These matters will be interpreted to us by several delegates as well as by Dr. George S. Mitchell, director of the Southern Regional Council, who will make a principal address.

Dr. Ernest E. Neal of Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, and Professor Harry W. Roberts of Virginia State College, Petersburg, Virginia, will attend. They are authorities on the problems of farm wage labor and low income farmers in the South. Mr. J. D. Rust of the Rust Foundation of Pinebluff, Arkansas, will be a delegate also. Mr. Rust is one of the brothers who invented the mechanical cotton picker and whose thought about the machine has been that it should be a liberator of humanity.

THIRD ANNUAL CONFERENCE
of the
NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

April 22-23, 1953

Pierce Hall, All Souls Church-Unitarian
16th and Harvard Streets, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

PROGRAM (To be completed)

Wednesday
April 22

1:00 P.M. Registration.

2:00 P.M. Welcome and Introductory Statement - Rev. Shirley E. Greene
Chairman of NCALL

2:30 P.M. FARM LABOR SESSION - THE MIGRANT LABOR SITUATION, 1952-53
THE TRAVELERS REPORT

The Travelers

Rev. Shirley E. Greene - Council for Social Action
Congregational-Christian Church

Mrs. Monica Owen - Division of Home Missions
National Council of Churches, USA

Mr. Sol Markoff - National Child Labor Committee

Mr. Clarence Senior - Migration Division
Department of Labor
Commonwealth of Puerto Rico

Mr. H. L. Mitchell - National Agricultural Workers Union, AFL

Resources for Discussion of Issues

Miss Beatrice McConnell - Bureau of Labor Standards
U. S. Department of Labor,
on status of legislation
affecting migrant labor.

Dr. Eleanor Hadley - National Consumers' League -
on Trends in Importation of Foreign Labor.

Mrs. Katherine P. Ellickson - Associate Director of Research,
Department of Education and Research, CIO,
on Recommendations of the Labor Advisory
Committee to the Farm Placement Service.

7:30 P.M. LOW INCOME FARMERS IN AMERICAN AGRICULTURE

Presiding - Dr. Howard A. Dawson, Director of Rural Service
National Education Association

Hand Labor in Agriculture - Relation to Tenure Practices
- Dr. Joe R. Motheral, Head: Farm Labor
Section of the Bureau of Agricultural
Economics, United States Department
of Agriculture.

Low Income Farmers and Farm Wage Workers in the South Today.
- Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

Thursday
April 23

9:30 A.M. THE PROBLEMS OF LOW INCOME FARMERS: PROPOSALS FOR SOLUTION

Presiding - Mrs. Gertrude Folks Zimand
General Secretary
National Child Labor Committee

Credit: The Keystone of a Plan

Address: The place of credit in a program for underdeveloped farms. - Mr. Robert W. Hudgens, Director International Development Services

Some Aspects of the Question:
Mr. John Baker, National Farmers Union
Mr. Theodore Norman, Jewish Agricultural Society
Others Invited

Team Work between the Social Services and Economic Programs

Miss Eunice Minton - Chief of Welfare Service, Standards Branch; Division of Programs, Standards & Development; Bureau of Public Assistance, Federal Security Agency

Mrs. Amber Arthun Warburton - Director, Alliance for Guidance of Rural Youth

Representative of the Agricultural Extension Service (invited)

12:30 P.M. CONFERENCE LUNCHEON

Presiding - Mr. Paul Sifton, United Auto Workers-CIO

The Stake of the Family Farmer and of the American People in Adequate and Stable Farm Income

A Free-for-All Question Period on Agricultural Issues which have made the headlines during this session of Congress

Authorities:
Senator James E. Murray of Montana (invited)
Mr. Gus F. Geissler, National Farmers Union
Mr. Wayne Darrow, Editor "Farm Reports"

2:00 P.M. THE STAKE OF FAMILY FARMERS AND FARM WAGE WORKERS IN FEDERAL POLICIES CONCERNING RURAL ELECTRIFICATION: CONSERVATION, FLOOD CONTROL AND IRRIGATION.

Presiding - Rev. Shirley E. Greene, Chairman of NCALL

Mr. Benton Stong, Public Affairs Institute - Chairman of Panel
Honorable Howard S. Miller, Representative from the First Congressional District of Kansas
Mr. J. T. Sanders, Legislative Counsel, The National Grange
Dr. Clay Cochran, National Rural Electric Cooperative Association

SOME ANGLES ON THE CONFERENCE DISCUSSION OF IRRIGATION AND FLOOD CONTROL

REPRESENTATIVE HOWARD S. MILLER WILL TELL THE CONFERENCE HOW THE FARMERS WON.

An exciting thing happened in the 1st Congressional District of Kansas last fall. The farmers in the Blue River Valley were up in arms because the Army Engineers' theory of flood control was to build the big Tuttle Creek Dam which would have flooded out the farms of the valley permanently. Howard S. Miller, farmer and lawyer of Brown County, Kansas, challenged the incumbent Congressman Cole on the issue of the farmers' plan: to wit:-small dams and conservation practises which, according to their views, would provide more effective flood control for the cities, would not flood the farmers out, and would increase the fertility of the soil. Mr. Miller won. He is now Congressman Miller and will tell the conference what the story means. He has introduced a bill in the House, HR 2730, which is titled:

A BILL
To Provide for the abandonment of the flood control project for the construction of the Tuttle Creek reservoir, Kansas.

"LET'S NOT SAVE AT THE SPIGGOT AND LET OUT AT THE BUNG".

To translate that old country saying - "Let's not save at the small hole in the barrel and let out at the big hole". At the closing session of the conference, we will hear one application of this saying to the problems of migrant labor. The 50 year old Reclamation Act says that when dry land is irrigated at government expense, a single farmer can have water for 160 acres and no more. If the efforts to break this down succeed, large scale industrialized agriculture will zoom in scope, and the pressures to import more and more foreign labor will be heavier. While working for labor standards for the farm labor force which now exists, it would be too bad, if, when nobody was looking, the problem were greatly magnified by breaking down the Reclamation Act.

THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE HAS SUBMITTED HIS BUDGET PROPOSALS

Secretary Benson's proposals represent cuts in most of the Department Programs with two principal exceptions. The Agricultural Extension Service budget stands without cuts. The Forest Service is given a non-recurring extra sum for beetle control.

With the limited knowledge available at the moment, it seems fair to ask questions about the cuts but not to make assertions.

1. Will the cut in the school lunch appropriation have the effect of asking children to consume farm surpluses rather than giving them a balanced diet?

2. In cutting the housing program of the Farmers' Home Administration does Secretary Benson express the policy of the Eisenhower administration when he says -

> "Of this sum, 2.5 million (one half of the cut) would be applied against the authorization for farm housing loans. This is generally in keeping with the policy of curtailing federal government housing activities, both urban and rural."

2. (continued)

The appointment of ex-Congressman Cole as head of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, has caused apprehension. When he was in Congress, Mr. Cole had a consistent voting record of opposition to the government's having a role in housing.

3. Is the cut in the Rural Electrification budget not only likely to reduce the volume of the R.E.A.'s loans to new electric cooperatives but also to make it difficult to help established electric cooperatives meet their sound and necessary expansion requirements?

THE LIBRARY SERVICES BILL HAS BEEN INTRODUCED IN THE SENATE AND IN THE HOUSE.

Letters are now appropriate to your Senators and Congressmen stressing the need for this legislation for rural areas.

The Library Services Bill would benefit families residing on farms and in small villages. This bill is designed to stimulate the State library agencies to extend public library service to rural areas now without such service or with inadequate service. Federal grants-in-aid would be allotted to the States on a matching basis for a five year period. The State library agencies would have complete jurisdiction in the selection of books and other library materials, as well as the selection of personnel.

There are more than 30 million people (mostly rural) in the United States without access to public library service and almost as many more have inadequate service. These people would be greatly assisted by the passage of this measure.

In the House of Representatives, thirteen members have introduced identical Library Services Bills on March 16 and these have all been referred to the House Education and Labor Committee. Sponsors of the bill are:

Republicans	Democrats
Congressman Harold C. Hagen (Minn.)	Congressman Charles R. Howell (N.J.)
Congressman Thomas A. Jenkins (Ohio)	Congressman Carl D. Parkins (Ky.)
Congressman Charles J. Kersten (Wis.)	Congressman Cleveland Bailey (W.Va.)
Congressman Chester E. Merrow (N.H.)	Congressman Tom Steed (Okla.)
Congressman Thor C. Tollefson (Wash.)	Congressman Carl Elliott (Ala.)
Congressman Ruth Thompson (Mich.)	Congressman Wright Patman (Texas)
	Congressman(Mrs.)Elizabeth Kee(W.Va.)

In the Senate, the Library Services Bill, S. 1368, was introduced on March 18 by Senator George D. Aiken (R. Vt.) for himself and Senators Frank Carlson (R. Kansas), Irving M. Ives (R., N.Y.), John Sherman Cooper (R., Ky.), William Langer (R., N.D.), Lister Hill (D., Ala.), Paul H. Douglas (D., Ill.), Henry M. Jackson (D. Wash.), and Mike Mansfield (D., Montana). This bill has been referred to the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee.

SOUTHWEST CONFERENCE ON THE NEEDS OF CHILDREN AND YOUTH IN MIGRANT FAMILIES: HELD AT ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO, IN EARLY MARCH.

This conference, the first of its kind in the area, was a mile stone in southwestern history. Over a year of planning went into the conference which included representatives from the nine Southwestern states and a range of state and federal agencies, as well as citizens representing various aspects of the migrant problem.

Principal credit for bringing the group together belongs to Mr. Frank Angel of the New Mexico Department of Education. Mr. Angel was ably assisted by a New Mexico Citizens Committee and an inter-state sponsoring committee. Mr. Miguel Trujillo of the Laguna pueblo was general conference chairman.

Much of the conference time was devoted to working groups on health, housing, child labor, education, recreation and welfare, -- all with reference to the needs of children and youth. Plans were outlined and adopted, before the conference ended, for its repetition another year, probably in another state.

The opening general session was addressed by Dr. Varden Fuller, University of California, and former Executive Secretary of President Truman's Commission on Migratory Labor. Dr. Fuller painted the migratory labor scene in broad perspective, as seen by the President's Commission. He characterized it as "a chaotic and inefficient form of social and economic organization".

Miss Lazelle Alway of the National Child Labor Committee addressed the first luncheon meeting, describing the "grim merry-go-round" on which migrants are caught. She pointed out how their lack of opportunity hampers their educational and social achievement, which in turn limits their opportunity in a vicious circle extending through the generations. She spoke in detail about the various attempts to avoid, circumvent or actually to repeal the effective provisions of the federal Fair Labor Standards Act which prohibit employment of children in agriculture while schools are in session.

At a dinner meeting, Rev. Shirley E. Greene, Chairman of the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor, described the migrant child as caught in a "no-man's land" between several cross-fires. He is the ultimate victim, according to Mr. Greene, of many of the problems of public schools, growers, migrant families and communities. Describing the prevailing attitudes which he has encountered among these groups in the course of a current study on the education of migrant children, he said the school men are baffled, the growers are defensive, the migrant families are divided and the communities are unaware.

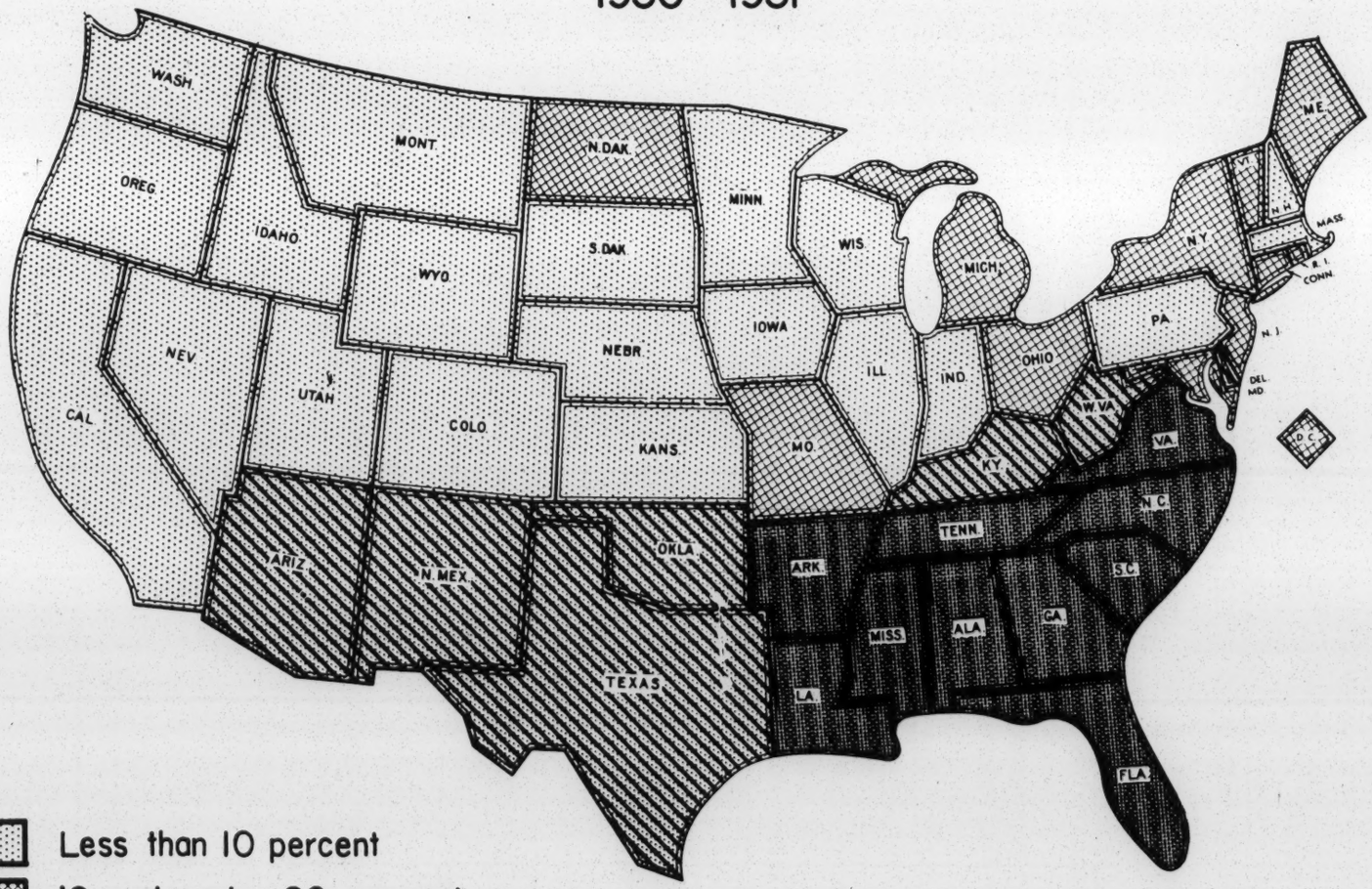
Addresses on the second day featured certain constructive programs currently in progress. Mrs. Martha A. Skaggs of Las Cruces, N.M., described a simple Spanish-English phrase book which she has devised to help Mexican importees and their employers to understand each other. Mrs. I. H. Teilman and Mr. Martin Gunderson of Fresno County, California, described a significant community-sponsored program in behalf of agricultural workers in the recently developed cotton labor camps of Fresno county. Health clinics and child care centers are outstanding features of this program which has joint support of growers, agency and professional personnel and general citizens.

The closing session heard, discussed and accepted reports from the work groups. They were not adopted by the conference; merely accepted. Some minor amendments were made by the group as a whole, but no substantial changes.

U S Armed Forces

REJECTION RATES FOR FAILURE TO PASS ARMED FORCES QUALIFICATION TEST

1950 – 1951



Less than 10 percent

10 and under 20 percent

20 and under 30 percent

30 percent or more

The highest rejection rates occurred in -- areas which contain the greatest concentration of both low farm-family living levels, and low per capita income -- The Armed Forces Qualification test "is used to estimate a man's ability to absorb training and perform effectively -- it is believed that generally speaking, success on the test is related to his total educational experience."

Quoted from bulletin published by the Bureau of Labor Standards, United States Department of Labor.

PUBLICATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON MIGRATORY AGRICULTURAL LABOR - National Child Labor Committee, 419 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.

A growing number of college and high school students, as well as organizations, are writing to the NCALL office asking for material on migratory labor. The up-to-date bibliography published by the National Child Labor Committee gives the major basic references such as Reports of Study Commission, Congressional Hearings, Other Reports and Publications on Migratory Labor, Reports of State Departments and Agencies, Magazine Articles, Films, Stories and Plays.

PAMPHLETS FOR USE IN DISCUSSIONS OF RURAL ELECTRIFICATION:

"The People's Fight for Low Cost Power" is the report of the Electric Consumer Conference held in Washington in May 1952. This can be secured for 25¢ from the Electric Consumers Information Committee, 1303 New Hampshire Ave., N.W., Washington 6, D. C. It contains the proceedings of the discussions and the speeches made at the conference.

"The Farmer Takes a Hand: The Electric Power Revolution in Rural America" by Marquis Childs. Introduction by Senator George D. Aiken. Mr. Childs tells the story of how 15 years ago hardly ten percent of American farms had electric power. Today more than eighty percent have electricity and the labor saving devices that go with it. The book tells how it happened. It can be secured for 25¢ from the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, 1303 New Hampshire Ave., N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR BULLETIN

Issued by

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

1751 N Street, N. W. Washington 6, D. C. Tel: NOrth 7-3979

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The National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor is a voluntary federation of religious, farm, labor and civic organizations. The Council focuses its attention on the welfare of individuals and families- migrants, sharecroppers, tenants and family farmers- who earn their living through agricultural pursuits. Because the problems of farm workers and operators are closely related to the welfare of agriculture and the economy generally, the Council is also concerned with questions of economic and social import affecting rural areas.

25 FACTS ABOUT Saskatchewan

INFORMATION BULLETIN NO. 5

Saskatchewan

First and Only PROVINCE TO ENACT A COMPREHENSIVE FARM SECURITY ACT TO PROTECT THE FARMER'S OWNERSHIP OF HIS HOME QUARTER.

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First and Only PROVINCE TO ADD TO THE SECURITY OF THE PEOPLE BY ESTABLISHING AN AIR AMBULANCE SERVICE TO PICK UP EMERGENCY CASES AND TRANSPORT THEM TO MEDICAL CENTRES.

First and Only PROVINCE TO CO-OPERATE FULLY WITH THE PHYSICAL FITNESS PROGRAM BY ESTABLISHING A COMPREHENSIVE RECREATIONAL MOVEMENT.

First and Only PROVINCE TO SET UP A DEPARTMENT OF CO-OPERATION AND CO-OPERATIVE DEVELOPMENT-

First and Only PROVINCE TO PROMOTE CO-OPERATIVE FARMING BY ENCOURAGING A LARGE VETERANS' CO-OP FARM AT MATADOR AND OTHER CO-OPERATIVE FARMING VENTURES THROUGHOUT THE PROVINCE.

First and Only PROVINCE TO ESTABLISH A DEPARTMENT OF RECONSTRUCTION AND REHABILITATION TO RE-ESTABLISH RETURNED MEN AND WOMEN INTO CIVIL LIFE.

First and Only PROVINCE TO ENTER INTO COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AGREEMENTS WITH ITS EMPLOYEES ASSURING THEM FULL UNION SECURITY INCLUDING PROTECTION FROM ARBITRARY DISMISSAL.

First and Only PROVINCE TO BACK LABOUR 100 PER CENT. BY ENACTING AND ENFORCING AN ADVANCED TRADE UNION ACT GUARANTEEING UNION RECOGNITION, EFFECTIVE PREVENTION OF UNFAIR LABOUR PRACTICES AND FULL UNION SECURITY.

First and Only PROVINCE TO EXTEND WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION TO 75 PER CENT. OF WAGES, HIGHEST RATE OF BENEFITS IN THE WORLD.

First and Only PROVINCE TO ENACT LEGISLATION PROVIDING FOR A 44-HOUR WORKING WEEK WITH THE SAME TAKE-HOME PAY.

First and Only PROVINCE TO ESTABLISH A MINIMUM WAGE OF $1,200 A YEAR FOR PERMANENT TEACHERS-

First and Only PROVINCE TO GUARANTEE TO EVERY CITIZEN COMPENSATION FOR FINANCIAL LOSS RESULTING FROM INJURY OR DEATH IN A MOTOR ACCIDENT, AND BENEFITS FOR PROPERTY DAMAGE RESULTING FROM HIGHWAY ACCIDENTS.

First and Only PROVINCE TO EXTEND THE MUNICIPAL FRANCHISE IN CITIES, TOWNS, VILLAGES AND RURAL MUNICIPALITIES TO ALL ADULTS REGARDLESS OF PROPERTY OWNERSHIP.

First and Only PROVINCE TO UNDERTAKE COMPREHENSIVE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PLANNING THROUGH ITS ECONOMIC ADVISORY AND PLANNING BOARD.

First and Only PROVINCE TO OPERATE THE PROVINCE'S BUS TRANSPORTATION LINES AS A PUBLIC SERVICE, THE SURPLUSES OF WHICH ARE RETAINED BY THE PEOPLE OF THE PROVINCE.

First and Only PROVINCE TO EMBARK UPON A CONCRETE PROGRAM OF GOVERNMENT-SPONSORED INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT TO UTILIZE NATURAL PRODUCTS AND CREATE NEW EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES.

First and Only PROVINCE TO ESTABLISH A RESEARCH COUNCIL TO CO-ORDINATE AND ACTIVELY PROMOTE RESEARCH WITH EMPHASIS ON THE PHYSICAL SCIENCES

First and Only PROVINCE TO PROVIDE GOVERNMENT MARKETING SERVICES FOR PRODUCTS OF THE TIMBER, FUR AND FISHING INDUSTRIES.

First and Only PROVINCE TO ENACT A BILL OF RIGHTS, GUARANTEEING TO EVERY CITIZEN OF SASKATCHEWAN BASIC FREEDOMS AND RIGHTS IRRESPECTIVE OF RACE, RELIGION, COLOUR, OR ETHNIC OR NATIONAL ORIGIN.

Socially-owned Projects

In Operation

GOVERNMENT WOOLLEN MILL - -	MOOSE JAW
GOVERNMENT SHOE FACTORY - - - -	REGINA
GOVERNMENT TANNERY - - - - - -	REGINA
SASKATCHEWAN GOVERNMENT INSURANCE OFFICE . - - - - - - - -	REGINA
SASKATCHEWAN POWER COMMISSION -	REGINA
GOVERNMENT BRICK PLANT - - - -	ESTEVAN
GOVERNMENT SEED CLEANING PLANT -	MOOSE JAW
GOVERNMENT PRINTING COMPANY - -	REGINA
GOVERNMENT TELEPHONES - - - -	REGINA
SASKATCHEWAN TIMBER BOARD -	PRINCE ALBERT
GOVERNMENT BOX FACTORY - -	PRINCE ALBERT
SASKATCHEWAN FISH BOARD - -	PRINCE ALBERT
GOVERNMENT FISH PLANTS -	LAC LA RONGE BEAVER LAKE MEADOW LAKE
GOVERNMENT BUS LINES - - - - - -	REGINA
GOVERNMENT SODIUM SULPHATE DEVELOPMENT - - - - - -	CHAPLIN
SASKATCHEWAN FUR MARKETING SERVICE -	REGINA
GOVERNMENT RECONSTRUCTION HOUSING CORPORATION - - - - - - -	REGINA
GOVERNMENT RECONSTRUCTION CORPORATION - - - - - - -	REGINA

Backed Financially

CO-OPERATIVE HORSE PROCESSING PLANT - - - - - -	SWIFT CURRENT

Industrial Development

Aims

1. TO UTILIZE INDUSTRIALLY SASKATCHEWAN'S NATURAL RESOURCES AND OTHER PRIMARY PRODUCTS.

2. TO PROVIDE GREATER EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE PEOPLE OF SASKATCHEWAN THROUGH INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITY.

Social Services

Aims

1. ADEQUATE HEALTH SERVICES FOR ALL.

2. INCREASED EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES AND OPPORTUNITIES, ESPECIALLY IN RURAL AREAS.

3. ADEQUATE PROVISIONS FOR THE HEALTH, COMFORT AND DECENCY OF ALL THOSE WHO THROUGH AGE, ILLNESS, OR PHYSICAL OR MENTAL DISABILITY ARE UNABLE TO CARE FOR THEMSELVES.

For Free Booklets

DESCRIBING VARIOUS ASPECTS OF SASKATCHEWAN GOVERNMENT ACTIVITY:

Write THE BUREAU OF PUBLICATIONS,
LEGISLATIVE BUILDING,
REGINA, SASKATCHEWAN.

SPECIAL BULLETIN

RE: FARM LABOR BILL IN HOUSE

FROM: Veniette C. Weil, Executive Secretary, National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor

As reported by the Council, HR 3283 calling for the further importation of foreign farm workers has been given a rule by the House Rules Committee. This action was taken last night by the Committee. This means that the Poage Bill will probably reach the floor of the House the middle of next week.

The bill contains very serious defects and inadequacies and does little, or nothing, towards solving the very serious problem of migratory labor in the United States. An attempt is being made by Congressman McCarthy and other sympathetic Congressmen to improve HR 3283.

You have already received a copy of a letter to the Council from Congressman McCarthy explaining the course of action to be taken by the Congressman in his fight to improve the House bill (a copy of which we have sent you). You have also received an analysis of the bill passed by the Senate calling for the importation of foreign farm workers. I am enclosing a reprint of the New York Times articles by Gladwin Hill on illegal Mexican immigration. It is the hope of the Council that the material we have provided will give you the necessary background for taking whatever action you may deem essential.

It is suggested that those organizations wishing to alert their people in the field do so immediately. Letters to Congressmen embodying the improvements suggested by Congressman McCarthy in his letter will in many instances aid members of the House in deciding in favor of improving the bill. For those organizations which can take legislative action it is suggested that they contact Congressmen directly.

An attempt will be made to improve HR 3283 so as to accomplish the following purposes:

"1. To discourage the use of so-called 'wetback' Mexican labor, i.e. Mexicans who enter this country illegally and are subsequently employed in agricultural work principally in the west and southwest.

2. To insure adequate standards of wages, working conditions and housing for the migratory worker.

3. To provide that the cost of this program will be borne by the farmers who employ the imported labor and will not require a United States subsidy.

1939

Ladies and Lynchings

by LEWIS T. NORDYKE

The remarkable story of the campaign against lynching which is being carried forward by forty thousand southern women, backed by two million members of social, civic and religious groups. A Texas journalist reports on the promise of better human relations which distinguishes this quiet but determined movement for "self-reconstruction."

MOB VIOLENCE, MASQUERADING AS THE CHAMPION OF SOUTHern womanhood, is petering out below the Mason and Dixon Line. And the weaker sex is largely responsible. Nine years ago a small group of thinking women who had long realized that there was more bloodthirst than knight-errantry in howling mobs, organized the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. Today, backed by women's social, civic and religious groups that have more than two million members in the southern states, the women are massed in one of the most effective social programs ever attempted in the United States and certainly one of the most vital and constructive movements in the South — that of preventing white men from lynching Negroes for any cause whatsoever.

The word "southern" in the association's name is significant, for the program is a native one, conceived, developed and expanded into a South-wide movement by southern-born women. In a strict sense, the movement is part of the final work of reconstruction, the righting of wrongs growing out of slavery and the Civil War.

The accomplishments of these southern women are not widely known, even in the South. The women have worked quietly—very quietly in comparison with the notoriety of lynching mobs bent on murder. Through personal effort, pressure on state officials and peace officers, and with the help of church, social and other organizations, they have greatly affected the South's whole approach to the problem of race relations.

Demolishing the Myth of Mob Chivalry

STATISTICS TELL PART OF THE DRAMATIC STORY OF THE PAtient anti-lynching campaign. In the eight years previous to the founding of the women's association, there were 211 lynchings in the nation. In 1930, the year the association was founded, there were twenty-one lynchings in the South. Records of Tuskegee Institute show that in the first eight years the women were organized there were 105 lynchings, only half as many as in the previous eight years. There were thirteen lynchings in 1931, eight in 1932, twenty-eight in 1933, fourteen in 1934, twenty in 1935, eight in each of 1936 and 1937 and six in 1938, the lowest year on record.

Moreover, the records show that in forty instances sheriffs and police officers, many of them committed in writing to the women's program, prevented lynchings in 1938—saving three white men, forty-nine Negro men and a Negro woman from mobs. In each of these officially recorded cases, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching was on the job, not up front in a dramatic, headline way, but quietly functioning where action counted.

To outsiders the most surprising thing about the anti-lynching drive is that southern women are responsible for it. The remark of one northerner who heard for the first time of the association's program was, "Why, that *is* peculiar. Isn't the primary purpose of lynching to protect white women?" To this question thousands of southern women have answered for nearly ten years with an emphatic, "NO."

The first thing the association's organizers set out to do was to destroy the fiction that men lynch in women's names. Here is the organization's declaration and personal pledge:

We declare lynching is an indefensible crime, destructive of all principles of government, hateful, and hostile to every ideal of religion and humanity, debasing, and degrading to every person involved. Though lynchings are not confined to any one section of the United States, we are aroused by the record which discloses our heavy responsibility for the presence of this crime in our country. We believe that this record has been achieved because public opinion has accepted too easily the claim of lynchers and mobsters that they were acting solely in the defense of womanhood. In the light of facts, we dare not longer permit this claim to pass unchallenged nor allow those bent upon personal revenge and savage-

What One Woman Can Do To Prevent Lynchings

1—She can study all available material on lynchings and make the information her own.

2—She can present her material to missionary societies and clubs, applying her remarks to the purposes and programs of each group.

3—She can secure signatures of the members of the organizations before which she speaks.

4—She can ask each organization to appoint one member to serve with her in this work.

5—She can take signatures of citizens and, accompanied by one member of her committee, go to the Court House and discuss with the Sheriff, the Judge, and other officers of the law mobs, lynchings, and their prevention. She can ask for the signatures of the officials to a special resolution against lynching.

6—She can visit the local newspaper and inform the editor of the work undertaken by the women, and ask for the sympathy and cooperation of the local press.

7—She and members of her committee can talk to the preachers of the town. She can plan with them some specific projects of education through the Church, Sunday School, and young peoples' organizations.

8—She and her committee can open the way for speakers before the civic, commercial, and service clubs of the men of the town.

9—She can talk over with the School Superintendent the project of reaching young people through the schools, either in assembly talks or in class room talks.

10—She and her committee can list all county wide organizations of men and women, the dates of the meetings, the nature of the work and the program of each. With this information she can identify the educational project against lynching with interests of the organizations before she will try to speak.

Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching

Reprinted from SURVEY GRAPHIC, *November 1939 for*
ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN WOMEN
FOR THE PREVENTION OF LYNCHING
710 Standard Building, Atlanta, Georgia

ry to commit acts of violence and lawlessness in the name of women. We solemnly pledge ourselves to create a new public opinion in the South, which will not condone, for any reason whatever, acts of mobs or lynchers. We shall teach our children at home, at school and at church a new interpretation of law and religion; we will assist all officials to uphold their oath of office; and, finally, we will join with every minister, editor, school teacher and patriotic citizen in a program of education to eradicate lynching and mobs forever from our land.

That pledge is not an idle one. Nearly 40,000 of the leading white women of the South have signed it and have fought for the principles involved, including the statement that men do not lynch in the South to protect the flower of southern womanhood.

When, on November 1, 1930, two dozen southern-born women met in Atlanta, some amazing facts about lynchings were placed on the council table. Guarding against possible consequences of acting in haste on what might be a half-baked idea, the small group had made an exhaustive survey of lynching. Here are some things they learned:

Since 1886, a total of 4297 persons had been lynched in the United States, most of them in the South—but only 21 per cent of the victims had been lynched for crimes against white women.

Women had been present at all lynchings of recent years and in a number of cases had participated. Some of the women were mothers with young children who, on several occasions, were actually balanced precariously on parents' shoulders so as to have a better view. Young boys and girls were contributing their numbers to the mobs, both as spectators and as leaders.

From 1922 to that autumn of 1930, there had been 211 lynchings, 204 of them in the South. But only 29 per cent of the victims had been accused of crimes against white women.

Then came the questions that electrified the conference: What did the other 71 per cent of the victims do to provoke the murderous wrath of mobs? Why do white men lynch Negroes? In a tense moment, the women saw what had been traditionally known as southern chivalry stripped down to sadistic barbarism. In the economic, social and racial significance of the problem lay the real challenge.

Under the leadership of Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames of Atlanta, today executive director of the association, an even dozen of that pioneer group pledged themselves to do all within their power to prevent lynchings and to change public opinion to abhor instead of countenance mob murder. The women decided they had two jobs. First to carry on an educational program between outbursts of violence; second, to act quickly when a mob formed, or when there was a threat of a mob. The first they considered of greater importance, and they wrote into their minutes:

The time to prevent lynchings is before the mob forms. Investigations have disclosed that no county in the South is free from the shadow of a possible lynching. Because the county is the important unit of government, intensive activities are planned to be carried out by women in each county seat *before a mob ever threatens.*

And this the women set out to do. Each of the dozen original members was prominent in church work and each knew that in the South church women are beyond any doubt the dominating force. So to the church organizations the women went for assistance. The response was great. Hundreds of southern women offered their aid. Prominent women like Mrs. Attwood Martin of Louisville, who is well known as a novelist under the name of George Madden Martin, joined actively in the work and placed their influence behind the program.

Then the women started work—talking, writing letters, distributing printed circulars, interviewing officers and state officials, addressing organization meetings—with the ambitious goal of interesting every organization of men and women in every county in the South in the campaign against lynching.

There was ridicule. There were threats. Organizations which had made the terrorizing of Negroes their chief business since the Civil War opposed the women, inspired sinister warnings or sent them under their own official letterheads. In no few communities the women were ordered not to speak. In other communities officials demanded that talks be written and censored locally before the women might speak.

"Many of the women were threatened," Mrs. Ames said. "I know women who wouldn't tell their husbands of the threats because they feared their families would insist that the women quit the work. Women went into communities in which there had been lynchings. Many of the people were surly, belligerent. When we take into consideration the fact that some of the lynchings had grown out of politics and crooked business deals, we can understand that the women were by no means safe at all times. They knew of the constant danger, and they didn't forget to pray."

The Momentum of Education

By good chance the women struck at an opportune moment. For years some of the leading newspapers of the South had fought mob murder. Such editors as Grover Hall of the Montgomery *Advertiser,* Mark Ethridge of the Louisville *Courier-Journal,* Virginius Dabney of the Richmond *Times-Dispatch,* and many others had made a strong fight against lynching.

State officials, particularly the governors, in several states had taken a reasonably firm stand against lynching and held sheriffs responsible for lynchings in their counties. In the cities of the South other individuals and organizations, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, had long been waging anti-lynching campaigns. There was a growing awareness of the social and economic implications of the spirit created by lynching. "Outside" criticism had begun to offend the sensibilities of southern people and make them more self-conscious about charges that lynching was the act of barbarians. In short, public opinion was not unprepared to accept the surprise move made by the southern white women. And, from the start, the women gave thankful credit and offered their full cooperation in all anti-lynching movements, except the drive for a federal anti-lynching bill, which, because of the women's program of applying pressure to southern sheriffs, they neither favored nor opposed.

Perhaps the most important part of their work — the part that shocked a large section of the public into a changing view of the lynching problem — was that of gathering and publicizing facts about lynchings. The records in Mrs. Ames' office in Atlanta show that in more than one instance innocent Negroes were lynched on non-existent grounds at the instigation of white men who coveted the crops the Negoes had cultivated.

Here are some of the officially recorded facts the women publicized in newspapers and in printed circulars:

Nine of the 84 mob victims in the 1931-35 period were not accused of any crime and 25 others were accused of minor offenses.

Near Moultrie, Ga., Bo Brinson, an unaccused Negro, was

killed at his home by a mob looking for John Henry Sloan, who had killed a white man.

In Baker County, Ga., a Negro killed a white bootlegger at a Negro dance. When the "right man" couldn't be found, two unaccused Negroes were lynched as an object lesson.

In Cheatham County, Tennessee, a Negro was lynched for slapping a white woman who was drinking beer in a Negro store.

At Tuscaloosa, Ala., a helpless Negro paralytic was lynched on the charge of attempted rape.

In Greenville County, S. C., a Negro was shot to death in his home at midnight by a masked mob after he had repeatedly asked for a settlement for his crop.

Revelation of such facts, Mrs. Ames said, aided the association in battering down opposition and winning popular public approval; and this, of course, represented a decided change in public opinion. As a result, the ranks of the women crusaders increased by thousands.

Mrs. Mullino Prevents a Lynching

HOW DO SOME 40,000 CRUSADING SOUTHERN WOMEN WORK?

On Christmas Day, 1934, Mrs. Ames was preparing for holiday festivities. Her telephone rang. An Associated Press editor informed her that a Negro had killed an officer in Schley County, Georgia, and that a mob was forming. Mrs. Ames rushed to the office. She discovered that the association had no signatures in Schley County. But in adjoining Macon County lived a member of the Georgia Council of the Association, Mrs. F. M. Mullino of Montezuma. Mrs. Ames telephoned Mrs. Mullino, who stopped preparation of her Christmas dinner and started telephoning everyone she knew in Schley County, urging each to bring pressure on the sheriff to prevent a lynching.

A short time later, Mrs. Mullino was informed that the Negro was in a swamp in her own county. She called the sheriff and his deputies, and a number of ministers and other public-spirited citizens, urging them to aid in preventing mob action. Until mid-afternoon she stayed at her telephone. Finally the Negro was captured — by officers. That Christmas Day was not blackened by a lynching in Georgia. The law took its course. Had Mrs. Mullino gone to the mob and pleaded for restraint she would have been taunted. She knew that. She knew, too, that a sheriff, even though disposed to carelessness in such cases, couldn't afford to take any chances after dozens of influential voters had demanded that every possible precaution be taken to insure a constitutional trial for the accused Negro.

That is only one of dozens of examples of the women's quick work. Early in their campaign they realized that the sheriff was the key man. It was up to him to handle any mob forming in his county. The women approached practically every southern sheriff, asked each to sign a pledge to do all within his power to prevent lynchings. Some of the sheriffs shrugged off the matter as "just another one of them things." But the women did not stop there. They went about their work of obtaining the signatures of influential persons, of talking anti-lynching in schools, churches and at public meetings, of distributing circulars giving facts on lynchings and asking the public to help prevent mob law.

Southern women know local politics. No strange woman from the central state office called on a sheriff in the counties of the fifteen states. Nothing like that. A woman voter living in each sheriff's own county went to him about the lynching matters, and that is about as firm political pressure as can be applied. Each time there was a crime, or an accusation which might lead to a lynching, the women went into swift action. The sheriff started getting calls from influential voters and visits from prominent men and women who demanded that he protect the Negro, take him to an unnamed jail if necessary. Some of these calls came from governors who had been informed by association members of possible attempted violence. In some southern states a governor can remove a sheriff who loses a prisoner to a mob. In certain instances southern governors have called out the militia to protect accused Negroes.

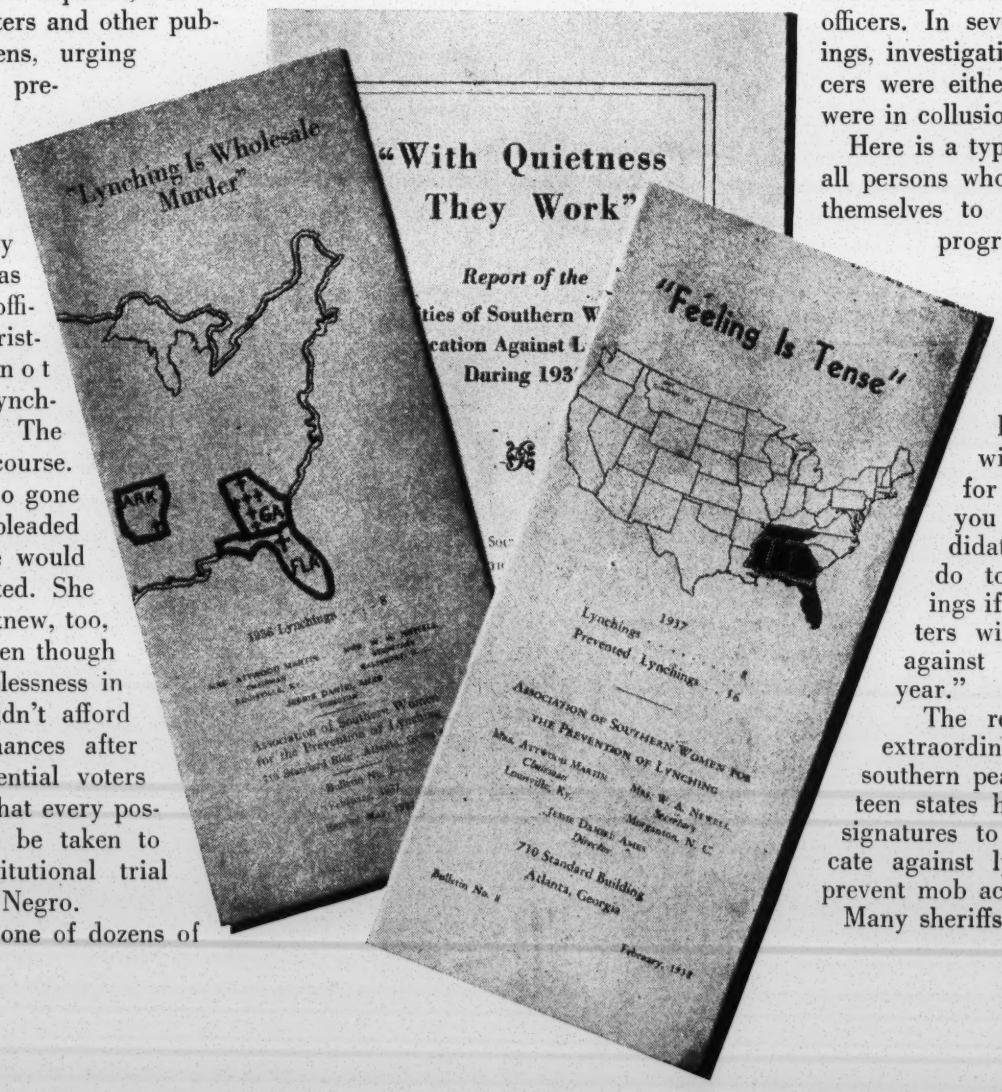
A Basic Approach to Race Relations

AT THE END OF 1937 THE SOUTHERN WOMEN ISSUED A startling statement entitled, "Where Were the Peace Officers?" It declared: "All eight victims of lynchings in 1937 were in the hands of peace officers. In seven of the lynchings, investigations indicate, officers were either in the mob or were in collusion with the mob."

Here is a typical message sent all persons who have committed themselves to the anti-lynching program: "Do you know your sheriff? Have you talked with your sheriff? If it is an election year, have you talked with the candidates for sheriff? Have you asked each candidate what he will do to prevent lynchings if elected? The voters will decide for or against lynchings this year."

The results have been extraordinary. To date 1229 southern peace officers in fifteen states have written their signatures to pledges to educate against lynching and to prevent mob action.

Many sheriffs have volunteered



their pledges. In asking the sheriffs to sign pledges the women do not intend to intimate they think the sheriffs would countenance lynchings. All they want is cooperation, and most peace officers are giving it. A recent issue of the Texas Sheriffs Association's monthly magazine bitterly attacked lynching as murder and urged Texas sheriffs—there are 254 of them—firmly to aid in stamping out all such outrages.

The women have not limited their pressure to sheriffs. They have used the same methods on governors, legislators and other state officials. In Kentucky, 2000 women demanded repeal of the "gallows festival" law, which provided public hangings for men convicted on charges of rape. The law was repealed. The law, which made the crime of rape punishable by hanging in the county where the offense was committed, had been intended to quench the lynching spirit by demonstrating publicly that the law had taken its course, but the practice became distorted and was marked by many shockingly shameful celebrations, at which, as one southern newspaper pointed out, morbid appetite grew by what it fed on.

The women's work has included some activities more strenuous than signing petitions and applying pressure. They have faced howling mobs bent on lynching Negroes. Their pleadings were seldom heeded or even heard, but the women did all they could. Another dangerous job has been that of visiting the scenes of lynchings and collecting the real facts.

In cases — particularly those actually involving crimes against white women—in which the association has stepped into the scene, members have been taunted with:

"What if it were your daughter? What if it were you?"

To these jeering questions the women can reply with facts from the records. In 1936, the seven-year-old daughter of an Alabama woman, who was committed to the program, was attacked by a Negro. The mother, clinging tenaciously to her ideals and principles at a time when it would have been understandable had she succumbed to a profoundly human desire for revenge, prevented mob violence by her appeal that the law take its course.

Two aged sisters, who had only read of the southern women's program, pleaded with a posse of men in a Texas village in 1938 not to attempt to lynch a Negro who had attacked them. The sisters made their plea from beds in which their injuries confined them.

The association has its central council in Atlanta with Mrs. Attwood Martin as chairman and Mrs. Ames as director. There are thirteen council members at large, and each of the fifteen states has an independent council. The women work without pay and have planned their organization so shrewdly that it has none of the drawbacks common in ordinary guilds. They have carefully avoided strict rules of organization. "Much of the ineffectiveness of reform movements," said Mrs. Ames, "arises from the determination of the leaders to set up an organization into which are gathered only like-minded people, thereby cutting them off from making converts." And they have carefully avoided the mistake of getting too far ahead of public opinion. "Knowing at the start," said Mrs. Martin, "that if we went too fast, moved ahead of public opinion in a particular locality, it would be the Negro population that would suffer, we have refrained from overzeal until sure of our support."

And all along, every day of the year, the quiet educational program in which thousands of women have relayed the association's message to high schools and colleges, Sunday schools and churches, social, religious and patriotic clubs has been carried forward. Even the drama has been used in this earnest educational campaign. The association sponsored a one-act play contest, in which the subject was limited to anti-lynching. "Country Sunday" by Walter Spearman, teacher of journalism in the University of North Carolina, and "Lawd, Does Yo' Undahstan'?" by Ann Seymour, teacher in the schools of Palestine, Tex., were the winners. The plays were widely produced by Little Theater groups, and Miss Seymour's play was included in "Representative One-Act American Plays of 1938," which had a circulation of more than 20,000. The women have not been able to estimate the number of persons the message of the plays reached, nor do they have any idea how many thousands their constant flow of printed circulars on lynching and its prevention have affected.

The central office now sends out more than 10,000 pieces of literature upon direct request each year. Requests for information on the work have come from India, China, Africa, England, and the Philippines.

In order to accelerate the work, the association has requested Mrs. Ames to develop a study book of methods on the education of the public against lynching and its prevention. All the methods the women have found in ten years to be successful—ways of carrying on the educational program when there is no mob to combat, and action necessary when there is danger of a mob—will be included in the handbook. In addition there will be factual discussions of the racial problem in the South. With this book in the hands of thousands of women, each worker will benefit by the association's past experience in combating lynching. And the goal of the women is 100,000 signatures and pledges of cooperation from every sheriff in the South.

It is the hope, the prayer, the intention of these thousands of southern women that not far in the future they will look at the first page of their morning newspaper and see an item something like this:

Tuskegee Institute, Ala., Dec. 31 — (AP) — The Tuskegee Institute reported today that for the first time since the Civil War no lynchings occurred during a year in the United States.

Signature Pledges Against Lynching

State	*Counties*	*Towns*	*Women*	*Men*	*Officers*
Alabama	55	173	1356	54	20
Arkansas	29	52	789	69	3
Florida	51	137	2136	332	46
Georgia	154	386	7006	352	250
Kentucky	93	191	2895	144	111
Louisiana	51	109	886	36	135
Mississippi	81	294	5093	526	146
Missouri	39	84	738	36	4
North Carolina	95	337	4361	109	15
Oklahoma	43	93	1212	31	23
South Carolina	46	205	2082	21	37
Tennessee	71	59	3535	259	202
Texas	198	592	5808	51	93
Virginia	46	89	1025	59	137
West Virginia	28	61	469	11	7
Total	1074	2862	39,391	2090	1229

Acme

LILLY STEIN, THE LITTLE CASINO, FREDERICK DUQUESNE
Some customers came for something besides Wiener Schnitzel.

power." Short-wave radio messages, courier service via Clipper planes, code messages in secret ink, intricate financing of conspiracies—they used them all. Their clearing house: the Little Casino Bar.

Proudly announcing the arrests, Mr. Hoover said his sleuths had been on the trail for two years, called it the greatest spy roundup since World War I.

RADICALS

The New Party Line

Oh, Franklin Roosevelt told the people how he felt,
We almost believed him when he said:
"Oh, I hate war,
And so does Eleanor,
But we won't be safe till everybody's dead."

That was a popular Communist song, until last week. Then, at a secret meeting in Manhattan, the national committee of the party announced the new party line: dropping the anti-war campaign, favoring aid to Britain, lend-lease help to Russia, higher wages, the right to strike, organization of the unorganized—in short, a return to the Popular Front that the Communists junked when the Hitler-Stalin non-aggression pact was signed. Said Comrade William Z. (for nothing) Foster: "A victory for Russia will enormously strengthen democracy throughout the world."

A Russian victory would strengthen U.S. Communists. But a Soviet defeat, which was far more probable, might leave U.S. Communists not only men without a country but men without a creed—because all their ideas have come from Russia. The comrades were pretty sick, for Communist propagandists know how weak Russia is.

When Germany invaded Poland and World War II began, Comrade Mike Gold, foremost Communist pundit in the U.S., exulted: "I feel like a boy again!" Last week Comrade Gold confided how he felt when he heard of the invasion of Russia: "The first hour was awful—I shall never forget it. Now it had come—the thing we so feared for five, ten, 20 years."

Meanwhile the U.S. showed no disposition to give up the job of rooting out domestic Reds because Stalin was fighting Hitler (although anti-Communists were alarmed at Washington reports that prosecutions were to be dropped):

▶ In Manhattan, Morris U. Schappes, City College tutor, ex-Communist and a leader of the College Teachers' Union, Local 537, was convicted of perjury.

▶ In Oklahoma City, Mrs. Ina Woods, wife of the Oklahoma secretary of the Communist Party, was sentenced to ten years in prison for criminal syndicalism.

▶ In Washington, New York's Congressman John Taber, charging fellow-traveling in Henderson's OPACS, named Robert Brady ("He is one of those birds in the price-fixing outfit under Henderson.") and Brady's wife ("She was the business manager of a magazine known as *Friday* which ties right into the Communist front."). Also under fire was the U.S. Housing Authority, whose Bernard Ades was once Communist candidate for Governor of Maryland.

Nobody expected the Communist Party to fold up at once. There were some arguments that if Russia fell quickly, and Stalin was succeeded by a Muscovite Darlan, Hitler could take over the Communist International, make even more effective use of U.S. Communists than Stalin had been able to. But the general belief was that the mainspring of U.S. Communism would be broken.

RACES

Judge Lynch Overruled

Over the little town of Eastman, Ga. lay the dead pall of fear and hatred that comes over Southern towns when everybody knows what is going to happen. In the town square, hard-eyed, determined men came together, waiting for darkness. There was going to be a lynching.

The heat lay heavily on the paved sidewalks, the trim houses beside the highway. In a cell in the county jail a young Negro waited too. Eddie Lee Spivey, 28, a sharecropper with a good reputation, married, with two children, had been arrested for rape the night before. Up in his farming community of Mt. Airy, a 65-year-old white woman had been attacked as she crossed a field to her son's house. Bloodhounds had followed tracks from the scene of the crime to a spot near Spivey's house.

The Negro prayed. The other prisoners looked through the barred window at the growing mob, and told him to come look. Spivey talked with his Lord and asked Him to save him. He told the Lord that he was going to tell the truth; suddenly he was no longer scared or worried, and lay back on his bunk and slept. About dark the boys woke him. He looked through the bars at the scene swimming in the hot Southern twilight, a string of 100 cars drawn up before the jail, 700 white men circulating under the trees. Strong in his faith, he lay down again and slept. It was 10:15 when the mob's leaders, with keys taken from the sheriff, unlocked the cell door. Spivey knew they had come to kill him. He held up his hands and waited.

Half a dozen men held him by the arms and legs and dragged him out to their car. It streaked over the eight miles of road to the scene of the crime, other cars following. Out in the woods beside the field, somebody built a bonfire. Somebody asked Spivey if he had raped Mrs. Peacock. He said he had not seen her in five years. Somebody asked Spivey if he knew where his potato patch was, near there. When Spivey said he did not, the man said, "You're a God-damned liar" and hit him on the head with the butt of his pistol. The man swung again, missed, hit a white man beside him.

Spivey sat on the ground. A double plowline was fastened around his neck. The blow had deafened him; he could not hear the questions. Somebody kicked

him in the back and on the head. He was rolled over on his face, and his legs twisted. Blood was running into his nose and mouth from the cut on his head. He heard something about gasoline and knew they were going to burn him. He said he did not do it. He said it again. Somebody yelled: how many want to kill him? How many want to take him back to jail? He heard the roar for his death. He said, "Go ahead and kill me but then keep looking for the man who done it."

The mob hesitated. The men who were likkered up wanted to get it over with. An hour passed while the fire burned down. Some piney-woods law-giver thought of an answer. Two of the raped woman's sons were there, Elzie and Early. So the crowd said for Elzie and Early to decide.

This focusing of responsibility troubled Elzie and Early. They crossed the fields to ask their mother what to do. She told them to take the Negro back to jail and let the law take its course. At midnight, bruised but still unafraid, Spivey was back in his cell. The boys in his cell said they had figured there was a better chance of seeing their mothers come back from the grave than of ever seeing him alive again.

For the first time, as far as anybody could recollect, Judge Lynch had been overruled.

TERRITORIES

Another Norway

As Adolf Hitler's Armies slogged toward Moscow last week (*see p. 17*), Representative Warren Magnuson of Seattle, Wash. was thinking about Alaska. Mr. Magnuson's thoughts were not as far-fetched as they may have seemed. They were based on the following strategic and geographic facts: 1) if Hitler beats Russia, he gets the Trans-Siberian Railway; 2) whoever has the Trans-Siberian Railway controls Siberia; 3) Siberia is little more than a Cyclopean stone's throw from Alaska.

From Big Diomede Island, where Russia has a new air base, to rocky Little Diomede, which belongs to the U.S., is less than five miles. With Russia's Siberian bases in German hands, Alaska could become another Norway. Congress has authorized $90,000,000 for Alaskan defense, expects to appropriate from $10,000,000 to $15,000,000 more in the next few months. The Army is hard at work building new airfields; Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox said the Navy's new base at Dutch Harbor, in the Aleutian Islands, will be ready Sept. 1.* But air and naval bases alone cannot transport or supply the kind of army that would be needed to protect Alaska from invasion.

Wide World

BIG DIOMEDE (*left*), LITTLE DIOMEDE
Narrow water was an argument for a long road.

Ever since his election in 1936, Warren Magnuson has been trying to get Congressional funds for a highway from Seattle to Alaska. He is chairman of the Alaskan International Highway Commission, has helped survey the wild terrain through which the road would pass, has flown over every mile of the proposed route.

Cost of a gravel-top road, under a bill introduced in the House by Delegate Anthony Joseph Dimond of Alaska, would be about $25,000,000—roughly the price of a new 10,000-ton cruiser. Until last week the whole plan sounded pretty far-fetched to the House. But with Hitler's shadow coming east against the sun, it began to look as if others besides Warren Magnuson might begin to think about Alaska.

TEXAS

Close Thing

Two days after election day last week, after one of the hottest political campaigns in the history of Texas, nobody knew who had won the late Morris Sheppard's seat in the U.S. Senate. Lanky, 32-year-old Representative Lyndon Johnson, endorsed by President Roosevelt, started out with a seemingly secure 13,500-vote lead in a field of 25 candidates. But as the count piled up, folksy Governor Wilbert Lee ("Please Pass the Biscuits, Pappy") O'Daniel slowly ate into Lyndon Johnson's vanishing plurality.

As the last returns trickled in this week, from backwoods counties where Lee O'Daniel is strongest, Roosevelt's Johnson was still leading. But his margin was so fabulously small—77 out of a total of 566,551 votes counted—that it could be considered virtually a dead heat. Although Texas law considers a plurality of one vote sufficient in a special election, the Election Bureau took it for granted that a recount would be demanded, that it might be weeks before Texas knew the winner.

Win or lose, Lyndon Johnson, like his competitors, had given Texas quite a show. His great contribution to campaign entertainment was a political version of cinema's Bank Night. At a Johnson rally, listeners sat with lottery tickets clutched in their moist palms. The lucky numbers won defense bonds.

For the first time since the disastrous Roosevelt "purge" of 1938, the President had taken a bold and active hand in a State election. Lyndon Johnson, who first announced his candidacy from the steps of the White House, was backed three times during the campaign by letters and telegrams from Franklin Roosevelt, his "very old and close friend."

On election eve Governor O'Daniel tried to include himself in the President's blessing, suggested to Franklin Roosevelt that Texas should have its own Army and Navy. It was a "breath-taking" idea, the President told Pappy. Then he wired Lyndon Johnson, said the idea was "preposterous."

Meanwhile, the one forgotten man of Texas' election was the man who held the seat for which Johnson and O'Daniel were fighting. In Baltimore, two days before his successor was to be chosen, death came to 87-year-old interim Senator Andrew Jackson Houston, son of Texas' Liberator Sam Houston (*see p. 40*).

TAXATION

Pay As You Go

The U.S. Treasury this week was working on a plan to collect income taxes in advance. Some time after July 4, tax-anticipation certificates will go on sale, permitting taxpayers to invest their money in taxes the same year they earn it.

Blond, dapper John L. Sullivan, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, told newsmen that these tax certificates will probably come in denominations starting at $1 or $5, will bear interest (probably 2%) in the form of a discount, like defense bonds. Treasury officials said the certificates will not be transferable or subject to use as collateral for bank loans. Thus banks and private investors will not be

* State Department officials this week emphatically denied a story that the U. S. is working on a deal with Russia to acquire the use of Siberia's air bases.

LYNCHING RECORD - 1941

4

January

February

20, Georgetown, South Carolina, Bruce Tisdale, Negro; charge: Tisdale was employed by lumber mill on job previously held by white men; beaten over the head in a fight with five white men and died in hospital five days later. (1)

March

April

13, Gaston County (near Cherryville), North Carolina; Robert Melker, Negro; charge: Altercation with white men; shot to death in his home by four men. (1)

May

6, Blakely, Early County, Georgia; Robert Sapp, Negro; charge: Suspected of stealing from his employer, flogged with a club and a piece of machine belting, (1)

13, Quincy, Gadsen County, Florida; A. C. Williams, Negro; charge: Attempted rape upon a 12-year-old white girl, beaten and body riddled with bullets. (1)

Williams was first taken from jail by a group of armed men and his body riddled with bullets and left for dead. He was later discovered at a Negro residence severely wounded. He was placed in an ambulance for transfer to a hospital in Tallahassee 25 miles away. Five miles out of Quincy, a masked band stopped the unguarded ambulance and removed the wounded Negro. His bullet-riddled body was found the next day on a creek bridge north of Quincy.

June

July

August

September

October

November

WHAT IS A LYNCHING?

1940-5

March 7, 1940 - Atlanta

Ike Gaston was flogged and left in such a state of exhaustion that he was unable to make his way home, and died of exposure. The Grand Jury of Fulton County investigated Gaston's murder and though they have connected it with the men who have been indicted for floggings, they have not yet tried any one for his death.

May 9, Fairfield, Jefferson County, Alabama; O'Dee Henderson, Negro; charge: Altercation with white man; beaten and shot to death by three officers of the law and one civilian.

June 22, Brownsville, Haywood County, Tennessee; Elbert Williams, Negro; charge: Attempting to qualify to vote ("interest in Negro affairs"); murdered and body thrown into the Hatchie River.

June 28, Luverne, Crenshaw County, Alabama; Jesse Thornton, Negro; charge; Overheard speaking of a local peace officer by his first name without using Mr.; shot to death and body left in a remote spot on the bank of a stream.

September 8, LaGrange, Troup County, Georgia; Austin Callaway, Negro; charge: Attempted attack on a white woman; taken from jail and shot to death by band of masked men.

Was charged with attempting to qualify to vote - trouble developed. He next morning his body was found in the Hatchie River. He had been shot.

Lynchings Committed
1939

Florida

April 1, Panama City, Bay County.
Miles W. Brown, white, was shot to death after being taken from the jail by a band of four or five masked men. Brown was convicted of first degree murder of his former employer, with a recommendation for mercy, which carried a mandatory sentence of life imprisonment. Governor Cone ordered a complete investigation of the lynching. The Grand Jury reported it had insufficient evidence on which to base an indictment. (1 W)

taken from jail mob of 4 or 5 masked shot to death

Fed murder

April 29, Daytona Beach, Volusia County.
An automobile driven by Lee Snell, colored taxi driver, struck and killed ~~almost instantly~~ Benny Blackwelder, 12-year-old white boy who was riding a bicycle. Constable James Durden, after swearing out a warrant against Snell, started with the prisoner for DeLand. About four miles out from Daytona Beach, Everett and Earl Blackwelder, brothers of the slain boy, overpowered Durden. As Snell attempted to run, several shots were fired into his body. The Blackwelder brothers were arrested and indicted on charges of first degree murder, but were ~~freed~~ cleared of the charge. (1)

In hands of law shot by two brothers

V
no charge
a white
part of mob

Mississippi

May 8, Canton, Madison County.
The body of Joe Rogers, Negro, was found in Pearl River with the hands tied behind and the legs tied together. There were no bruises on the body. It was understood locally that there had been some difficulty between the Negro and one of the foremen at the sawmill a few days before the body was found. (1)

body found in river

II no charge
difficulty with white employer

Prevented Lynchings

~~There were 18 reports of instances in which officers of the law prevented lynchings. All of these instances reported were in Southern states. In all instances, the persons were removed or the guards augmented or other precautions taken. A total number of 25 persons, 5 white men and 20 Negro men, were thus saved from the hands of mobs.~~

Lynchings Committed
1938 - 6

Florida August 9, Perry, Taylor County.
Otis Price, Negro was put to death by a mob of undetermined size for alleged rape. His body was riddled with bullets. Sheriff S. L. Wilson had Price under arrest and was taking him to jail when the mob attacked and seized the prisoner. "no charge against the Negro." (1)

"group of men in several cars."

Georgia July 6, Arabi, Crisp County.
John Dukes, Negro, shot and killed officer sent to arrest him for drunk and disorderly. Sheriff from Cordele came down but left in an hour since Dukes was near death as a result of wound received from slain officer. A mob gradually formed and about an hour after, Sheriff J. H. Pitts left, it took the Negro, still alive but unconscious, down the road several hundred yards, saturated his body with gasoline and burned him. Mob estimated at a hand full to several hundred. (1)

Louisiana October 13, Ruston, Lincoln Parish.
R. C. Williams, 19-year-old Negro, was taken by a mob and hanged to a tree, riddled with bullets and set afire - "to check his fingerprints with those found on the automobile of the slain man." Williams was accused of murdering a white man and raping his companion. (1)

Mississippi - July 6, Rolling Fork, Sharkey County.
Tom McGehee, Negro blacksmith, was killed in gun battle with a posse of about seventy-five men after the murder of a white planter for whom he worked. Later a mob seized the body, poured gasoline over it, set it on fire, tied it to an automobile and hauled it down to Rolling Park. (1)

November 21, Wiggins, Stone County.
Wilder McGowan, Negro, "was lynched by a mob of 200 men for the alleged choking, assaulting and robbing of a 74-year-old white woman. It was an "orderly lynching." Sheriff H. C. Hinton was sure there was "no shooting and no disorder in the mob." Hanged. "Economical measure." save expense of trial.

MISSISSIPPI

Canton, Madison County

July 27, 1938: Claude Brooks shot by officers when he speeded up his car and refused to halt when ordered. The officers had closed off streets looking for person stabbing and robbing a white man. Brooks' companion, Jones, was placed in jail. Officers said both Negroes were innocent of any offense. (1)

Shot by officers by mistake refused to halt when ordered

no charge

no crime

no mob

LYNCHINGS BY STATES

1937-~~38~~
8

ALABAMA

Abbeville, Henry County

February 2: Wes Johnson - 18 - Negro accused of criminal assault on a white woman; taken from custody of Sheriff J. L. Corbitt. Attorney General of Alabama declared that he would prove "the wrong Negro was lynched." Impeachment proceedings brought against Sheriff, who was exonerated by a 4 to 2 vote. Hanged and body riddled with bullets by a mob in 25 cars. (1)

taken from jail
mob - hanged
riddled with bullets
25 cars

criminal assault
F.S.

FLORIDA

Tallahassee, Leon County

Richard Hawkins and Ernest Powders, Negroes, charged with stabbing an officer, were taken from the jail two blocks from the court house and shot to death by a mob of four masked men. Governor Cone said, "This is a murder, not a lynching," and declared that those guilty must be brought to justice. Sheriff Frank Stoutamire, upon receipt of reports from FBI office in Washington that bullets taken Negroes bodies did not come from guns belonging to any of Tallahassee's policemen, said: "In my opinion there isn't much more we can do." (News clipping, Aug. 3.) (2)

taken from jail
mob of 4 - shot to death

stabbed an officer
Gun F.S.

Milton, Santa Rosa County

October 3. J. C. Evans, Negro, accused of "unnatural crime" against a white boy and robbery of a filling station was taken from Sheriff Joe Allen on highway and shot. As in the Tallahassee lynching, the mob consisted of only four men, none of whom the Sheriff recognized. Prisoner had been held at Panama City for safekeeping until time for his trial; He was being brought back to Milton for trial when the mob got him. (1)

taken from officers
mob of 4 - shot to death

unnatural crime
F.S.

GEORGIA

Bainbridge, Decatur County

May 25—Willie Reed - 20 - Negro - accused of murdering two white women and assaulting one of them, was killed by local officers, H. G. Pollock and R. A. Stephens, who were returning him to Bainbridge from Dothan, Alabama. His dead body was seized from a Negro undertaking establishment by a mob of 100 and burned, after being dragged through the town behind an automobile.

MISSISSIPPI

Duck Hill, Montgomery County

April 13—Roosevelt Towns and Bootjack McDaniels, two Negroes accused of murdering a white storekeeper, were taken from the Sheriff, E. E. Wright, and burned to death with blow torches. A young boy of about twelve applied blow torch first. They were indicted at Winona on this date and were to have been returned on the fifteenth for trial. They were seized as they were being led from the courthouse after indictment proceedings. District Attorney Clarence E. Morgan said, immediately after the lynchings: "I am of the opinion that the lynching was planned and led by persons who are not citizens of this country." As to an investigation, he said: "We are doing everything we can, but I fear nothing will come of it."

TENNESSEE

Covington, Tipton County

August 17—Albert Gooden, Negro, accused of slaying an officer of the law, taken from the Sheriff, W. J. Vaughan, who was returning him from Memphis (where he had been held for safekeeping after a mob had tried to take him immediately following the crime) to Covington for trial. Six men were in this mob. Governor offered reward of $5,000 for assistance that would lead to apprehension and conviction of the lynchers. Tipton County Grand Jury adjourned on September 2 without making a report on the case.

LYNCHING - 1936

-8- Attach addd

MARCH 14: CUSSETA, GEORGIA:

Philip Baker, accused of attacking two white women (arrested in December for assaulting one white woman and beating another and a Negro woman) was hanged and his body was riddled with bullets by a mob which took him from Chattahoochee County officers, while he was being transferred from Macon to Columbus. (1)

taken from officers
mob. riddled with bullets
interracial

criminal assault
fid

APRIL 28: DANIELSVILLE, GA.

Negro saved from lynching on April 11 through the pleas of an aged judge, was shot to death by a mob of forty men 8 hours before he was to go to trial on a charge of attempted criminal assault.
The mob broke into the jail at Royston, Ga., where Lint Shaw had been taken for safekeeping. The jail was the third in which Lint had been held since he was identified by two white girls as having attempted to attack them. (1)

taken from jail
mob of 40.
hanged

attempted criminal assault -
fid

APRIL 29: LEPANTO, ARK.: Willie Kees, Negro, 19 yeas old, accused of an attempted attack on a white woman, was taken from the City Marshal by a masked mob and shot to death. The youth had been accused of attempting to attack the white woman on April 18, whipped and ordered to leave town. He returned on April 27 and was arrested on April 29. On the way to jail the mob appeared. (1)

taken from officer
mob. shot to death
white woman

attempted criminal assault
fid

MAY 3: PAVO, GEORGIA:

John Rushin, 55-year-old farmhand, was snatched from a deputy sheriff by a mob of 200 men and shot to death, in revenge for the slaying of a white man. (1)

taken from officer
mob. of 200
shot -

murder
fid

MAY 13: DETROIT, MICHIGAN:

May 22: Seven members of the Black Legion, a secret society of robed nightriders, faced murder charges for the execution of Charles A. Poole, 32-year-old WPA worker, who was found shot to death beside a suburban road on May 13 . . .
Four of the men held confessed participation in the "ritual slaying" of Poole after he was accused of kicking and beating his wife.

SEPT. 6: DALTON, GEORGIA:

A mob lynched A. L. McCamy, twenty-one-year old Negro, accused of an attempted attack on a white woman after seizing the prisoner from the Whitfield County jail. Sheriff J. T. Bryan said the crowd of about 150 men stormed the jail, forced the jailer to hand over his keys at the point of pistols and seized the prisoner. The sheriff found the body four hours later on a roadside beneath a tree from which the man had been hanged. (1)

taken from jail
150 - mob - hanged

attempted Criminal assault.
House breaking
F.B.I.

SEPT. 11: GREENVILLE, FLA.:

Governor Dave Sholtz's office on September 26 directed that every effort be made to apprehend the lynchers of Buckie Young on September 11, charged with attack on a white woman. Young was shot to death. Coroner refused an inquest. (1)

taken from hands of law
mob - shot to death

Criminal assault
F.B.I.

SEPT. 12: ATLANTA, GEORGIA:

Tom Finch, for 10 years orderly at the Grady Hospital, was taken from his home under the pretense that he was under arrest. Twenty minutes later his wife was called and told that his body had been dumped at the hospital door. The police department claimed that the Negro had resisted arrest and made an attempt to harm an officer; and that he was shot while fleeing. However, upon examination of the hospital authorities, statement read: "Was shot five times in the breast."

taken from home by 5 car loads
shot - died in hospital

III
— 54 cases —
Resisting arrest -

GEORGIA

✓ Atlanta, Fulton County

II

"Mack Henry Brown, the 35-year-old apartment house janitor, whose bullet-riddled, handcuffed and foot-bound body was found floating in the Chattahoochee River at Roswell, Ga., December 23, several weeks after he allegedly insulted an Atlanta white woman by kissing her hand, came to his death as the result of two bullets fired into his body by a party or parties unknown, a coroner's jury decided Tuesday afternoon following a two-day inquest conducted by Paul T. Donehoo, coroner for Fulton County." (1)

Body found in Chattahoochee shot unknown

insulting white woman no charges body found

LYNCHINGS BY STATES

1935 - 20 - California - Details written for -

TENNESSEE

Taken from constable by 5 male relatives - body found - shot

White Bluff, Dickson County

November 4: Baxter Bell, Negro struck a white woman who was in a Negro drinking joint. Arrested for assault and battery he was being taken to Ashland to jail when five men, husband and four relatives, overpowered constable, took Bell across into Cheatham County. He was found thirty minutes later, dead shot once through the lungs. Acquitted. (1)

Slapped white woman in drinking joint

Fed

TEXAS

Taken from officers - mob of 700 hanged

Columbus, Texas, Colorado County

November 11: Ernest Collins, 15, and Benny Mitchell, 16, Negroes were taken from Sheriff Frank Horgemeyer and deputies by a mob of 700 and hanged to a liveoak tree. They were being brought from Houston to Columbus to be tried for criminally assaulting and murder. County Attorney O. P. Moore said, "I do not call the citizens who executed the Negroes a mob. I consider their action an expression of the will of the people." (2)

Criminal assault + murder

Fed

MISSISSIPPI

Taken from officers mob of 35 hanged

Columbus, Lowndes County

July 15: Dooley Morton, 18, Bert Moore, 21, Negroes accused of attempted rape were taken from Deputy Sheriff Parker Harris by a motorcade mob of thirty-five men and hanged. (2)

attempted rape Fed

Mob of 50 taken from jail

Oxford, Lafayette County

Sept. 17: Elwood Higgenbotham, 28, Negro was taken from jail at 9:30 P. M. where he awaited the verdict of the jury in his trial for murdering a white man, and hanged by a mob of 50 men. The jury had retired at 6 P. M. (1)

Murder Fed

Taken from jail Size of mob not given

Pittsboro, Calhoun County

August 5: Bodie Bates, Negro, suspected of attempting to attack a white girl was taken from the Calhoun County jail and hanged from a Yalobusha River bridge. Sheriff Jack W. Powell had meager information about the lynching. (1)

attempted assault Fed

MISSISSIPPI (Continued)

captured by mob of 300 - hanged & shot with bullets

Wiggins, Stone County
June 22, R. D. McGee, 25, was captured by a mob of 300, hanged to an oak tree near the graveyard, filled full of bullets, cut down and hanged to another tree near the highway. He was accused of criminally assaulting a 11 year old white child. (1)

Criminal assault on child
Fed

Mob of 50 not in hands of law -

Slayden, Marshall County
March 12: Ab Young, 29 years old Negro, was captured by a mob of about fifty men at Rossville, Tennessee, brought back and hanged in a school yard three miles east of Slayden. He was accused of killing a white highway employee. (1)

Killing white highway employee
Fed

shot to death
body found (2)

Near Hernando, DeSoto County
March 28: Negro- activities in organizing sharecroppers - shot to death. body found. (II)

Labor organizer
No charge - Body found

FLORIDA

taken from officers by mob of 100 men, shot to death

Fort Lauderdale, Broward County
July 19: Reuben Stacey, 37 years old, Negro, was taken from Deputy Sheriff Virgil Wright by a mob of 100 masked men, hanged and shot 17 times. He was accused of a murderous assault on a white woman. (1)

Murderous assault on white woman.
Fed

take from jail by 8 men - 6 city policemen, beaten unconscious - died in hospital

Tampa, Hillsborough County
December 4: Joseph Shoemaker, socialist labor leader, white, was taken from jail in police cars, carried to nearby woods, beaten and left on the ground half clothed and taken to a hospital where he died a week later. Eight men, six of whom were city policemen, were indicted. No convictions. (1W)

Labor leader
Fed

GEORGIA

taken from sheriff by mob in 4 cars, hanged & shot dead

Vienna, Dooley County
September 28: Lewis Harris, Negro, 50 years, resisting arrest and forcing Sheriff Bos Vinson to relinquish prisoner. Sheriff overpowered by mob in four cars who took prisoner, hanged him and filled the body with bullets. (1)

Resisting arrest
Fed

Killed by "posse"

Moultrie, Colquitt County
October 17: "Bo" Bronson, Negro, was beaten and shot by a posse hunting for another Negro, believed to have murdered a white man. (1)

~~Mistaken~~
No charge - Lynch posse

Moultrie, Colquitt County (Continued)
Bronson died shortly after being admitted to a hospital. He was not implicated in the murder of the white man.

1 **CALIFORNIA**

Mob - 25.50 taken from jail hanged white crime robbery

August 3, 1935:—
Yreka - Cal - C. L. Johnson white - taken from jail by a mob of 25 - 50 men and lynched him for the murder of Chief of Police - F. R. Daw of Dunsmuir - Johnson was taken 12 hours after the funeral of his victim. "I suppose they tacked it over on the funeral and got up the mob" - Deputy Sheriff Joe Clark said. Johnson had been moved from Dunsmuir to Yreka for safe keeping -

robbery white man

NORTH CAROLINA

5 **Louisburg, Franklin County**
August 3: Govan Ward, 25 years old, mentally deficient Negro, was taken from Sheriff J. T. Moore by a mob of Negroes and white men, hanged and his body riddled with bullets. He had chopped off the head of a white farmer with an ax in what Sheriff Moore said was apparently a mad frenzy.

taken from sheriff mob of Negroes + whites hanged riddled with bullets

murder

Louisiana 2 **Franklinton, Franklin ~~County~~ Parish**
Jan. 11: Jerome Wilson, Negro, was shot to death in his cell in the parish jail. The mob of six or eight men then took the body three miles outside of town and dumped it in a ditch. The Supreme Court of the United States had granted a new trial to Jerome. He was charged with the murder of officer Delos C. Wood. Sheriff J. C. Brock said "There wasn't any lynching. There wasn't any mob . . . There were just about six or eight men who were going about their business."

shot to death in jail by 6 or 8 men, taken and dumped in ditch

Murder - U S Supreme Court had granted a new trial

lynching denied

LOUISIANA

taken from jail by mob of whites hanged riddled with bullets

Maringuoin, Iberville ~~County~~ Parish

March 3: After he had whipped a white man who had drawn a gun on him, Anderson Ward, Negro, was taken from jail by a mob of whites, riddled with bullets and hanged to an oak tree where his body dangled for several hours before relatives were allowed to cut it down for burial. (1)

Whipped white man who had drawn gun on him Fel

shot to death in cell - mob of 3

Gretna, Jefferson ~~County~~ Parish

November 1: Two Negro men - removed from mob proof Parish jail at New Orleans across river to town of Gretna - shot to death in cell - attempted rape. 3 in the mob. (2)

attempted rape Fel

LYNCHINGS BY STATES

1934 - 15

ALABAMA

Birmingham, Jefferson County

August 23: Attempted hold-up of three women by an unidentified Negro man. Shot and later died in hospital. Officers not present.

Three women crossing a park on the way to church were held up by a Negro. Two of them were thrown as they scuffled to get hold of the gun. One ran about a block to a tent meeting to give the alarm. Men hurried from the tent and began chasing a Negro who almost made his escape because of darkness. He was cornered in an alley and shot. He died in the hospital next day without regaining consciousness. All three women identified him. "Police have not decided who fired the fatal shot."

FLORIDA

Tampa, Hillsborough County.

January 24: Robert Johnson, Negro, under arrest for stealing chickens. Shot to death.

Johnson, suspected of guilt in connection with rape on a young white woman was questioned by officers and released on insufficient evidence. He had confessed to stealing chickens some time before. On this charge he was arrested and held. T. M. Graves, Deputy Constable, came at 2:15 A. M. to remove Johnson from the city to the county jail. He was overpowered by a mob in cars, his own car captured, and he, with Johnson, were driven about six miles from Tampa, where Johnson was shot down with five bullets from one gun belonging to the officer, Graves. Governor Scholtz ordered an investigation.

Marianna, Jackson County

October 26: Claude Neal, Negro, accused of rape and murder. Tortured to death by small group of men, later hanged on Marianna Court House lawn. Taken from officers.

FLORIDA (Cont'd)

Marianna, Jackson County

A young farm girl was found murdered and reported raped. Claude Neal living near by was caught and taken to the jail at Marianna. Pursued by a mob, he was removed to Chipley and then to Panama City. He was put on a boat and taken to Pensacola, and was later removed to Brewton, Alabama. From Brewton he was taken by a mob into Florida to a hidden place on the Chipola River.
The Negro's body, horribly mutilated, was strung up on the Jackson County Court House lawn. A riot of mobsters, the next day, "pretty well likkered up," according to the Mayor of Marianna, tried to run all Negroes off their jobs. Troops were called to restore order and protect property. The Mayor said that he "regretted the necessity for the lynching." Sheriff Chambliss of Jackson County was exonerated in this lynching.

KENTUCKY

Hazard, Perry County.

January 24; Rex Scott, Negro, accused of striking a white man; taken from officers. Hanged and shot.

striking white man
Fed

Rex Scott, in jail for striking a white coal miner was taken by a mob of coal miners from Knott County, carried to a place opposite a grave yard, hanged and his body riddled with bullets. (1)

taken from jail by mob of coal miners hanged & riddled with bullets

LOUISIANA

Bastrop, Morehouse Parish.

July 9: Andrew McLeod, Negro, accused of attempted rape, taken from jail, hanged on courthouse square and throat cut. (1)

accused of ~~attempted~~ rape
Fed

taken from jail, hanged on court house square, throat cut

Bethany, Caddo Parish, August 3: One Negro, Grafton Page, suspected of an attack upon Negro girl, flogged to death by members of own race. Not taken from officersof the law. (1)

suspected attack on Negro girl

flogged to death by own race

MISSISSIPPI

Lambert, Bolivar County

June 8: Two Negroes, Joe Love and Isaac Thomas, accused of attempted rape were taken from officers and hanged.

Bolton, Hinds County

July 16: James Sanders, a Negro, was shot by a mob of three for writing an indecent letter to a white girl. Not taken from officers.

Three men, father, uncle, and cousin of the white girl to whom the letter was written, made the following sworn statement in court: After driving the Negro out a certain distance from town, they stopped the car. "The Negro grabbed the pistol from the pocket of the father of the girl and began shooting, so they had to shoot the Negro in self defense." The District Attorney "was present at the trial and recommended that the case be dismissed." A business man said, "It was something that just had to be done."

Pelhatchie, Rankin County.

July 25: Henry Bedford, Negro, was flogged to death by a mob of ~~three~~ 4 for speaking disrespectfully to a young white man. Not taken from officers.

A land owner named Cawthorn had rented a small place to Henry Bedford, an old Negro. Benny Cawthorn, his son, charged that the Negro had talked disrespectfully when they disputed over a rental agreement. Four white men, Alec Murray, John Scales, Benny Cawthorn, of Pelahatchie, and M. M. Dodson of Shilo, took the old Negro to a secluded spot about three or four miles from town and whipped him with a leather strap. The sheriff was notified by Benny Cawthorn, one of the men who had participated in the tragedy, a few hours after it occurred. The Sheriff and Benny Cawthorn took the Negro to town and gave him medical treatment. The Negro died the following night. The four white men were arrested immediately. They were given trial in the city court but released several days later on bond to await the meeting of Grand Jury which convenes second Monday in January.

MISSISSIPPI (Cont'd)

Michigan City, Benton County,
August 13: Two Negroes, Robert Jones and Smith Houey were taken from officers by a mob and hanged. (2)

~~Ashland, Mississippi, Benton County~~
~~August 13: Mobs snatched two Negroes from the hands of deputy sheriffs in Benton County, today and hanged them from a tree near Michigan City.~~

TENNESSEE

Manchester, Coffee County.
June 24: A Negro, Richard Wilkerson, was ambushed by a mob of eight and shot for striking a white man. Not in the hands of the law.

A party of white men went to a Negro dance. They had some trouble with Wilkerson in regard to their conduct, reports say, toward a Negro girl. Wilkerson struck one of them. On his way home after the dance, Wilkerson was ambushed by eight white men, shot, stripped of his clothing, and beaten on the head with an axe.

These eight men were convicted of manslaughter and sentenced in September. (1)

TEXAS

Newton, Newton County.
June 21: A Negro, Sonny Griggs, hanged for associating with white girl. (1)

LYNCHINGS BY STATES

1933 - 28

ALABAMA

Tuscaloosa, Tuscaloosa County

August 13: Dan Pippen, 18, and A. T. Hardin, 15, were taken from officers by a mob of fifteen men and shot. They had been arrested on suspicion in the murder of a white girl. (2) Suspected of murdering girl

Taken from officers by mob of 15 shot

Sept. 24: Dennis Cross, a paralyzed Negro, was decoyed from his home at 2 A. M. by a group of six or seven and shot to death. He was out under bond on a charge of assaulting a white woman. (1) out on bond

shot to death by mob of 6 or 7

CALIFORNIA

San Jose, Santa Clara County.

Nov. 27: John M. Holmes and Thomas H. Thurmond, white, were taken from jail by a mob estimated as over 6,000 and hanged in the public square. The two men were under arrest for kidnapping and murdering another white man. (2) white kidnapping + murder

Taken from jail by mob of 6000 white (2 W)

GEORGIA

Newton, Baker County.

June 12: T. J. Thomas was taken from his home hanged and shot a week after a white man died from a gunshot wound in a fight with Negroes. Two Negroes arrested at the time were removed for safekeeping. T. J. Thomas was not in the fight. (2) II innocent

shot by mob unknown

No charge — sex of mob unknown — examples to other Negroes — II

June 17: Richard Marshall, Negro, was taken by a mob and carried to the place where a white man had been killed the previous December. He was shot and hanged. No cause for lynchings were given other than as "examples". (1)

shot by mob unknown

No charge — sex of mob unknown

Lumpkin, Stewart County

October 23: Cephus Davis, 45 year old Negro, was beaten and shot to death by a mob which took him from the Richland city jail. Davis had assaulted an officer who arrested him for drunkenness. (1) assaulted an officer

Taken from jail by mob shot to death

GEORGIA

Warrenton, Warren County

May 11: Will Kinsey, Negro farm tenant, was taken from a doctor's office, where he had gone to be treated for gun shot wounds, and shot to death by a mob of fifty. Kinsey was accused of firing the shot that killed a white man in a gun battle between two Negroes and four white men, one the landlord.

wounded Negro taken from doctor's office by mob of 50 shot to death

accused of killing white man in gun battle

LOUISIANA

Homer, Claiborne Parish

Jan 12: Fell Jenkins, 20, Negro, flogged to death by three white men, according to the coroner's report. The report was made without recommendation and no arrests made.

flogged to death by 3 white men

no charge

Ringgold, Bienville Parish

February 19: Nelson Nash, 24, Negro, was taken from officers about an hour after he had confessed to burglary, murder and attempted rape. He was hanged at the scene of the crime and about fifty bullets shot into his body.

size of mob 3

burglary murder-rape

taken from officers hanged - shot with fifty bullets

Opelousas, Saint Landry Parish

Sept. 26: John White, young Negro was taken from officers by a mob and shot to death, his body riddled with bullets. He was accused of rape.

rape

taken from officers by mob

Labadieville, Assumption Parish

October 11: Freddie Moore, young Negro, was taken from jail by a mob of unknown size.- Sometime after midnight and hanged from a bridge. He was accused of the murder of a young white girl.

murder of white girl

taken from jail - hanged from bridge

MARYLAND

Princess Anne, Somerset County

Oct. 18: George Armwood, Negro, was taken from the jail by a mob of over 5000 men, women, and children, dragged a mile through town and hanged from a tree on the main street and his body burned. Armwood was accused of attacking a 71 year old white woman.

attacking white woman

taken from jail by mob of 5000, hanged & body burned

MISSISSIPPI

Winter City, Leflore County

Sept. 18: Richard Roscoe, 39, Negro farmer, was seized at his home by a mob, and shot. His bullet-filled body was fastened to an automobile, dragged through town and then taken back and depositied in the yard. He was accused of striking a white man in a fight and being too smart.

Taken from home by mob — body filled with bullets — dragged through town

striking white man & being too smart

Louisville, Winston County.

July 18: Reuben Micou, 70 year old Negro, taken from his home by a mob of 17, flogged, shot and body thrown into a drainage canal. Micou had engaged in an "altercation" with one of the 17 - a man of 30.

mob of 17, flogged, shot, body thrown in canal

altercation with white man

II

no charge

Size of mob 17

Caledonia, Lowndes County

About July 10: Unidentified Negro was seized by a "band of men" when he was coming in from the fields, held until after dark, then hanged and body weighted, thrown into a nearby creek. The Negro was accused of improper conduct toward a white woman. It was some ten days or more after the Negro disappeared when the body was found.

II

improper conduct toward white woman

No charge

body found

Dragged and held in smokehouse until after dark. Hanged, body weighted, and to fence rail thrown in creek.

MISSOURI

St. Joseph, Buchanan County

Nov. 29: Lloyd Warner, 19 year old Negro, was taken from jail by 4 men, hanged, and his body burned, while a mob of 7000 looked on. He was in jail on an charge of rape.

Charged with rape

Fed

Taken from jail by 4 men, hanged & body burned in presence of 7000

NORTH CAROLINA

Willard, Pender County

August 27: Doc. Rogers, Negro farmer, was killed by posse in a gun battle in which a deputy sheriff was wounded. The posse dragged the body around the courthouse square. Later Rogers' house was burned. The Negro and a white bootlegger had an altercation in which Negro fired into the bootlegger's house.

IV

had altercation with white bootlegger

Killed by posse whole dragged body around court house square later burned Rogers house

SOUTH CAROLINA

Ninety-six, Greenwood County

October 9: Bennie Thompson, young Negro, was taken from jail by four men and beaten to death. He was lodged in jail on a charge of drawing a pistol on one of the white men.

drawing gun on white man

Fed

Taken from jail by 4 men flogged to death

SOUTH CAROLINA

Taken from jail by 4 men hanged

Clinton, Laurens County

July 4: Norris Bendy was taken from the county jail by four men and hanged. His body was found by Deputy Sheriff Thad Moore seven hours later badly beaten and still hanging . Bendy had been shot once. (1)

altercation with white man

Fed

[redacted]

Flogged to death by 4 white men

Aiken, Aiken County

Feb. 19: George Jeter, Negro, was flogged to death by four white men who accused him of stealing their bootleg liquor, selling it and keeping the money. (1)

II

stealing bootleg selling money

No Charges

Sign of mob

F. 4

SOUTH CAROLINA

Taken from home shot to death by masked band of more than 10

Greenville, Greenville County

November 16: George Green, 73 year old Negro, was shot to death by a masked, robed band of more than ten after he had been taken from his home. Authorities said they knew of no reason for the slaying. (1)

II

No reason

No charges

TENNESSEE

Taken from home by mob of 7 men hanged

Columbia, Maury County

December 15: Cord Cheek, 2o year old Negro, was kidnaped by a mob of 7 and hanged near the scene of an alleged criminal assault on a 11 year old white girl. The Maury County Grand Jury had released Cheek earlier in the day for lack of evidence to indict him. (1)

released by grand jury lack of evidence

Suspicion crimes against

VI

Huntsville - June 8th

Scott County - 1 2 white men accused of murder - shot - mob of armed several men - taken from jail. (2)

Jerome Boyette & Harvey Hinchester

Fed

TEXAS

Cornered & killed by officers & mob

Attempted rape

Carthage, Panola County

May 23: W. C. Lovell, 17 year old Negro, was cornered and killed instantly by officers and a large mob less than ten minutes after he had attacked a white woman. (1)

Attacking white woman

Killed by officers while resisting arrest, mob of 400 seized body, dragged it around for 2 hours, dismembered it & burned in bonfire in Negro districts

Kountze, Hardin County

December 7: David Gregory, 25 year old Negro, charged with assaulting and killing a white woman was killed by officers while resisting arrest. The mob of about 400 seized the body, dragged it around for two hours or so, then dismembered and burned on a bonfire in the Negro district. (1)

IV

Attempt to murder of white woman

LYNCHINGS BY STATES

1932

TEXAS

Crockett, Houston County

April 2: Dave Tillis, Negro, being carried to Crockett by landlord to turn over to sheriff - allegedly entered white woman's bed room. Seized by four men, hanged to Black jack tree. Five men arrested, following investigation by Sheriff J. L. Hazlett. (1)

OHIO

Ironton, Lawrence County

June 11-32: Luke Marion, Negro, taken from crowd - battered down door. Four white men arrested - 12 more suspected - body found in river badly battered - threatening two white men with knife - six indicted. (1)

ARKANSAS

Crossett, Ashley County

Sept. 15: Frank Tucker, 24, Negro - taken from jail - hanged from light pole near center of business district - slashed throat of Deputy Sheriff. (1)

LOUISIANA

Wisner, Franklin County

Nov. 20-32: William House, Negro, 26, insulting two white women - found dangling from tree twenty-four hours after band of fifteen men took him from officers. Taken from Town Marshall R. L. Graham. (1)

KENTUCKY

Princeton, Cladwell County

June 1-32: Walter Merrick, white, 48, removed from county jail - unidentified. group. Merrick charged with dynamiting store at Hopson. Crime in February. Six automobiles - late at night - carried him into Princeton-hanged.

group. ~~Merrick charged with dynamiting store at Hopson. Crime in February. Six automobiles - late at night - carried him into Princeton-hanged.~~

KANSAS

Atwood, Rawlins County.

April 18: Richard Read, white, 53, attacker and slayer of eight-year-old white girl - hanged - ~~taken from jail - mob of 200~~. Crime in Colby County. Taken ~~from jail - mob of 200.~~ ~~Crime in Colby County~~. Taken ~~from jail~~ Cheyenne County, - ~~lynched in third~~.

Taken from jail, mob of 200 hanged

White - assault murder of 8 year old girl

He was taken from jail by mob of 200 & hanged

FLORIDA

Jasper, Hamilton County

June 6: Henry Woods, Negro, robbery and murder, body riddled with bullets and burned. Killed by arresting posse.

Killed by arresting posse - body burned

robbery & murder

VIRGINIA

Hume, Fauquier County

In the early morning of July 12, a farmer and his wife were attacked while sleeping in their home at Hume, Va. The report was that the farmer was struck over the head, stunned by a stick of stove wood, and his wife dragged and left in a semi-conscious condition in which she was found later about a half mile from their home. The suspected attacker had been sought in connection with the crime. On September 15 his body was found near Linden, hanging from a tree. The coroner was immediately notified and viewed the body. The body, therefore, came into the hands of the law. The law, however, did not retain possession of it, but permitted it to come into the hands of a mob which burned the body, distributing the victim's teeth as souvenirs, and placed his head on exhibition in the town of Warrenton.

Murder husband & wife

Body of suspected attacker found hanging two months later - Body in hands of law taken by mob, burned, teeth distributed as souvenirs, head placed on exhibition

Seven of the victims were in the hands of the law - four were taken from jails - three from officers. Two were white--six were Negroes.

LYNCHINGS BY STATES

1931

ALABAMA

Hayneville, Lowndes County

August 5: Negro boy, 16, attempted criminal assault - 11-year girl by posse of citizens. Shot thirty-two times ~~by~~ Sheriff W. E. Meadows. ~~Sh~~ was delayed by arrival of blood hounds. Negro attempted assault at 7 A. M. - child walking to grocery store about half mile away - Sandy Ridge - no arrests.

MISSISSIPPI

Vicksburg, Warren County

March 29-31: Eli Johnson, 25, Negro, attempted attack white woman of Red Bone community by "a mob". Body found, bullet hole in head riddled with buck shot - Sheriff Tucker. Woman going to church Sunday afternoon with two children. Negro is alleged to have flourished shotgun - Struck woman in head - carried to hospital, probably fractured skull. Coroner's Jury- "Violence at the hands of unknown parties."

Inverness, Sunflower County

March 22-31: Steve Wiley, Negro, taken from officers by mob - an attempted assault - hanged - no arrests.

FLORIDA

Blountstown, Calhoun County

:Two Negroes released on bond - attacking Forest Ranger. Richard and Charley Smoke, father and son, fusillade of rifle and pistol shots. Negroes - turpentine workers - bailed out by employer - on way home seized by mob.

MARYLAND

Salisbury, Wicomico County

taken from hospital by officers
mob of 2000
whole case

December 4: Mack Williams, Negro, shot and killed his employer - mob of 2000 - Negro wounded in attempted suicide, taken from hospital cot - hanged - body cremated. Sheriff G. Murray Phillips held off mob in front of hospital, six men slipped in from rear - dragged almost unconscious man to courthouse and joined by mob - hanged - body cut down by sheriff after twenty minutes - mob "retrieved" body and took it to lot nearby - soaked it with gasoline and burned - nothing done. (1)

murder
fed

WEST VIRGINIA

taken from jail
mob of 50

Lewisburg, Greenbrier County

December 10: Two Negroes. Mob of fifty masked men
Tom Jackson - 48 -) hanged them from cross over
George Banks - 26 -) telephone pole - riddled body
in jail) with bullets
occured three weeks after Negroes arrested - charged with slaying Constable Joseph H. Myles and Jack Brown. When officer attempted to quiet revelry at Negro house - Negroes tied to each end of rope - first off ground swung over telephone. (2)

murder
officer
fed

MISSISSIPPI

taken from convict cage - size of mob

Columbus, Lowndes County

Nov. 6: Coleman Franks, Negro, taken by a band of men from cage in convict camp where he was held pending trial for wounding Clyde Bell after a row. Clyde Bell was a white farmer. He escaped.

wounding white farmer
fed

MISSOURI

taken from sheriff on way to trial
several 1000

Maryville, Nodaway County

Jan 19: Raymond Gunn, Negro, rape and murder - taken from Sheriff Havere English on way to courthouse for trial, by mob - ~~took him~~ armed to school house site of crime - where ~~chained and~~ handcuffed. he was chained ~~Negro~~ to roof tree - which was soaked with gasoline ~~poured on and around~~ him - ~~roof~~ and set on fire - several 1000 witnesses

rape & murder
fed

LOUISIANA

taken from jail
size of mob —
unknown

Pointe a La Hache, Plaquemines County

August 3: Oscar Livingston, Negro, 22, taken from jail - body riddled with buck shot by mob of masked men - attempted rape.

attempted rape
fid

NORTH DAKOTA

taken from jail
mob of 80

Schafer, McKenzie County

Jan 29: Charles Bannon, white, accused of murder of a family of 6 was taken from McKenzie County jail by a mob of eighty men and hanged from bridge. No shots were fired.

(IW)

murder of 6
fid

TENNESSEE

taken from jail -
mob - several hund

Union City, Obion County

George Smith, Negro, 20, was hanged in the courthouse jail by a mob of several hundred people at 2:30 P. M. He was accused of attempted criminal assault on a young white girl.

This was the third capital offense. One murder and two rape in a month here

(1)

attempted criminal assault
fid

Lynchings

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . EMILY H. CLAY . . . .

From Tuskegee Institute reports on lynching:

1939—	3	lynchings,	25	prevented	lynchings
1940—	5	"	22	"	"
1941—	4	"	22	"	"
1942—	5	"	15	"	"
1943—	3	"	11	"	"
1944--	2	"			

8/28/44

DARBY-ATLANTA

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357

August 17, 1944

Lynchings 1944

LYNCHING OF MINISTER LAST MARCH REVEALED BY SON'S AFFIDAVIT

New Orleans, La.--A lynch-killing of a 66-year-old minister last March 26 in Amite county, Miss. , because he hired a lawyer to safeguard his title to a 220-acre debt-free farm, has just been revealed in an affidavit sworn to by Eldridge Simmons, son of the murdered man.

Rev. Isaac Simmons was going peacefully about the business of running his farm and had no trouble until it began to be suspected that there was oil on his land. Whites then tried to "muscle in" and take his property away. When they found he had consulted a lawyer they got together a small mob and killed him in the presence of his son, who was later driven from the county.

Eldridge Simmons sent his affidavit to the NAACP in New York which in turn has asked Governor Thomas L. Bailey of Mississippi to investigate. The NAACP also has asked Attorney General Francis Biddle to examine into the possibility that Federal conspiracy statutes have been violated.

The dramatic story of the lynching is told in the following paragraphs from the affidavit:

"Between 11 a.m. and 12 o'clock noon, March 26, 1944--which was on a Sunday--a group of white men including Noble Rider, two of his brothers, Harper Dawson, Rabbit Spillman, and a man I did not know, came to my house which is located about a mile from my father's house, both being on property owned by us.

"The men asked me if I knew how the property line ran. I told them I thought I did. They told me to come and show them.

"I went down the road with them for some distance then we came to a car. The car was a late model Studebaker, I believe, with the gear shift on the steering wheel. It was grayish in color.

"I got in the back seat of the car and they drove about a quarter of a mile from my father's house. The man I didn't know did the driving. They kept telling me that my father and I were 'smart niggers' for going to see a lawyer.

"Three of them remained in the car with me; three walked up to my father's house.

"Some time later, I saw the three men returning with my father. They were Noble Rider, Harper Dawson, and another man (I can't remember whether it was one of the Rider brothers or Spillman).

"Noble Rider and the other man were walking on either side of my 66-year-old father, Isaac Simmons, while Dawson walked behind him kicking and punching him.

"When they reached the car, they made my father get in the front seat. They all got in the car.

"My father begged them and prayed with them not to hurt him or me as they drove down the road. Two of them kept beating me as I sat in the back seat.

"Some distance down the road they stopped the car near a side road where there were lots of thickets. 'Let's take them down here,' one of the white men said.

"They told my father to get out of the car. He got out and started to run from the road. One of the men leveled the shotgun and fired twice at my father. One reloaded the gun, the other two ran in the direction my father had taken. The man who reloaded the gun ran off in that direction also, then I heard another shot. I begged the men in the car to spare my life.

"A while later, the other three returned. They all talked in low tones behind the car.

"Finally, they came around and told me, 'Alright, nigger, we're going to let you go.'

"One of them told me to get out of the car; another said, 'I'll tell him when to get out.'

"Noble Rider asked me 'You don't want to get beat up any more, do you?'

"I answered, 'I sure don't.'

"He said, 'If this comes up again, you had better not know anything about it.'

"They told me that they gave me ten days to get off the place and clear off my tenants. I had two tenants, Willie Huff, and A. B. Robinson, who worked for me. And also an old man, S. B. Moton, who had no other place to stay.

"When they put me out of the car, I was bloody, ragged and half-blind. I went to my sister's house and told what had happened.

"The news spread. Church meeting broke up and we all went down to where my father lay in the thickets. That was about 1 o'clock p.m.

"When we got to the thickets, we saw my father dead, lying half on his side. He had been shot three times in the back and some one said his arm was broken. Nearly all of his teeth had been knocked out, and his tongue was cut out.

"Some one went and got Constable George Hazelwood. The constable went and got the high sheriff.

"They held an inquest and gave the verdict that my father had met his death at the hands of unknown parties."

In the letter to both the Governor and the U. S. Attorney General, the NAACP pointed out "This case clearly represents a conspiracy on the part of certain individuals (named in the affidavit) to injure, threaten, and intimidate these citizens in the free exercise or enjoyment of rights secured to them by the United States Constitution."

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L. H. FOSTER, JR., TREASURER

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Tuskegee Institute

FOUNDED BY BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, 1881

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, ALABAMA December 27, 1944

For release December 31, 1944

Dear Sir:

I send you the following information concerning lynchings for the year 1944. I find, according to the information compiled in the Department of Records and Research, there were 2 persons lynched in 1944. This is 1 less than the number 3 for the year 1943, 3 less than the number 5 for the year 1942, 2 less than the number 4 for the year 1941, and 3 less than the number 5 for the year 1940.

One of the persons lynched was a 65 year old minister-farmer who was taken about a mile from his home and shot to death by a mob; the other, a 17 year old trusty at the Tennessee State Training and Agricultural School (a reformatory) was taken from jail and shot to death by a mob.

Both persons lynched were Negroes. The offences charged were: hiring a lawyer to safeguard his title to a debt free farm through which there was possibility that an oil vein ran, 1; murdering wife and daughter of the superintendent of the reformatory, 1.

The states in which the lynchings occurred and the number in each are as follows: Mississippi, 1; Tennessee, 1.

Very truly yours,

F. D. Patterson

F. D. Patterson
President

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Tuskegee Institute

FOUNDED BY BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, 1881

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, ALABAMA

RECEIVED
DEC 28 1945
Southern Regional Council

December 27, 1945

For release December 31, 1945

Dear Sir:

I send you the following information concerning lynching for the year 1945. I find according to the records compiled in the Department of Records and Research of the Tuskegee Institute that there was 1 person lynched in 1945.

This is 1 person less than the number 2 for the year 1944; 2 less than the number 3 for the year 1943; 4 less than the number 5 for the year 1942; and 2 less than the number 3 for the year 1941.

The person lynched was a Negro farm hand. He was removed from the county jail by a mob, which is said to have entered the unguarded jail with a key. He was then taken about seven miles from town and shot to death.

The charge was assault with attempt to rape, and the state in which the lynching occurred was Florida.

Very truly yours,

F. D. Patterson

President

NUMBER OF LYNCHINGS 1938-1945

Year	White	Negro
1938	0	6
1939	1	2
1940	1	4
1941	0	4
1942	0	5
1943	0	3
1944	0	2
1945	0	1

Southern Regional Council
January, 1946

PARTIAL LIST OF CONVICTIONS FOR LYNCHING

According to Chadbourne[1], careful study of the lynching records kept by the Department of Records and Research at Tuskegee Institute disclosed that for the period 1900-1930 there were 18 instances in which a total of 67 individual convictions for lynching were secured. In this period, only about .8% of the lynchings committed were followed by convictions. For the states which obtained convictions, the percentages were as follows:

Alabama	4%
Georgia	.8%
Oklahoma	3%
Virginia	4%
Minnesota	33%
Texas	.7%
Illinois	7%
Missouri	3%

In addition, in the same period, there were a number of convictions obtained for attempted lynching:

Convictions for Attempted Lynching, 1900-1930[2]

Year	State	Number Convicted	Sentence
1914	South Carolina	2	Unknown
1920	Tennessee	8	$50 and costs
	Virginia	2	$25 and 10 days
1921	North Carolina	1	4 years
	Tennessee	3	Unknown
	Virginia	1	$100 and 1 year
1924	Georgia	4	3 to 4 months
1925	Illinois	1	$100 and 30 days
	North Carolina	11	4 to 8 years
	TOTAL	33	

1. James H. Chadbourne, Lynching and the Law, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, 1933, p. 13.
2. Ibid., p. 15.

Convictions for Lynching, 1900-1930[3]

Year	State	Number Convicted	Sentence
1900	Alabama	3	10 years to life
1903	Missouri	?	10 years
	Illinois	11	Indeterminate
1919[4]	Alabama	28	$100 to 15 years
1920	Alabama	3	$100 and 3 months
	Alabama	3	15 years to life
	Minnesota	1	Unknown
	Texas	3	2 years. Suspended.
1922	Georgia	3	1 to 4 years
	Oklahoma	7	Life
1923	Virginia	2	1 and 2 years
1924	Alabama	1	18 years. Reversed on appeal. (Lancaster v. State, 106 Sou.609, 617, 618, Ala., 1925.)
1926	Georgia	2	4 years to life
	TOTAL	67	

Convictions for Lynching, 1930-1946

Year	State	Number Convicted	Sentence
1930[5]	Texas	2	2 years
	Georgia	2	Life
1931[6]	Ohio	1	1 to 10 years
1934[7]	Missouri	1	1 year
	Tennessee	8	3 to 5 years
1941[8]	North Carolina	4	14 to 25 years
1942[9]	North Carolina	5	12 to 18 months
1943[10]	Georgia	3	3 years and $1000. Later freed in retrial after case remanded to lower court by U.S. Supreme Court.
1946[11]	Illinois	9	$200.
	TOTAL	35	
1948[10]	Georgia	1	Death (appeal still pending)

3. Ibid., p. 14
4. There are no records for the years 1903-1919.
5. Arthur Raper, The Tragedy of Lynching, Chapel Hill, Univ. of N.C. Press, 1933, p. 16.
6. Commission on Interracial Cooperation, The Mob Still Rides, Atlanta, Ga., 1936, p. 11.
7. Ibid.
8. Negro Yearbook, 1947, Department of Records and Research, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, 1947, p. 310.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.

Total Convictions, 1900-1946

Convictions for attempted lynching, 1900-1930	33
Convictions for lynding, 1900-1930	67
Convictions for lynching, 1930-1946	35
TOTAL	135

8-1946

The attached information on lynchings in Georgia since 1931 is taken from a study made by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and from material in the files of the Southern Regional Council which absorbed the Commission in 1944.

All of the cases listed here were classified as lynchings by the Tuskegee Institute, whose statistics on lynchings are recognized as the most authoritative compilation. However, the McIntosh County case listed under 1934 is open to serious question as a lynching.

The definition of lynching is admittedly difficult. On this point see page 22 in the attached booklet, for the definition as given in the proposed Anti-lynching Bill, and page 29 for a supplementary definition agreed upon at a conference which was held at Tuskegee Institute in December, 1940.

From - Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

August 3, 1946

Inf. from Changing Character of Lynching -
given Atlanta Journal -

PRESS SERVICE OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

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August 8, 1946

MONEY AND PROTESTS OF LYNCHINGS FLOOD NAACP OFFICES

New York, August 8th--The savage murder of two Negro farmers and their wives in Georgia has aroused the wrath of thinking people everywhere. Local branches of the NAACP have daily sent assurances to the national office that they are carrying forward the fight to end such criminal violations of the Constitution. Several branches have sent in more than the $10 each asked for as its share of the $10,000 reward offered by the NAACP for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the arrogant Georgia lynchers.

From the Louisville, Ky., branch of the NAACP a check for $500 was contributed toward the reward offered for the lynchers' capture. The Los Angeles branch has pledged from $100 to $1,000 toward the fund.

In Houston, Texas, on the night of August 5th, all Negro residences and places of business were closed and the doors draped with black crepe so that everyone could attend a memorial service for the mob victims at the Baptist Church. At the NAACP demonstration, the first protest meeting in Texas since the lynchings, a resolution was passed asking for immediate anti-lynching legislation. Texas Negroes are well aware that the Klan can operate against them as well as in Georgia.

In Philadelphia, the local branch of the NAACP declared August 2nd a day of mourning in connection with the lynchings. Many organizations in the city cooperated. Their actions were publicized by closing all stores for an hour at noon, wearing black arm bands, silencing all radios for thirty seconds, and by requests that all individuals pray silently in their homes for the two slain couples. Telegrams and letters were sent to President Truman and to Attorney General Tom Clark asking the Federal Government to bring the culprits to justice.

A man in California mailed in his check for $25, though "he could ill afford it" to apprehend the "foul murderers".

The NAACP has received many similar letters and telegrams expressing sympathy and indignation over the recent wave of lynch terror sweeping the South. Typical of the feelings expressed in many of them is the one reproduced below, from a white woman in Oregon.

"Enclosed you will find my check for five dollars to aid in the work of hunting down and punishing the lazy white savages that rule our southern states.

"Either the United States should declare martial law in those outlaw states where no Negro is safe from attacks by these white beasts, or else every Negro should be armed by the government so that he can defend himself and his home.

(Continued)

"I lived in the South once and listening to white loafers talk about 'lazy niggers' used to nauseate me. Never, all the time I was in the South, did I see a white man work. He seemed to think his job was to stand around and watch the Negroes work, or else look around for Negro women to attack. The Negro men are powerless to protect their women.

"And never did I ever hear of a white woman attacked by a Negro. It was always the other way around -- white men raping Negro women.

"And, in using the word 'loafe' in connection with white southern men, I do not mean the underprivileged whom the so-called southern 'gentleman' scornfully calls 'poor white trash', but the soft spoken brute himself, who lives on the labor of the Negro....

"I have traveled abroad and have always been ashamed of the South, whose savagery I could not defend. If I were a southerner I'd get rid of my accent so that no one would know I was a native of such a disgraceful part of the U. S.

"I am sending a copy of this letter to the Governor of Georgia so that the white governor can know whan an Oregonian thinks of a Georgian -- the white kind whose hands are never soiled with honest work."

LAWRENCEBURG TRIAL
SET FOR AUGUST 13TH August 8, 1946

Nashville, Tenn.,August 8th--In spite of the public outcry against proceeding with the trial of 25 Tennessee Negroes in Lawrenceburg county, where tension and anti-Negro feeling is high, Z. Alexander Looby, NAACP defense counsel, reports that motion for change of venue has been denied. Indicted last February in connection with the famous disturbances in Columbia, the men will stand trial on August 13th.

A motion for postponement of the trials which was requested in view of chief defense counsel Thurgood Marshall's illness, also was denied. Mr. Marshall became ill during the trials in Columbia and, although running a dangerous temperature,continued cross-examining witnesses up to the last day. He was rushed to the hospital in New York soon after and it was hoped that the trials could be postponed until his recovery.

On Tuesday, August 13th, a motion will be filed to quash the jury panel, on the ground that Negroes are excluded. It is expected that this motion will be argued the following day.

WALTER WHITE SPEAKS
AT THEATRE PROTEST MEETING August 8, 1946

New York, August 8th--The cast of Anna Lucasta" called a meeting of fellow actors and actresses on August 6 at the Belasco Theatre, to arrange a benefit and to act in other ways against mob terrorism, particularly the Georgia lynchings and the blinding of Isaac Woodard.

Walter White addressed the gathering. Other speakers were Herman Shumlin, Harry Wagstaff Gribble, Alan Correlli of Theatre Authority, and Frank Silvera, a member of the cast of "Anna Lucasta", who also presided. Another speaker was Captain Martin Kamin, New York publisher, just released from the Army.

All of the speakers urged that action be taken to stem the rising tide of hate in the South. Walter White told the group specifically what is being done in the case of the Georgia lynchers and about the offer by the NAACP of a $10,000 reward for information leading to their

(Continued)

apprehension. He revealed that NAACP investigators have secured evidence against at least six of the mob which has been turned over to the Justice Department. Information leading to the arrest of the men who blinded Isaac Woodard is also in the Federal Government's hands.

The group voted to form a committee to stage a monster benefit to raise funds to assist in the fight for justice.

ISAAC WOODARD INDUCTED INTO
BLINDED VETERANS ASSOCIATION August 8, 1946

New York, August 8th--Isaac Woodard, Army veteran whose eyes were brutally gouged out by Aiken, South Carolina, troopers three hours after his discharge from service, was inducted into the Blinded Veterans Association on Thursday, August 8th. This organization is open only to those veterans who lost their sight in the service of their country. Lloyd H. Greenwood, Executive Director of the Association, feeling Woodard had earned his right to belong, made him a member.

Meanwhile, from all over the United States, contributions for the Isaac Woodard Trust Fund have been sent in by citizens who are shocked and enraged to discover in America the kind of vicious cruelty usually associated with only Nazis.

Contributions to date total $1,386.89. Of this sum, the newspaper PM has received $698.75 from its readers. Other individuals and organizations sent contributions direct to the NAACP national office.

As evidence of the interest aroused by the case, this is an encouraging sum. It is, however, hardly enough to compensate Woodard for the needless torture inflicted on him by lawless Southern terrorists. It is hoped that, in time, the Fund will be sufficient to bring to this blind victim of mob violence some peace and security in the future.

Word has been received that The Texas Farmers Union protested Woodard's beating before he was brought to trial to both the Governor of South Carolina and to Attorney-General Tom Clark.

Lynching

PRESS SERVICE OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

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September 5, 1946

BREAK EXPECTED IN LOUISIANA LYNCHING

New York, September 5th--What is described by an NAACP official as "a most dramatic break in the current wave of lynch terror hovering over southern Negro communities" is expected almost momentarily. The lynching of John C. Jones, Negro war veteran whose mutilated body was found in a Louisiana swamp, may provide the opening wedge in the desperate drive being conducted by the Association to drive lynch mobs out of existence.

Focal point in the drive is Albert Harris, shy, gangling 17-year-old Negro youth who owes his life to the bungling of Louisiana "law enforcement" officers and the Louisiana lynch mob which apparently possessed a rather startling knowledge of developments in the local sheriff's office.

The testimony of young Harris and his father, who fled with him from what would have been certain death in Minden, Louisiana, was of such a positive nature as to virtually assure immediate federal action The youth, whose body bears a raw pattern of unhealed scars from the lynchers' clubs, ropes and leather straps, unhesitatingly named several members of the mob, all of whom he has known for many years.

The most damaging part of the dramatic story told by the youth, which provides a basis for federal intervention, clearly implicates the Minden deputy sheriff. According to testimony which has been made available to the Department of Justice by the NAACP, Sheriff Haynes released young Harris and his cousin, veteran John Jones, from the local jail, after having held them for several days despite the fact that the woman whom the youth had allegedly planned to rape refused to charge them with any crime. By a remarkably strange coincidence, the mob knew exactly when Sheriff Haynes planned to release the youths so that when they appeared in the door leading from the jail the mob had already assembled. Young Harris then stated that the men who grabbed Jones seemed to have trouble forcing the struggling veteran into one of the cars. It was at this point that Haynes, sworn protector of law and order, helped force Jones into the lynchers car.

According to Robert Carter, NAACP counsel, the action taken by Sheriff Haynes in assisting the lynchers appears to be a clear-cut violation of civil rights granted citizens under the 14th Amendment. Since the sheriff, a responsible representative of the state's law enforcement agency, acted as an accomplice to the act, it becomes a matter demanding federal intervention.

Walter Winchell, in his radio broadcast of August 29th, stated:

"A war veteran who was lynched here had his hands chopped off and a blow torch was held to his face as he lay down. If the Department of Justice will protect six available eye-witnesses, Walter White will produce them all. If necessary, federal troops should be ordered, I think, to protect those witnesses

(continued)

September 5, 1946

so that they can take the stand in court. Department of Justice has a complete case. Until this mob goes to trial, the Justice Department itself is on trial. Of course the lynch mob -- if it is wise to precedent -- will demand to be tried together in a group like the 26 alleged seditionists. That will keep them out of jail."

'LEASED' OIL RIGHTS
POSSIBLE LYNCH MOTIVE September 5, 1946

New York, September 5th--A sordid but familiar story of oil rights obtained under peculiar circumstances may emerge as a possible motive in the blow torch, cleaver, torture lynching of John C. Jones, a Negro veteran who fought valiantly in the Battle of the Bulge. Jones, lynched by a mob in Minden, Louisiana, August 5th, was a grandson of the former owner of several oil wells which were discovered on his property and later "leased" to a powerful oil syndicate.

According to Albert Harris, Sr., father of young Albert Harris, who escaped death at the hands of the same mob which tortured his cousin, the 76-year-old grandfather of the two youths "leased" his wells many years ago, although he remained poverty-stricken. One large well is still pouring thousands of barrels for which the aged Negro receives $1.50 per month. The circumstances under which these rights were obtained were considered odd according to Mr. Harris, who said the aged man could neither read nor write.

It was also learned from a reliable source that careful efforts had been made to mislead newsmen who first reported the Jones lynching. In stories released throughout the nation's press through the wire services it was reported that photographs of nude white women had been found in the lynched veteran's pockets. Most of the stories clearly implied that this had been a possible motive in the lynching which was actually played down. It has since been established that both Jones and Harris were thoroughly "frisked" by law enforcement officers during their stay in the Minden jail. The mob captured them as they were released from the jail.

Significantly the press services reported the finding of the nude pictures but failed to mention the fact that Jones had been tortured with a blow torch and horribly mutilated by the lynchers.

Tribute was paid the NAACP investigators who worked in the Minden area by several radio commentators. It was pointed out that these men, working under a constant threat, had doggedly tracked down clues which may play an important part in final apprehension of the guilty parties. The Association also disclosed the fact that the entire Harris family had been evacuated from the area which is in the heart of the Louisiana oil fields. Plans have been made for settling the family in a middlewestern community where they may be safe from retaliation. Their whereabouts is a closely guarded secret for obvious reasons. Walter White, NAACP Executive Secretary, stated, "These people have been through so much that the NAACP feels it a duty to protect them and to give them a start in what shall be a better life" Mr. White referred to them as "refugees from Bilboism". The family which has been evacuated by the NAACP includes the father, Albert Harris; Mrs. Harris; Albert, Jr., who escaped the mob, and three young daughters.

NAACP UNDER ATTACK
FROM BILBO FOLLOWERS September 5, 1946

New York, September 5th--Walter White and the NAACP were the objects of a vicious newspaper and political attack by Mississippi reactionaries acting under the sting of local political defeat, it was disclosed here today.

(continued)

September 5, 1946

The attacks against the National Association and its militant leader seemingly originated in the recent Mississippi swamp battle in which several Negro veterans and their families fought off a howling lynch mob until their ammunition was exhausted. At that time Mr. White wired Acting Governor Wright urging him to use his authority to avoid lynch action against the Negroes who were charged with having fired upon a passing white motorist and later of having ambushed a sheriff and several men. It has since been established that the Negroes were in no way involved in the shooting. Several white Mississippians have since been arrested in connection with the incident. All of the Negroes have not been released, however.

In spite of these developments, the acting governor sounded off the first shot against the NAACP in a letter addressed to Mr. White. In it the governor stated:

> "Prior to receipt of your telegram, I had already determined to . . .obtain first-hand information on the situation. . .although I was confident that the reports we were receiving from your section of the country were, as usual, untrue and deliberately designed to give an unfavorable picture of the South."

The governor's letter then continued, charging that his personal investigation had revealed that the Negroes had run amuck, firing upon whites and shooting four peace officers. The governor further stated that there was no racial tension in Mississippi since "we in Mississippi are not given to hatred between the races despite the efforts of outside agitators. . .organizations such as yours should acquire true facts of incidents before beating the drums of racial propaganda".

Mr. White thanked the governor for his illuminating letter and then called his attention later to wire service releases from Mississippi in which it was reported that there had been no altercation between whites and Negroes; that the white men had been shot by white men and in the confusion and hysteria the lynch mob had formed against the Negroes. "Inasmuch as your own statement and the reports of the various press wire services bear out in fullest detail each of the above statements, would you be good enough to indicate in what way they are 'untrue and deliberately designed to give an unfavorable picture of the South?'"

The actual issues behind the attack on the NAACP were clarified in an editorial appearing in the Jackson Daily News of August 31st under the headline, "Impudence of a Negro Leader". Walter White was referred to as "a high, yaller (sic) Yankee member of his race. . .always impudent, insolent, and arrogant (who) had the triple-plated gall and sublimated audacity to telephone Acting Governor Fielding Wright demanding that adequate protection be given the Negro outlaws... White was chiefly concerned with the worthless hides of Negro outlaws".

Further along in the editorial the writer declared, "What think ye of that, white citizens of Mississippi. . .concerning the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People now staging a fight against the re-election of Congressman McGehee and urging Negroes to go to the polls for that purpose? The best way to express your thought on the subject, and likewise your righteous indignation, is to get your poll tax receipts ready right now and make up your minds you are going to the polls".

In an A.P. release from Jackson, Mississippi, it was learned that six-term Mississippi Congressman McGehee had been swept out of office by a one-armed former combat pilot. McGehee bitterly complained that he had been the target of opposition from Negro voters and the CIO-PAC. The 27-year-old veteran, John Bell Williams, was the victor after a run-off in the Democratic primary in the Seventh District, thus depriving the Bilbo machine of one stalwart.

(Continued)

Prevented Lynchings

Press Release, Sept 19

PROMPT NAACP ACTION ALERTS
N.C. GOVERNOR TO LYNCH THREAT September 19, 1946

New York, Sept 19th--Vigilance and prompt action on the part of the NAACP and the North Carolina police on September 17th saved the life of a Negro veteran accused of having assaulted a white man, after words had passed between them on a lonely road. It is alleged that the white man was knocked down by the veteran, whom he cursed, and that the man walked off and later died in a hospital. Medical reports indicate that the real cause of his death was a heart condition--but word spread quickly of "murder" throughout the white community of Sylva and Waynesville. Two white men followed the bus taken by the Negro after the altercation and, at its first stop, tried to get him. The police of Sylva had been alerted, however, and they too, followed the bus in their squad car. At the bus stop, the police stepped in ahead of the other two pursuers, arrested the Negro and placed him in a jail in Sylva. There, a lynch mob of about 350 persons from the rural and country areas tried to get the prisoner and "take care of him." He was then transferred for safekeeping to Waynesville.

Hearing a radio report that the mob, which had dispresed overnight, had returned and was storming the Waynesville jail, the NAACP wired Governor R. Gregg Cherry to intervene, if he had not already done so, to prevent a lynching. The telegram stated that it was reported that the police chief refused to permit the mob to take the prisoner as he was innocent. The Governor immediately telegraphed Walter White, Secretary, NAACP, that he had ordered an investigation and had received a report that "there is not the slightest disturbance or trouble in Waynesville today and there has been no violence of any sort there last night or today. The prisoner is safely in jail and there is no move to disturb him."

To this assurance, which contradicts radio and on-the-spot reports received by the National Office NAACP, Mr. White wired the Governor "This Association thankful for intelligent level-headed action local police. Hope you will use every effort insure fair trial."

The prisoner is now in jail in Asheville.

PRESS SERVICE OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION
FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40th STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

Telephone Longacre 3-6890

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PRESS RELEASE OCTOBER 17, 1946

LYNCH VICTIM RETURNS TO SCENE-UNDER U.S. PROTECTION

New York, N. Y., Oct 17th--Albert Harris, Jr., and his father, Albert Harris, Sr., are today safe in their home in the midwest after a dramatic return visit to Louisiana, where on August 8th John Jones was brutally murdered by a sadistic mob and young Harris pitilessly beaten before he made his escape. The Harrises are alive today, however, because they made the trip closely guarded by U.S. marshalls, following a request addressed to the NAACP by the Justice Department that they be present when the Department presented the evidence of their investigation to the Grand Jury in Monroe, Louisiana, last Saturday.

Since Monroe is notorious for its Ku Kluxism and mob violence, Walter White told the Justice Department that an NAACP representative would accompany the Harrises to Monroe, but insisted that the Justice Department assume full responsibility for the Harrises' safety from the minute they left the midwestern state where they are now living, under the care of the NAACP, until their return.

To do this, it was necessary for the Harrises to place themselves voluntarily in the protective custody of the U.S. Government as material witnesses. They, therefore, were required to appear, at a closed hearing, before a Federal judge in the midwest, so that no one would know about their plan to go back to Louisiana. In that State, they risked facing the mob which the NAACP knew would stop at nothing to close young Albert Harris's mouth forever, as he was an eye-witness to the lynching and can positively identify some members of the mob, which included deputy sheriffs.

The Harrises traveled to Louisiana in a drawing room, accompanied by the Executive Secretary of one of the NAACP branches, and guarded by several U.S. marshalls at all times.

They testified before the Grand Jury on Monday, and left immediately afterward for their home in the midwest. The announcement that they had testified was withheld by the Justice Department until their safe return was established.

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FOR RELEASE - October 25, 1946

FEDERAL GRAND JURY INDICTS SIX IN JONES LYNCHING

New York, Oct. 24th--Six men named by Albert Harris, Jr., as members of the mob which lynched his cousin, John Jones, and beat Harris, in Minden, La., on August 8th, were indicted on Oct. 18th by a Federal Grand Jury for violation of civil rights statutes. Young Harris and his father, Albert Harris, Sr., made a dramatic trip to Monroe, La. las week, under the protection of U. S. marshals, and accompanied by the Executive Secretary of an NAACP branch, to present their evidence to the grand jury.

The indictment charged that Chief of Police B. Geary Gantt, Deputy Sheriffs Charles Edwards and O. H. Haynes, Jr. deprived the Negroes of their Constitutional rights by "causing them to be released from jail and handed over to a mob which inflicted a beating upon both. The others named were Samuel Maddry, Sr., H. E. Perry and W. D. Perkins

The indictments followed an investigation by the FBI at the request of the civil rights section of the Justice Department, before whom Albert Harris, Jr., presented his testimony last August after his escape from the lynch mob through NAACP intervention.

In a letter to Attorney General Tom Clark, Walter White, Executive Secretary of the NAACP stated:

"The NAACP is very happy about the Federal Grand Jury's indictments of six men who participated in the lynching of John Jones, and the beating of Albert Harris, Jr. in Minden, La., on August 8th. We feel, however, that the only way to insure a full and correct presentation of the case would be through the appointment of a Special Prosecutor by you.

"The record of United States Attorney Malcolm LaFargue, in regard to Negroes, which is well-known to you and to us, seems to make this imperative."

Lynchings

December 17, 1946

Memo to Dr. Guy B. Johnson

Subject: Conference With Mrs. Jessie P. Guzman on Lynchings for 1946.

On December 11, I called at the office of Mrs. Jessie P. Guzman, Director of the Department of Records and Research at Tuskeegee Institute Alabama.

Mrs. Guzman was compiling the list of lynchings for the current year. She seemed to be quite certain about six. Namely, the one of Leon McTady at Lexington, Mississippi on July 22, the four in Walton County on July 25, and the one at Minden, Louisiana of John C. Jones on August 8. She was not certain about the incident involving James Walker, Jr. at Alco, South Carolina on August 12, J.C. Farmer of Simms, North Carolina on August 3, and the one involving George Hill at Toombsboro, Georgia on October 18. She had listed as a lynching that of Alonzo Rush, Indianola, Mississippi May 11, 1946, electrocuted following a "kingaroo court" trial by a group of white men on the charge of intimacy with a white woman, who refused to press the charges and admitted that the relationship was voluntary on her part.

I gave her all the information which we had in our files on these cases and she decided to pursue her investigation farther.

Mrs. Guzman gave me the definition of a lynching agreed upon by a group of persons meeting in Tuskegee some five or six years ago. The criteria are as follows: 1. There must be a dead body. 2. Death must have come through illegal methods. 3. At least three persons must have been involved in administering the punishmnet. 4. Under pretext of service to justice, race or tradition.

Mrs. Guzman is considering the advisability in compiling a list of instances of police brutality of the prevention of lynchings. I told her that I thought that both of these objectives would be in line with the major objective with the SRC for the coming year which is, law enforcement.

She also wanted to know if the SRC would collaborate with the Department of Records and Research of Tuskeegee on these three items for the coming year.

(Harold Fn88?)

F. D. PATTERSON, PRESIDENT

L. H. FOSTER, JR., TREASURER

Tuskegee Institute

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NEGRO DIVISION
Home Federal Council

December 21, 1946

Please do not release until December 29, 1946

Dear Sir:

I send you the following information concerning lynchings for the year 1946. I find according to the records compiled in the Department of Records and Research of Tuskegee Institute that there were 6 persons lynched in 1946.

This is 5 more than the number 1 for 1945; 4 more than the number 2 for the year 1944; 3 more than the number 3 for the year 1943; 1 more than the number 5 for the year 1942.

There are 4 borderline cases which are not included in the total number of lynchings for 1946 because to date sufficient evidence concerning them has not been obtained.

There were at least 17 instances in which lynchings were prevented. 14 of these were by officers of the law and 3 were by persons not connected with the law. 16 of these instances were in the Southern States and 1 was in the Northern States. A total of 22 persons, 21 Negroes and 1 white person, were thus saved from death at the hands of mobs.

All of the 6 persons lynched were Negroes. The offences charged were: stealing a saddle, 1 (two other persons later confessed this crime); stabbing a man, 1; no charge, 3 (were in automobile with one of the victims); attempting to break into a house, 1 (jailed, but later released).

The States in which lynchings occurred and the number in each State are as follows: Mississippi, 1; Georgia, 4; Louisiana*, 1.

Very truly yours,

F. D. Patterson
President

*Another victim of the same mob later regained consciousness and escaped.

Lynching

SRC
2/20/47

Lynchings

STATISTICS ON LYNCHING

1939—3	lynchings,	25	prevented	lynchings
1940—5	"	22	"	"
1941—4	"	22	"	"
1942—5	"	15	"	"
1943—3	"	11	"	"
1944—2	"		?	
1945—1	"		?	
1946—6	"	17	"	"

****

1942—1 Missouri;	1 Texas;	3 Mississippi
1943—1 Florida	1 Georgia	1 Illinois
1944—1 Mississippi	1 Tennessee	
1945—1 Florida		
1946—1 Mississippi	1 Louisiana	4 Georgia

****

Year	White	Negro
1938	0	6
1939	1	2
1940	1	4
1941	0	4
1942	0	5
1943	0	3
1944	0	2
1945	0	1
1946	0	6

****

In 1944 the Mississippian lynched was a 65 year old minister-farmer (Negro). He was taken about a mile from his home and shot to death by a mob. The offence charged was hiring a lawyer to safeguard his title to a debtfree farm through which there was a possibility that an oil vein ran.

The Tennessean lynched in 1944 was a 17 year old trusty at the Tennessee State Training and Agricultural School (a reformatory). He was taken from jail and shot to death by a mob. The offence charged was murdering the wife and daughter of the superintendent of the reformatory. (From press release by Tuskegee Institute, December 31, 1944)

In 1945 the Floridian lynched was Jesse James Payne, Negro. The charge was assault with attempt to rape.

****

The Mississippian lynched in 1946 was accused of stealing a saddle. Two other persons later confessed this crime.

Of the four Negroes lynched in Walton County, Georgia, in 1946, only one was actually accused of a crime--stabbing a man. The other three persons (one man and two women) were in the automobile with the accused. A ll four persons were shot.

The Negro lynched in Louisiana was accused of trying to break into a house. He was jailed but later released. (Another victim of the same mob later regained consciousness and escaped. Maden County

There are 4 borderline cases not included in the total number of lynchings for 1946 beca use to date sufficient evidence concerning them has not been obtained. (From press release by Tuskegee Institute, December 29, 1946)

22 - Lynchings

The Case of "Peg" Gilbert, Troup County, Georgia, May 4, 1947.

These are the facts as they have come to this office:

1. May 4, 1947; Troup County, Georgia
Olin Sands, a white farmer, was killed by "Gus" Davison, a Negro boy during a dispute over who killed a calf owned by Sands. Davison escaped and is still at large.

2. Henry "Peg" Gilbert, a respectable Negro leader and owner of a 110 acre farm in Troup County was accused according to rumor of concealing "Gus" Davison in his home.
The rumor was traced to a drunken boy who admitted to Troup County Sheriff Hillyer that he had no factual basis for the rumor.

3. May 20: Harris County Chief of Police E. H. Buchanan had "Peg" Gilbert arrested on charge of harboring a criminal; took him to Harris County jail at Hamilton; then to Columbus jail (Muskogee County) presumably to make him talk; then back to Harris County hail (Gilbert was resident of Troup County)

4. May 22: Gilbert was killed in Harris County jail supposedly because he assaulted Chief Buchanan. Gilbert's body showed numerous bruises, five bullet wounds, and a broken left leg.

5. May 18: Lovett Davison (father of "Gus") his wife, 2 daughters (13 and 15), and 2 sons (18 and 11) residents of Harris County were arrested, taken to Columbus jail, then on Monday, May 19, back to Hamilton (Harris County) jail. They were arrested without warrant and are still held without charge.
The 11 year old boy was whipped brutally to make him talk.
The two little girls were whipped brutally and often before the father to make him talk.

6. About three weeks after the jail killing of Gilbert his wife was arrested and charged with harboring a criminal. She is out on bond.

7. There is no evidence to show that the Gilberts harbored "Gus" except the word of Lovett Davison who, it is said, made the accusation under duress.

8. The entire Negro population of Troup and Harris Counties is being terrorized.

9. There is no evidence that Gilbert was ever carried before a Committing Magistrate to determine probable cause.

Facts leading up to the homicide of Henry Gilbert, and the arrest of Henry Gilbert's wife, May Gilbert, on a charge of "harboring a criminal."

On the first Sunday in May 1947, sometime after dark on said day, a negro boy by the name of Davidson, killed a white farmer by the name of Sands, in a dispute over a calf. On this Sunday, a negro Baptist church, was holding its monthly services. This church was located over one mile from the place where Sands was killed. Both the location of the church and the place where Sands was killed are in Troup County, Georgia.

Henry Gilbert, was the chairman of the Board of Deacons and Treasurer of the Baptist Church. He was also worshipful Master of the Negro Masonic Lodge of the community. Gilbert was married, and had a wife and four daughters. One of his daughters is married and lives in Detroit, Michigan. Three of the daughters were in high school in La Grange, Georgia, the county seat of Troup County. Since it was several miles from where Gilbert and his family lived to La Grange, the three girls boarded in LaGrange and returned to their home only on the week-ends. One of the daughters graduated from the negro high school in La Grange in June of this year. All in all Henry Gilbert and his family were far above the average negro family. Henry was a leader of his people, was looked upon by them as an example and was respected by the more en-lightened white people of the community.

After the murder of Sands, Davidson escaped. Bands of white men assembled in the roads of this section of Troup County. A posse was formed to look for Davidson.

The negroes were frightened and went to their homes.

Sheriff Hillyer and Chief of County Police, Robinson, together with a State Patrolman immediately went to the scene of the homicide and

and began an investigation. Sheriff Hillyer and Chief Robinson are of the opinion that Davidson escaped that night and left the community.

Just across the line from Troup County, in Harris County, Davidson's father, mother, one grown brother and others brothers and sisters lived in a shanty house, owned by one Luke Sturdivant, who owns and operates a country store in addition to his farming interests.

Three or four days passed and Davidson was not captured. Small bands of men roamed the roads at night. Ugly talk was sudible and they spoke of "killing a few niggers." There were frequent meetings at Sturdivant's store. Among those who attended these meetings was County Chief of Police Buchanan of Harris County. There was a rumor floating around in the neighborhood that Henry Gilbert was concealing Davidson in his home. Sheriff Hillyer of Troup County heard the rumor and immediately went into the neighborhood and made an investigation. He went to the home of Davidson's father and talked with him. He went to other places, but he was convinced that Davidson was not in that section of Georgia. He finally found a drunken boy who started the rumor. This boy later admitted to Sheriff Hillyer that he has no facts upon which to base the rumor, that he had not even seen Davidson or Gilbert.

This was enough, however, to turn all eyes to Henry Gilbert. Bilbert was not suspected of participating in the homicide. Everyone knew that at the time of the homicide Gilbert was presiding at the meeting of the Baptist Church, of which he was a member and a leader. Gilbert hardly knew the Davidson boy who had engaged in a dispute with Sands over the killing of a calf. Gilbert was a landowner and approximately 30 years older than Davidson, and there had been trouble between Gilbert and Davidson's brother some years before.

Feeling mounted, however, and the men who wanted to capture Davidson, being unable to do so, decided some two weeks after the homicide to arrest Henry Gilbert. At approximately 3 a.m. Tuesday morning, May 20th, Luke Sturdivant called Sheriff Hillyer at his home in La Grange and told the Sheriff that the Chief of Police of Harris County was at his store and had a warrant for Henry Gilbert, issued by a Justice of the Peace of Harris County, Georgia, accusing Gilbert of harboring a criminal, and that he wanted him to come and serve the warrant (please note that the crime was committed in Troup County, Georgia, that Henry Gilbert lived in Troup County, Georgia, and that he would have had to harbor Davidson in Troup County, Georgia, that the Superior Court of Troup County, Georgia had jurisdiction over the offense and the offenders). Sheriff Hillyer immediately went to Luke Sturdivant's store, got the warrant and went to Henry Gilbert's home, aroused him out of bed, and delivered him to the Chief of Police, Harris County, Georgia. There is no record that Henry Gilbert was ever carried before a Committing Magristrate to determine whether probable cause existed for the warrant. Gilbert was first lodged in the Harris County jail at Hamilton, Georgia. He was then carried to Muskogee County, Georgia and confined in the jail at Columbus and was later returned to the Harris County jail. Four or five days after Gilbert's arrest, Gilbert's family were notified that he had been killed while he was incarcarated as a result of an alledged assault Gilbert made upon Chief of Police Buchanan. The pictures of Gilbert's body disclose that he had been severly beaten in the head and that the left side of his chest had been crushed and he had been shot five times. His left leg was broken and he had been otherwise beaten.

Two days prior to the arrest of Henry Gilbert, Lovett Davidson, the father of the Davidson boy who killed Sands, was arrested and placed in the Harris County jail. He was arrested by Harris County officers. Immediately after his arrest, his wife and two small children were arrested and placed in the Harris County jail. An older son was arrested by the Harris County officers and placed in the Muskogee County jail. It is stated on good authority that this grown son of Davidson's, not the one who is alleged to have murdered Sands, has been severly beaten and mal-treated. Lovett Davidson and all members of his family except his wife are still incarcrated. Lovett Davidson was in the Harris County jail on the night that Henry Gilbert was killed, unless he had been carried from the confines of the jail by officers. It is known that he was in jail on the morning after the killing of Gilbert and was in jail on the afternoon before the killing of Gilbert. Lovett Davidson, in any event, knew that Gilbert had been killed by Chief of Police Buchanan while he was being held, in Harris County jail. Three weeks after the murder of Henry Gilbert, a person by the name of Hayman, a white man, who resides in Muskogee County, Georgia and who is the brother of the wife of Sands, swore out a warrent in Troup County, Georgia against May Gilbert, the wife of Henry Gilbert, in which it was alleged that she participated in the harboring of Gus Davidson, the alleged murderer of Sands. Sheriff Hillyer reluctantly, but in pursuance of his duties, made the arrest and permitted her to make a bond and assigned the warrant for a hearing before a Committing Magistrate for June 27, 1947 in the Troup County Courthouse at La Grange, Georgia. May Gilbert was represented by Counsel at this hearing.

The only evidence produced against her at this hearing was Lovett Davidson, the father of Gus Davidson, who testified that some four or five days prior to the time that Henry Gilbert was arrested, he had gone to Henry Gilbert's home and had talked with Gus Dividson, his son,

in the presence of Henry Gilbert and his wife, May Gilbert. At the time Lovett Davidson testified to these facts, he was then in custody of the Harris County officers, whom he knew had killed Henry Gilbert, in fact, they were standing within 10 feet of him while he was testifying. He knew that the other members of his family were in jail. There and in Muskogee County. He was unable to state whether he had been committed for any offense and when asked why he had been arrested, he stated "day told me dey was going to lock me in my family up and keep us dere until dey recluded de boy." Lovett Davidson was visibly upset during the time he was testifying and undoubtedly had been coached as to what he should say.

Luke Sturdivant, the person for whom Gus Davidson worked and on whose place he lived, testified that he had told Sheriff Hillyer that Gus Davidson was hiding in the home of Henry Gilbert. Sheriff Hillyer testified positively and unequivably that Luke Sturdivant never intimated to him that Gus Davidson was hiding in Henry Gilbert's home and that during his investigation, he had been unable to disclose any evidence that Henry Gilbert had harbored Gus Davidson. It was established that during the ten-day period that Gus Davidson was supposed to have taken refuge in Gilbert's home that he worked upon his farm of 110 acres each day. That he left his home and transported a sick person to a hospital in La Grange. That the three daughters who were at their home from Friday night to Monday morning, May 23rd until May 26th, are positive that Gus Davidson was no where a out their place. May Gilbert swore positively that she had not seen Gus Davidson for some six weeks prior to the killing of Sands, nor had she seen him since that date. She stated that Lovett Davidson did come to their home one night prior to the arrest of her husband, but that he did not come inside of the house but that he stood at the door and talked to her husband for only a few minutes and left.

It is very apparent that after Gilbert was killed by Chief Buchanan it became necessary to produce some evidence to show that there were some grounds for incarcerating Gilbert.

The Committing Magistrate who heard the evidence to determine whether probable cause existed for the warrant of May Gilbert, had no alternative but to bind her over to the grand jury of Troup County since there was positive evidence given by Lovett Davidson that she had knowledge of and was present in the house while Gus Davidson was there on a date subsequent to the killing of Sands. May Gilbert was bound over under $1000 bond to the Grand Jury of Troup County.

QUESTION OF FEDERAL JURISDICTION

Federal authorities have in the past successfully prosecuted police brutality. The right of the Federal authorities to prosecute has been upheld by the Federal Courts. The Supreme Court of the United States recently stated in a case "There are village tyrants as well as village Hampdens-but none who acts under color of loaw is beyond the reach of the Constitution." These rights which are protected by the Constitution flow from the Fourteenth Amendment. A prisoner being held under legal process has the right under the Federal Constitution to "equal protection of the law." The jurisdiction of the Federal Authorities to prosecute such violations as were practiced upon Henry Gilbert and such violations as are now being practiced upon Lovett Davidson, his family and May Gilbert may be found in Section 51, title 18 and Section 52, Title,18, which are as follows:

"If two or more persons conspire to injure, oppress, threaten, orintimidate any citizen in the free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege secured to him by the Constitution or laws of the United States, or because of his having so exercised the same, they sall be fined not more

Than $5,000 and imprisoned not more than ten years, and shall, moreover, be thereafter ineligible to amy office, or place of honor, profit, or trust created by the Constitution or laws of the United States."

"Whoever, undercolor of any low, statute, ordinance, regulation, or custom, wilfully subjects, or causes to be subjected, any inhabitant of any State, Territory, or District to the deprivation of any rights, privileges, or immunities secured or protected by the Constitution and laws of the United States, --- shall be fined not more than $1,000, or imprisoned not more than one year, or both."

Then there is section 88 of the U. S. Code language which I believe gives Federal Officials authority to prosecute for the violation of Civil Rights. This Section is in part as follows: "any two or more persons who conspire to commit any offense against the United States or to defraud the United States in any manner of for any purpose ....." It can be successfully established, I believe, that after the killing of Henry Gilbert that the persons who were responsible for his arrest and for his death, conspired to force Lovett Davidson to testify falsely against May Gilbert. This certainly was a deprivation of the rights of Lovett Davidson and resulted in a deprivation of the rights of May Gilbert. Since both Lovett Davidson and May Gilbert are entitled to protection under the Fourteenth Amendment and under the above states Sections of the U. S. Code Item, such conspiracy to deprive them of their rights was certainly a violation of Section 88 and a crime against the United States.

This case and all of its ramifications is a glaring example of how local law is impotent to protect the rights of the negro population in the face of rising public feeling. The laws on the Statute books of Georgia are only paper rights that never come to life when there is a need for them to be available in behalf of a member of the negro race. Public officials are timid to enforce the rights of a negro whose rights are being

5-22-47

Rw

(Statement on the acquittal of the Greenville, S.C. lynchers, issued to the press on May 22 by the Southern Regional Council)

Atlanta, May 22---"The acquittal of the accused lynchers of Willie Earle in Greenville, S.C., is a burden to the conscience of the South," the Southern Regional Council said today in a statement issued by its director, George S. Mitchell. "And although many people think so, it is not in line with the best of Southern justice."

The statement said the acquittal also showed "the educational problem the South faces in its efforts to free itself from the fear and prejudice that hamper its progress." It also stated that credit was due the state of South Carolina for pressing for arrest and conviction of the lynchers, and that Judge Robert Martin, who presided over the trial, deserved commendation for refusing to admit appeals to race prejudice in the arguments.

The Council's statement said:

"It may be that the jurors in the Greenville trial thought that they were 'upholding southern tradition' by setting scot-free the defendants in this case. If so, they were badly wrong. The record shows many convictions in the South for the crime of lynching. Some white men have received life sentences -- in the South -- for the lynch murder of Negroes.

"To acquit these men in the face of evidence and many signed confessions strikes a hard blow at the South's already weak foundations of respect for law and justice for all men. It is just such irresponsibility as this that makes the Nation feel that Federal laws are needed to insure the rights of all citizens, regardless of race. Certainly, if many southerners are so morally bankrupt as to condone crimes of violence against a helpless minority, the rest of the Nation cannot ignore it.

"This failure of justice is a failure of the people. Most of us still believe that the majority of white southerners abhor these crimes of violence against Negroes. Yet this majority is guilty of failure, too -- failure by neglecting to speak out and work together for justice. In a way, all of us in the South must share the blame. For so long as we fail to fight the brutal actions of the comparatively small number of people who perpetrate and condone crimes like the Greenville lynching, so long shall they give the South a bad name and a bad conscience

(rw-5-22-47)

NOTE -- The following is a summary of a talk made by William S. Howland to the A.M.A. Interracial Institute at Fisk University, July 18, 1947. End note.

First of all, I would like to explain that I am a professional reporter, not a sociologist. As a reporter I am trying to speak of events as they happen, not as they should happen in some ideal state.

I also would like to explain that I am a Northerner, Yankee, that is, born in New York city, reared in upstate New York, educated in New England and New Jersey. I have a Southern background in that my mother is a South Carolinian.

As a reporter I have been working in the South, by my own choice, since a cool autumn day in 1923 when I first came to Nashville. Then very fresh and green from four years in a leading Eastern university, I stopped off briefly in Nashville to visit my cousin, who is now Chief Justice of the Tennessee supreme court, and went to work as a reporter on The Tennessean.

It was not long before I had personal experience with racial friction and racial violence. I had been working on The Tennessean only a few months when a young Negro man, who had shot a country storekeeper and in turn had been shot while attempting a robbery, was lynched by a mob near Nolensville. It was a shocking incident. The Negro, who had been seriously wounded, as had the white man, was under arrest and was chained to a bed in the Nashville general hospital. An armed gang entered the hospital, held up the staff, cut the wounded man's chains, spirited him away into the night.

A few minutes later the Tennessean city editor was called from the hospital. He correctly guessed that a lynching was under way at the scene of the shooting. With two older editors and a photographer I raced out the Nolensville pike.

We arrived at the scene just in time to see the bullet riddled body of the young Negro swinging from the limb of a great, gaunt tree. I have never been able to forget the way blood was dripping from his toes as the limp, skinny body gyrated at the end of the rope.

While I stood staring, open mouthed, nauseated, someone sidled up to me, stuck a gun in my saide, said, "Bub, you don't recognize nobdoy, do you?" I was thankful that I could stammer, truthfully, "No".

Apparently others much more familiar with the scene and the people than I was were not able to recognize anyone, either, because no one, so far as I know, was ever even questioned or arrested in connection with this lynching which was, as are almost all incident of mob violence, completely uncalled for. The lynch victim had been arrested, accused and jailed. He would certainly have received proper legal punishment if the mob had not mocked the law.

That incident was more than 20 years ago, but the picture we printed the next day on The Tennessean's front page, showing that ghastly tree with its all too familiar fruit, still burns in my memory.

Despite that memory, and despite the many outbreaks of racial violence which I have since reported, I want to make the strong point that in nearly a quarter of a century of covering the South's news, I have seen steady improvement in racial relations in the South.

The fact that this interracial institute is being held for the fourth successive year in Nashville and is receiving widespread notice in Southern newspapers is proof positive of improvement. I think that the older members of the institute will agree with me that when I came to Nashville in 1923, no such meeting could have been held anywhere in the South, not even in such a comparatively prejudice free, enlightened a city as Nashville.

But during the past five years, even while the late Gene Talmadge and the fading Bilbo were deliberately and desperately beating the tom toms of racial prejudice for their own selfish political advancement and for the advantage of their big business backers (and I might mention in passing that there have been persistent rumors that much of this backing came from above the Mason-Dixon's line), I have attended meetings like this in Atlanta as well as Nashville. At these meetings men and women of both races have sat down together, have broken bread together, thought together and worked together to determine what treatments can be best applied to cure the cancer of racial friction which eats away at the body of our democracy.

Again -- and without wanting to sound like a starry-eyed wistful thinker or dreamy do gooder, I regard such meetings--and have so reported them--as unmistakable evidence of the South's progress toward better racial understanding and better racial relations--slow and painful, to be sure, but also steady. I also regard these meetings where men and women from all sections of the nation sit down and try to work out practical solutions of problems as doing much more to advance the cause of improved race relations than the frenetic actions of some Southerners who like to make bombastic utterances above the Mason-Dixon line or the plaints of some professional Southerners who continually whine, "Leave us alone and we will work out our own problems." In this connection, it is my opinion as a reporter who attempts to gather and write facts that the sooner all of the South comes to the realization that it is not something special but a part of the United States, the quicker and more easily will racial problems approach solutions. Conversely, it is my opinion that the sooner the rest of the nation realizes that the racial relations problem is not something special for the South, but is a national problem, undoubtedly National Problem No. 1, also the quicker and more easily will solutions be approached. There is far too much talk in the South about Northern interference and far too much looking down the nose in the North at the South. After all, are we not all Americans?

Actually, the South and the North and East and West have come a long way since the close of the first World War.

You need not take my word for that. The figures tell the story. Without wishing to bore you with another load of statistics, I would like to point out a few facts and figures for comparison purposes.

The older members of the institute will recall the bloody race riots which followed the close of World War 1 in Chicago, St. Louis and Washington. They were much worse than any in recent years--even than the Detroit riot.

Now as for figures--in 1918, sixty Negroes and four white persons were lynched. In 1919, the score was 76 Negroes, 7 white persons. In 1920, 53 Negroes, 8 white persons; in 1921, 59 Negroes and 5 white persons.

In those four years, years that followed a war which we fought and won to make the world safe for democracy, it was not safe in our own democracy for 248 Negroes and 24 white persons.

But in 1945, the year in which we finished winning a second war against the enemies of our way of life, only one person died by mob violence in the United States. Don't mistake me on that--it is a mockery of our way of life that in our democracy, this one person, a Negro should lose his right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness by the action of a mob of his fellow men. But that was one death in 1945 as compared to 64 in 1918. And in 1946, despite the international finger of shame pointed at the world's greatest democratic nation as the result of the instances of mob violence which occurred, only six persons, all Negroes it is true, died by lynching. Again, these deaths, any deaths decreed by Judge Lynch, are a blot on America's name--but the total of 6 is much less than the total of 83 in 1919. So far this year, the record is even better--only one that I know of so far.

Yes, the figures show that the South and the nation have made remarkable progress in the past quarter of a century. As a reporter I could not truthfully say otherwise, although during the past two years I have been repeatedly sickened, as I was last week in reporting the brutal killing of eight Negro prisoners at a Georgia highway work camp, by my job of covering outbreaks of racial violence and racial cruelty.

Black skins still make too many persons with white skins see red. There still are far too many examples of so called white supremacy turning into white savagery. And too many people who forget that all human blood is red no matter whether the color of the skin which contains it is white, or brown, or yellow or black.

But despite all this there has been, during the past quarter of a century and particularly during the past ten years, steady progress toward the Christian ideal of the brotherhood of man--no matter what the color of his outside covering. This progress is still going on. Nothing can stop it, although many things can and do delay it.

Now I would like to discuss briefly some of the racial incidents which have occurred since the white and yellow and brown and black men of the United Nations prevailed over the

white men and brown men and yellow men of the Axis powers two years ago.

Before going into this discussion I might explain that at the time of the Japanese surrender I was a war correspondent with the U.S. Navy in the western Pacific. In the three months following the surrender I was one of the first correspondents to visit Burma, China, Malaysia and Indonesia. As such I obtained a very clear personal impression of what it is to be a member of a minority race. I was a badly frightened member of the white minority in Siam, Indo-China and Java. In Java particularly, where I was caught in the midst of the revolt against the Dutch, my white skin made me a conspicuous target. That there are no holes in that skin--and that I am here talking to you--is due to the good sense and good will of the coffee colored men of Java.

Now to take up some of the major racial incidents of the past two years.

The first outburst of the racial tension which was boiling under the nation's surface occurred in Columbia, Tennessee, in February, 1946.

There has been so much written and spoken about the Columbia incident, that I will not go into it further except to say that as a reporter present there, it was clear to me that had not good sense and good judgment finally prevailed on both sides, there easily could have been a full out race riot with many persons killed.

The next newsworthy incident was the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court in the spring of 1946 that segregation must end in the seating of passengers on interstate buses in Virginia. This important decision did not receive very much notice, but it was put to bad use--so far as the South is concerned--in the Bilbo and Talmadge campaigns then warming up. You may recall that the late Gene Talmadge shouted to his followers that if an attempt were made to put such a law into effect in Georgia he would post guards at all borders of the state to enforce segregation. The decision came out at an unfortunate time for those attempting to defeat two white supremacy demagogs in the South.

Two of the major events of the last year in the South were the Bilbo and Talmadge campaigns. In both, the bloody shirt of racial prejudice was waved aloft from beginning to end. I did not cover the Bilbo campaign but I was told by those who did cover it that had

there been concerted opposition and smart campaigning The Man could have been defeated, even in the state where the Negro population most closely approached the white population.

I did cover the Talmadge campaign and saw how desperately Gene and his followers worked to whip up the issue of white supremacy, how they grasped at every straw which could be woven into the web of prejudice in which they were attempting to enmesh the people of Georgia. And despite the most amateurish campaign of opposition I have ever seen in a major state race, Talmadge failed to get the majority of votes. He was elected only through the peculiarities of Georgia's county unit system whereby three little counties with perhaps a total vote of 5,000 can nullify the will of Atlanta and Fulton county, with more than half a million population.

I think the fact that the majority of Georgians--I repeat the majority--voted against Talmadge and racial prejudice, is an encouraging sign of progress in the South. Another encouraging sign was that for the first time in the South's history Negroes actually participated in mass voting in a Democratic primary. At least 75,000 - perhaps 100,000 voted - not only in Atlanta but all over the state. It was an impressive demonstration of Democracy in action. On election day I visited a number of the Atlanta polling places with Tom Stokes, a native Atlantan, the Pulitzer prize columnist. We both agreed that we never expected to see such a thing happening in our lifetime. And the voting went off without any of the clashes which backers of Talmadge had so direfully predicted.

But the week after so many thousands of Negroes stood in line with white persons and voted, five Negroes, three men and two women, died by violence in Georgia. The first was Macio Snipes, the only Negro in the Rupert precinct of rural Taylor county to vote. A week after he voted he was called out of his house by four white men in a car, shot down. A coroner's jury returned a verdict that one of the white men killed him in self defense.

Then on July 25, 1946, occurred one of the most shocking lynch crimes in our history. On that sweltering afternoon, an ex-convict white farmer was returning to his farm in Oconee county, near Monroe, Georgia. In the back of his car was a young Negro named Roger Malcolm, his wife, a war veteran named George Dorsey and his wife, who was Malcolm's sister. As the car approached a rickety bridge over the Apalachee river, according to what Harrison

told me and all others who questioned him later, a band of unmasked men stopped him, took the two men from the car, put ropes around their necks and started down a sandy road beside the river. One of the women screamed out the name of one of the mob. They came back and hauled the women from the car. A few moments later a volley of shots rang out -- It sounded like a fire in the canebrake, a cripped farmer who lives a half mile away told me the next day -- and more red blood from black bodies stained the red earth of Georgia. I saw the blood when I visited the scene early next morning.

And as you know, despite months of intensive investigation by a large crew of FBI men, no one has yet been arrested for that crime although a special federal grand jury was called to consider evidence.

As you may recall, the incident which led to this quadruple murder was an altercation between Malcolm and a white man, in which the white man was stabbed. But Malcolm was arrested, jailed and out under bond when lynched. In discussing this lynching, the Louisville-Courier Journal said editorially: "This is nothing new. It is repetition of an old, old pattern. A federal anti-lynching law might stop it now. Time and tolerance and education which are slow workers will stop it some day. But they will not bring back those four lives and they will not redeem the murders of Georgia."

I do not think it is far-fetched to say that the campaigns of white supremacy prejudice which had been waged in Mississippi and Georgia last summer share the blame of the Walton county lynchings.

The Walton county lynchings far outshadowed other racial news last summer, but there was another shocking lynching in Mississippi for which a group of white men were brought to trial, without conviction.

Not a racial incident, except in a very minor way, was perhaps the greatest law and order disturbance of the year. This was the election revolution executed at Athens, Tennessee, last August 1st by a group of ex-service men who were provoked beyond reason by a corrupt county political machine. A contributing cause to the explosion which blew the machine politicians out of office and almost out of existence was the act of one of

of their henchmen in shooting a respected Athens Negro in the back as he walked away from a polling place after being refused permission to vote. The young GI's told me afterward they had not fought overseas to stand for any such treatment of any American, white black or yellow. Incidents like that which occurred all during election day led to the final armed action by the GI's which took over the government of McMinn county. As one of the reporters on the scene I still wonder why at least 100 persons were not killed.

You are all too familiar with the governorship battle which raged in Georgia after the death of Governor-Elect Gene Talmadge last December for me to go into that. It is sufficient to say that the good sense and good name of Georgia was preserved by the courageous action of the state supreme court after two of the wildest months any state ever has experienced.

During the time that Hummon Talmadge was occupying the governor's chair, his henchmen pushed through the legislature the so-called misnamed white primary bill, whose aim was to prevent Negroes or in fact anyone except Talmadgeites from voting in Georgia. Although the bill passed with crushing majority, the hearings on it held by the Senate brought forth a thrilling demonstration of good will, good thinking and courage on the part of Georgians. I will never forget the Reverend Rabun, a combat Marine chaplain who is pastor of the Baptist church in Talmadge's home town, as he came into the Senate chamber so ill with 'flu that I had to help him stand to denounce the bill as undemocratic, unChristian and unworthy. He was but one of many Georgians, young and old, who attacked the bill as against everything America stands for. Their voices were vain then, but they will not be forgotten.

But all the incidents of last summer and last winter were only the preliminaries for the greatest racial drama of recent years. Probably one of the greatest court dramas of all time. That was the trial of 31 white men in Greenville, South Carolina, on charges of murder, accessory before the fact, accessory after the fact and conspiracy growing out of the savage lynching of Willie Earle, a tough young Negro, in front of a slaughterhouse some four miles from Greenville.

I was one of the reporters covering that trial and I never hope to cover a more exciting, discouraging, interesting event.

As you no doubt recall, the lynching occurred on the morning of February 17th. On the previous Saturday night, February 15th, Earle had engaged Thomas Watson Brown, a middle aged, crippled taxi driver, to take him to his mother's home some 20 miles out in the country. Later Brown's taxi was found in a ditch, Brown was found dying from stab wounds several hundred yards away. From Brown, tracks led to Earle's mother's home. Some hours later Earle, still wearing a bloodstained jacket, was arrested in a gravel pit about a mile from his mother's home, and put in the Pickens county jail, which county adjoins Greenville county. Brown was taken to a Greenville hospital where he was visited by many of his fellow drivers.

During Sunday, as brought out by signed statements from 28 of the defendants, a plan to take Earle from jail began to take shape. Late Sunday night taxi drivers met, passed around bottles, then went in a long procession to Pickens, took Earle from the aged jailer, questioned him, beat him, slaughtered him and went back to Greenville to drink coffee and brag of their deed. As they were bragging Driver Brown died.

During the next few days FBI men, state constables, Greenville city police and Greenville county sheriff's deputies gathered taxi drivers until finally signed statements telling of participation in the mob, but all denying any part in the actual shooting to death of Earle, were collected from 28 of the 31 men held. Then a Greenville county grand jury indicted all 31 on the four charges mentioned.

But a legal blunder was committed by the prosecution which later worked against the prosecution in the trial. The defendants were all allowed bail, without obtaining sworn affidavits from all 31, as is required in South Carolina unless the solicitor (prosecuting attorney) assents. The Greenville solicitor consented, in the absence of the stern young judge who presides at Greenville and before an easy going old judge in Pickens. As result of this error, 3 of the 31 went on trial without any personal statements and under rules of evidence not subject to anything contained against them in the statements of the

28 defendants who did sign statements.

So on a steaming hot May morning 31 white men, including two young men of the so-called better class in Greenville, went on trial on charges of murder. I have never seen a trial conducted with more fairness nor with more dignity under the circumstances. Judge Robert Martin, Jr., a 37 year old, former football guard, made it clear from the first that he would not stand any foolishness that would prejudice justice for the men on trial. He barred photographers because he knew that taking of pictures would be prejudicial against the men on trial.

For eight tense days the men were on trial. Each of their 28 statements telling how the party was formed to take Earle out of the jail, telling of how Earle was beaten and shot, of how they stopped on the road to question him and of other details was read to the jury. And each time attorneys for the defense, including a former assistant U.S. district attorney and a strange character who poses as the leading liberal of South Carolina, attacked the statements as having been obtained by force, attacked the FBI men as meddlers and third degree workers.

And then, after Special Prosecutor Sam Watts, who was sent in to assist in the prosecution by the state attorney general, had brought all the evidence he had against the defendants, the defense rested the case without putting a single one of the defendants on the stand.

In their final arguments to jury, Attorneys Tom Wofford, the former federal district attorney, and John Bolt Culbertson, who boasted to me that he represented the CIO, The AFL and the UMW in Greenville and had been called in by Jess Mitchell, head of the Textile workers union whose two son-in-laws were defendants, descened to depths of prejudice I have never heard equal. Culbertson shouted, "Yes, Willie Earle is dead and I wish to God thousands like him were dead." Wofford shouted, "You know what these G-men suffer from. It is meddler's itch."

By contrast, Judge Martin, in his charge to the jury, delivered one of the most striking appeals for tolerance and fairness I have ever heard. Here is a paragraph from

Judge Martin's charge: "A court of law recognizes no color, no creed. Therefore, gentlemen, under your oaths as jurors, you are not to allow any so-called racial issue to enter into your deliberations in this case in any respect. Likewise, gentlemen, you will recall that I in your presence ruled the fact that the deceased Willie Earle may have, may have not confessed any crime could not be argued to you in justification, mitigation or excuse to the charges contained in this indictment."

Five hours and 15 minutes after Judge Martin finished his charge the jury reported it had reached a verdict. Then in as weird a scene as anyone ever witnessed in court, while defendants and wives sat, the jury reported four not guilty verdicts. After the 28 names had been read four times--once for each verdict--Judge Martin rose to his six feet four, said sternly, "Gentlemen, your service is finished. The clerk has your checks ready", turned his broad back, went out.

The ended the Greenville trial--as many expected it would end. But I regard the fact that it was held as one of the greatest advances in the South in many many years. As I walked away from it with a New York newspaperman he said to me, "Next time there may be a mistrial and the next time a conviction. The South is going forward".

And I agree with his thought. The South is going forward, in the improvement of race relations, despite the brutal killings which occurred in a Georgia state highway work camp last week and despite the raw deal handed to a Negro by the Ahoskie Kiwanis club in North Carolina.

As milestones of progress in conclusion, I would like to point to the following; in addition to the fact that the Greenville trial was held and held fairly:

1. First and most significant, the decision by Federal District Judge Waring, a South Carolina aristocrat if there are any such, last Saturday that Negroes are entitled to vote in the South Carolina democratic primaries no matter what action the state takes to label the Democratic party a white man's club. I recommend to you that you read his decision and the favorable editorial comment which has sprung up all over the South on it.

2. The action of the North Georgia Methodist conference last week in denouncing injection of racial prejudice in political campaigns.

3. Action of the Georgia Baptists last fall, at the instigation of Reverend Rabun, in condemning racial intolerance.

4. Action by Georgians in breaking up the potentially dangerous Columbians Inc. in Atlanta. A New York organization seeks to claim credit for that--and it did furnish some help--but the move against the Columbians and against the Ku Klux in Georgia was instigated and executed by state and local official.

5. Installation of two Negro educators as presidents of two important educational institutions in the South--Fisk and St. Augustine. And in passing I might say that the publication of Dr. Johnson's picture on the front page of a Nashville newspaper is an indication of great progress in racial relations.

6. And lastly a thrilling example of what courageous officers of the law can do in the South to stop a lynching. On July 1, at Carrollton, Georgia, a 60 year old deputy sheriff, without a gun, and four other officer halted a mob of 300 seeking to take a Negro from the Carroll county jail. They did the hard thing--protected their prisoner, prevented violence.

When we get more law officers like those at Carrollton, we will stop lynchings and make good our claim that we can handle our own affairs.

In conclusion as a Northerner who prefer to live in the South, and as a factual reporter, I see unmistakable signs that we are moving forward, perhaps at a crawl when many from elsewhere think we should fly, toward the goal of racial understanding and goodwill. But the point is we are going forward.

-end-

File

Lynchings

F. D. PATTERSON, PRESIDENT

L. H. FOSTER, JR., TREASURER

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December 29, 1947

Please do not release until December 31, 1947.

RECEIVED
DEC 31 1947
Southern Regional Council

Dear Sir:

I send you the following information concerning lynching for the year 1947:

Number of Lynchings. According to the records compiled in the Department of Records and Research of Tuskegee Institute, I find that 1 person was lynched during the year. This is 5 less than the number 6 for 1946; equivalent to the number 1 for the year 1945; 1 less than the number 2 for the year 1944; and 2 less than the number 3 for the year 1943.

The lynch victim was Willie Earle, a 24-year-old Negro, charged with stabbing and robbing a white taxi driver. He was taken from jail by a mob, which mutilated his body with knife and bullet wounds. The state in which the lynching occurred was South Carolina.

Borderline Cases. There were 6 borderline cases which are not included in the total number of lynchings for 1947 because, to date, sufficient evidence concerning them has not been obtained. These cases are as follows: Joe Nathan Roberts, at Sardis, Ga.; Red Marks, Tobe Marks, Joe Nickerson, and an unnamed Negro, at Oakwood, Fla.; and Charlie (Bud) Smith, in or near Angier, N. C.

Lynchings Prevented. There were at least 31 instances in which lynchings were prevented--24 by officers of the law; 4 by persons who saved themselves from mobs; 2 by persons not officers of the law; and 1 instance in which the victim, left as dead by the mob, survived bullet wounds. Of these instances, 27 were in the Southern States and 4 were outside of the South. A total of 39 persons--33 Negroes and 6 whites--were thus saved from death at the hands of mobs.

Punishment of Lynchers. During the year, 44 persons were under indictment as participants in lynchings or attempted lynchings; and 44 were freed.

Very truly yours,

PRESIDENT

1947

LYNCHINGS IN THE THIRTEEN SOUTHERN STATES

Map A; 1900--1915

Map B: 1916--1947

Key: The numbers below denote the number of times a "lynch party" or mob violence has occurred in a county resulting in the death of one or more victims. In cases where the number of men killed in one lynching are exceptionally high (2, 3 and over) the total number of persons killed in the county is marked within a circle.

1--2 lynchings

3--4 lynchings

5 or more lynchings (number given--men killed--if over five)

States in Which the Lynching Locality is Undetermined:

STATE	1900-1915	1916--1947
Alabama	12	1
Arkansas	7	0
Florida	5	0
Georgia	11	3
Kentucky	(all lynchings known)	
Louisiana	11	3
Mississippi	8	0
North Carolina	(all lynchings known)	
Oklahoma	" " "	
South Carolina	3	0
Tennessee	1	0
Texas	2 (11 killed)	0
Virginia	(all lynchings known)	
	60	7

1941 missing

4 Negroes lynched that year

Lynchings in Georgia

Appling

Atkinson

Bacon

+ Baker 3. 3. 3. 21. 33. 33. 43.
3/3

√ Baldwin 25.
0/1

Banks

√ Barrow 22.
0/1

√ Barton 16. 30.
0/2

Ben Hill

Berrien

+ Bibb 12. 13. 19.
2/1

+ Bleckley 9. 12. 15. 15. 15. 19. 23.
5/2

Brantley

+ Brooks 1. 13. 17. 18. 18. 18. 18. 18. 18.
2/7

— Bryan 1. 1. 2.
3/0

— Bullock 1. 4. 4. 4. 4. 4. 8. 8
8/0

Burke

— Butts 12.
1/0

+ Calhoun 3. 15. 16.
2/1

√ Camden 16.
0/1

Campell: 1
1/0

√ Candler 17.
0/1

Carroll

Catoosa

Charlton

— Chatham 2.
1/0

√ Chattahoochee 36.
0/1

Chattooga

Cherokee

+ Clarke 10. 17. 21.
1/2

— Clay 8. 11.
2/0

Lynchings in Georgia---2

Clayton

Clinch

— Cobb: 0. 15
2/0

+ Coffee: 0. 20. 20. 20. 26.
1/4

√ Colquitt 18. 21. 22. 35.
0/4

+ Columbia 0. 0. 4. 10. 12. 13. 14. 15. 22.
8/1

Cook

Coweta

— Crawford: 0.
1/0

+ Crisp 3. 12. 12. 18. 24. 37.
3/3

Dade

Dawson

+ Decatur 3. 3. 5. 5. 15. 16. 37.
5/2

Dekalb

Dodge 3. 6. 8. 15. 15
5/0

√ Dooley 19. 20. 35.
0/3

— Dougherty 10.
1/0

Douglas

— Early 8. 9.
2/0

Echols

√ Effingham 20.
0/1

— Elbert 1.
1/0

+ Emanuel 6. 11. 11. 18.
3/1

Evans

— Fannin 9. 9. 9. (white
1/0

√ Fayette 18.
0/1

— Floyd: 0. 1. 2.
3/0

— Forsyth 12.
1/0

— Franklin 4.
1/0

√ Fulton 36. 36. 40.
0/3

Lynchings in Georgia---3

Gilmer

√Glascock 21.
0/1

Glynn

Cordon

=Grady 3.10.
2/0

√Greene 20.
0/1

—Gwinnett 11.
1/0

—Habersham 13.
1/0

Hall

√Hancock 23-23.
0/2

—Haralson 2.
1/0

—Harris 6. 12.12.12.12.
5/0

Hart

—Heard 13.
1/0

Henry

+Houston 3.7.9.13. 23.
4/1

Irwin 30.
0/1

Jackson

+Jasper 2. 15. 15. 15. 15. 19.
5/1

Jeff Davis

—Jefferson 8
1/0

√Jenkins 19.
0/1

—Johnson 2.
1/0

+Jones 15.15.15. 18.
3/1

Lemar

Lanier

+Laurens 11.11. 18.19.
2/2

—Lee 19.
0/1

+Liberty 9.11. 22.22.
2/2

—Lincoln 9
1/0

Lynchings in Georgia---4

Long

+ Lowndes 1. 8. 15. 16. 18.

Lumpkin

— McDuffie 7.

√ McIntosh 30 34

— Macon 10. 10.

√ Madison 36.

+ Marion: 0. 19.

+ Meriwether 11. 13. 24.

√ Miller 22.

Milton

+ Mitchell 11. 17. 17.

+ Monroe 6. 22.

— Montgomery 1. 9. 9. 9. 30

√ Morgan 19.

Murray

— Muscogee: 0. 12.

Newton

— Oconee 5. 5. 5. 5. 5.

√ Oglethorpe 19.

Paulding

Peach

Pickens

√ Pierce 18.

+ Pike 0. 0. 0. 4. 18. 20

Polk

— Pulaski 8. 8.

Putnam

— Quitman 1.

Rabun

Lynchings in Georgia---5

+ Randolph 1.1.9. 16.

— Richmond 11.11.

Rockdale

+ Schley 11.11.11. 22.

+ Screven 10. 25.

Seminole

— Spalding 3.

— Stephens 15

✓ Stewart 33.

— Sumter 12.13.

+ Talbot 4.4.9.9. 20.

+ Taliaferro 11.18.

— Tattnall 7.7.7.7.7.

Taylor

✓ Telfair 19.

Terrell

+ Thomas 0.17.20.30.30.36.

— Tift 4.8.

— Tommbs 8.10.

Towns

Truetlen

✓ Troup 40

— Turner 4.10.10.

Twiggs

Union

— Upson 4.

✓ Walker 16.

— Walton 11.11. 46.46.46.46.

— Ware 8.8.

+ Warren 9. 19.33.

✓ Washington 16.22.22.

Lynchings in Georgia---6

Wayne 8. 22.

Webster

Wheeler 10.

White

Whitfield 7. 36.

Wilcox 14. 19.

Wilkes 11. 19.19.19.

Wilkinson 1. 19.

Worth 16.16.16.16.20.

Unknown: Berryville, Ceswell, Willaston, 1900.2-1902.1903.1904. Lakewood 1906.1907. Cowen 2-Goldsborough 1908. Vera, 1911. / 1921.1921.1921. 1921.

2

Lynching

F. D. PATTERSON, PRESIDENT

L. H. FOSTER, JR., TREASURER

Tuskegee Institute

FOUNDED BY BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, 1881

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

December 29, 1948

Please do not release
until December 31, 1948

Dear Sir:

I send you the following information concerning lynching for the year 1948.

Number of Lynchings. According to the records compiled in the Department of Records and Research of Tuskegee Institute, I find that 2 persons were lynched during the year. This is 1 more than the number 1 for 1947; 4 less than the number 6 for 1946; 1 more than the number 1 for 1945; and equivalent to the number 2 for 1944.

One of the victims was William H. Turner (alias Wilson Turner), a 26-year-old white farm tenant of Meriwether County, Georgia, charged with stealing cattle from his landlord. He was placed in jail but later released for lack of evidence. Upon leaving the jail, he was chased from Meriwether County into Coweta County by a group of white men, led by the owner of the stolen cattle, seized, beaten and his body burned.

The other victim was Robert Mallard, 37-year-old Negro of near Lyons, Toombs County, Georgia. There was no charge against him. His apparent offense was he had incurred the enmity of his white farm neighbors because of his prosperity. Motoring home late at night accompanied by his wife, baby and two of his wife's young relatives, he was waylaid by a group of white men, who blocked the road and shot him to death.

Borderline Cases. There was 1 borderline case, not included in the total number of lynchings for 1948 for the reason that in one respect only it does not conform to criteria used. This victim was Isiah Nixon, 28-year-old Negro, who insisted on voting in Georgia's Primary election after being advised not to do so. On the evening of the same day he voted, two brothers, white, went to Nixon's home and shot him. He died two days later in a hospital.

Lynchings Prevented. In at least ~~7~~ 6 instances lynchings were prevented by officers of the law. All of these were in the Southern States. A total of ~~19~~ 18 persons, all Negroes, were thus saved from death at the hands of mobs.

Punishment of Lynchers. For participating in the lynching of William H. Turner, 1 person received the death sentence and 3 persons were sentenced to life imprisonment.

Very truly yours,

F. D. Patterson

President

2/1/49 Lynching

LYNCHINGS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

1928-48

DETAILED RECORD (From record compiled by the Assoc. of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching.)

Date	Name	Place	Accusation
Appil 24, 1930	Greene, Allen (Negro)	Walhalla, Oconee County	Attempted Rape
June 21, 1930	Jenkins, Daniel (Negro)	Union, Union County	Rape
July 4, 1933	Dendy, Norris (Negro) (Taken from county jail, shot, and hanged.)	Clinton, Laurens County	Striking white man
Feb. 19, 1933	J eter, George (Negro) (Flogged to death by 4 white men.)	Aiken, Aiken County	Stealing bootleg liquor
Octo9, 1933	Thompson, Benj. (Negro) (Taken from jail, beaten to death by 4 white men.)	Ninety-Six, Greenwood Co.	Arguing with white men
Nov. 17, 1933	Greene, George (Negro) (Shot to death by masked, robed band of more than 10 men.)	Taylors, Greenville Co.	Cause unknown
Feb. 20, 1941	Tisdale, Bruce (Negro) (Beaten by 5 white men and died in hospital 5 days later. 3 of the 5 white men convicted for manslaughter. The case was appealed, and there is no record of time served.)	Andrews, Georgetown Co.	Cause unknown
~~1947~~ Feb. 16, 1947	Earle, Willie (Negro) (All 28 defendents acquitted by Greenville jury although 26 out of the 28 had signed confessions of guilt.)	Greenville, Greenville County	Attempted murder of taxi driver

to be inserted

Total Lynchings, 1928-48: 8

Lynchings in S. C. by Race, 1882-1948 (From 1947 Negro Yearbook*, to which I have added the Willie Earle lynching in Greenville, 1947.)

Whites	Negroes	Total
4	156	160

Lynchings by Region, 1882-1948 (Negro Yearbook, to which I have added the 1 lynching of 1947 and the 2 of 1948, all in the South, as reported by Tuskegee Institute.)

	Whites	Negroes	Total	Per Cent of U. S. Total
Northeastern States	3	8	11	0.2
North Central States....	270	154	424	9.0
Southern States.....	661	3,247	3,908	82.8
Western States.....	358	18	376	8.0
Total, All Regions....	1,292	3,427	4,719	100.0

Negroes lynched in the Southern states account for 68.8% of total U.S. lynchings, 1882-1948.

*Negro Yearbook gets its figures from Dept. of Research + Records, Tuskegee.

22 - Lynching

F. D. PATTERSON, PRESIDENT

L. H. FOSTER, JR., BUSINESS MANAGER

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Southern Regional Council

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

DECEMBER 29, 1949
PLEASE DO NOT RELEASE UNTIL
DECEMBER 31, 1949

DEAR SIR:

I SEND YOU THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION CONCERNING LYNCHING FOR THE YEAR 1949.

NUMBER OF LYNCHINGS. ACCORDING TO RECORDS COMPILED IN THE DEPARTMENT OF RECORDS AND RESEARCH, TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, I FIND THAT 3 PERSONS WERE LYNCHED DURING THE YEAR. THIS IS 1 MORE THAN THE NUMBER 2 FOR 1948; 2 MORE THAN THE NUMBER 1 FOR 1947; 3 LESS THAN THE NUMBER 6 FOR 1946; AND 2 MORE THAN THE NUMBER 1 FOR 1945. THUS, FOR THE 5-YEAR-PERIOD, 1945-1949 INCLUSIVE, 13 LYNCHINGS HAVE BEEN RECORDED.

ONE OF THE VICTIMS WAS CALEB HILL, JR., 28-YEAR-OLD NEGRO CHALK MINE WORKER OF IRWINTON, WILKINSON COUNTY, GEORGIA, CHARGED WITH CREATING A DISTURBANCE AND RESISTING ARREST. LODGED IN JAIL, HE WAS REMOVED BY A GROUP OF MEN, BEATEN AND SHOT TO DEATH.

THE SECOND VICTIM WAS MALCOLM WRIGHT, 45-YEAR-OLD NEGRO TENANT FARMER OF NEAR HOUSTON, CHICKASAW COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI, WHO IS REPORTED TO HAVE "HOGGED THE ROAD" AND OF NOT MOVING HIS WAGON OVER FAST ENOUGH TO PERMIT A GROUP OF WHITE MEN, RIDING IN A MOTOR CAR, TO PASS. HE WAS BEATEN TO DEATH.

THE THIRD VICTIM WAS HOLLIS RILES, 53-YEAR-OLD PROSPEROUS NEGRO LANDOWNER OF NEAR BAINBRIDGE, DECATUR COUNTY, GEORGIA, FOUND DEAD WITH A NUMBER OF BULLET HOLES IN HIS BODY AFTER AN ARGUMENT WITH A GROUP OF WHITE MEN, WHO HAD BEEN FISHING IN HIS POND WITHOUT PERMISSION. IT WAS REPORTED THAT SOMETIME PREVIOUSLY RILES' HOME HAD BEEN RIDDLED WITH BUCKSHOTS FIRED FROM AN AUTOMOBILE.

THE STATES IN WHICH THE LYNCHINGS OCCURRED AND THE NUMBER IN EACH STATE ARE AS FOLLOWS: GEORGIA, 2; MISSISSIPPI, 1.

PUNISHMENT OF LYNCHERS. TWO MEN JAILED IN CONNECTION WITH THE LYNCHING OF CALEB HILL, JR. WERE LATER FREED FOR LACK OF SUFFICIENT EVIDENCE TO BRING THEM TO TRIAL.

LYNCHINGS PREVENTED. IN AT LEAST 14 INSTANCES, LYNCHINGS WERE PREVENTED—4 IN THE NORTH AND 10 IN THE SOUTH. ONE PERSON ESCAPED FROM A GROUP OF MEN BENT ON LYNCHING HIM BY JUMPING INTO A RIVER; IN THE 13 OTHER INSTANCES, OFFICERS OF THE LAW GAVE PROTECTION. A TOTAL OF AT LEAST 17 PERSONS WERE THUS SAVED FROM MOB VIOLENCE. OF THESE, 6 WERE WHITE PERSONS AND 11 WERE NEGROES.

ALTHOUGH THERE ARE THREE CLEAR-CUT CASES OF LYNCHING REPORTED FOR 1949 ACCORDING TO CRITERIA NOW USED, ATTENTION SHOULD BE CALLED TO OTHER KILLINGS WHICH ACCORDING TO ALL INTENT AND PURPOSE WOULD SEEM TO FALL INTO THIS CATEGORY. THESE INCLUDE MURDERS REPORTED AS BEING COMMITTED BY LESS THAN THREE PERSONS; KILLINGS BY SPECIALLY DEPUTIZED POSSES, WHO IN SOME INSTANCES APPEAR TO BE COMPOSED OF IRRESPONSIBLE PERSONS BENT NOT ON UPHOLDING LEGAL INSTITUTIONS BUT ON VENGEANCE; PRISONERS MEETING VIOLENT DEATH IN JAILS AFTER CONFINEMENT; AND OTHER CASES OF POLICE BRUTALITY.

VERY TRULY YOURS,

F. D. Patterson

PRESIDENT

LYNCHINGS, 1942-1951
(Supplement to "Changing Character of Lynching")

Date	Locality	Victim	Charge or Incident
Jan. 25, 1942	Sikeston, Mo.	Cleo Wright, Negro	Attempted criminal assault. Dragged through streets behind auto, body burned.
July 13, 1942	Texarkana, Tex.	Willie Vinson, Negro	Suspected of attempted rape. Dragged behind auto, hanged.
Oct. 12, 1942	Near Paris, Ill.	James E. Person, Negro	"Molesting" people in community. Body riddled with bullets.
Oct. 12, 1942	Quitman, Miss.	Charlie Lang and Ernest Green, 14-year old Negroes	Attempted rape. Hanged
Oct. 17, 1942	Laurel, Miss.	Howard Wash, Negro	Received automatic life sentence when jury failed to agree on punishment on murder charge. Taken from jail and hanged.
Jan. 30, 1943	Newton, Ga.	Robert Hall, Negro	Resisting arrest on charge of theft. Beaten to death.
June 16, 1943	Near Marianna, Fla.	Cellos Harrison, Negro	Killing filling station operator in robbery attempt. Taken from jail, clubbed to death.
Nov. 7, 1943	Near Camp Ellis, Ill.	Pvt. Holley Willis, Negro soldier	Insulting white women over telephone. Shot
Mar. 26, 1944	Liberty, Miss.	Rev. Isaac Simmons, Negro	Was hiring lawyer to safeguard title to a debt free farm through which an oil vein possibly ran. Shot
Nov. 23, 1944	Pikesville, Tenn.	James Scales, Negro	Murder. Taken from jail and shot.
Oct. 12, 1945	Madison, Fla.	Jesse Payne, Negro	Assault with intent to rape. Taken from jail and shot.
July 22, 1946	Lexington, Miss.	Leon McTatie, Negro	Stealing a saddle. Flogged to death.
July 25, 1946	Monroe, Ga.	Roger Malcolm and wife Dorothy Malcolm; George Dorsey and wife Mae Dorsey, Negroes	Roger Malcolm charged with stabbing his employer. Others innocent of any charge, except the fact that one of the women recognized a member of the lynching mob. Shot to death.

Lynchings, 1942-1946

Date	Locality	Victim	Charge & Incident
Aug. 8, 1946	Near Minden, La.	John C. Jones, Negro	Attempting to enter house of a white woman. Tortured and beaten to death.
1947	Greenville, S.C.	Willie Earle, Negro	Stabbing and robbing white taxi driver. Taken from jail, body mutilated with knife and bullet wounds.
1948	Coweta County, Ga.	William H. Turner (alias Wilson Turner) white	Stealing cattle. Body beaten and burned.
1948	Near Lyons, Ga.	Robert Mallard, Negro	His prosperity apparently incurred the enmity of white farm neighbors. Shot.
1949	Irwinton, Ga.	Caleb Hill, Jr., Negro	Creating disturbance, resisting arrest. Taken from jail, beaten and shot.
1949	Near Houston, Miss.	Malcolm Wright, Negro	"Hogging road," not moving his wagon over fast enough to permit white men to pass. Beaten to death.
1949	Near Bainbridge, Ga.	Hollis Riles, Negro	Argued with white men who fished in his pond without permission. Body riddled with bullets.
Feb. 22, 1950	Pell City, Ala.	Charlie Hurst, white	No charges. Mob apparently got the "wrong man." Shot
Aug. 18, 1950	Near Gay, Ga.	Jack Walker (alias Jack Kendall), Negro	Was said to have known too much about illegal whisky traffic. Shot to death.
Mar. 28, 1951	Near Winter Garden, Fla.	Melvin Womack, Negro	Unknown. Beaten and shot on night of Mar. 28, died three days later.

NUMBER OF LYNCHINGS 1938-1945

Year	White	Negro
1938	0	6
1939	1	2
1940	1	4
1941	0	4
1942	0	5
1943	0	3
1944	0	2
1945	0	1

Southern Regional Council
January, 1946

Lynchings in Alabama

Counties:

- Autauga 2.
- Baldwin 4. 8. 19.
- Barbour 11. 11. 14. 22.
- Bibb 10. 9. 33. 33.
- Bullock 7.
- Butler 1. 15. 20.
- Calhoun 0. 9. 10.
- Chambers
- Cherokee
- Chilton
- Choctaw 8. 12. 21.
- Clarke 9. 9. 15. 19.
- Clay
- Clebourne
- Coffee 1. 4.
- Colbert 2. 18. 18
- Conecuh
- Coosa
- Covington 1. 6. 7. 10. 18. 20.
- Crenshaw 23. 40.
- Cullman
- Dale
- Dallas 1. 1. 1. 4. 13.
- Dekalb
- Elmore 0. 0. 12. 15.
- Excambia
- Etowah 4. 6. 12.
- Fayette
- Collier 9. unknown

Map Key:

1 + 2
3 - 4
5 + over

1900 - 1915

~~1 + 2~~
~~3 - 5~~
~~6 + over~~

~~1915 - 1940~~

Lynchings in Alabama---2

Franklin

+ Geneva 0.7.20

Greene

Hale

✓ Henry 20.37.

— Houston 0.8.10.12.

— Jackson 3.

+ Jefferson 1.1.7.8.9.12.12. 23.34.40

Lemar

— Lauderdale 7.

— Lawrence 1.1

— Lee 0.2.

— Limestone 1.

+ Lowndes 14.17.31.19.19.19.20.25

Macon

— Madison 0.4

— Marengo 9.

Marion

Marshall

— Mobile (6.6.) 7.9.10

— Monroe 1.5

— Montgomery 10.(15.15.15).

Morgan

Perry

+ Pickens 7.17.17

Pike

Randolph

— Russell 7.

— St. Clair 10.

— Shelby 1.10

Lynchings in Alabama——3

+ Sumter 12. 16. 30 =

Talladega 7.

Tallapoosa

✓ Tuscaloosa 19. 33.

✓ Walker 21

— Washington 7. 7.

— Wilcox 4. 5. 5.

Wilson

Unknown: Selo Hatchel 0. South Side 1. 2. 2. 4. Taylorsville Bakers
4. 4. 4. Rienzi 6. Bolivar 9. 12. 13. Bartow 15.
15. 20. 20. Collier

12. Lynch parties
14 men killed
1 Lynch party
2 men killed

12

Lynchings in Arkansas--1900- 1915

1915-1940

Counties:

+ Arkansas (13-4) 16 · 16
13/2
+ Ashley 4 · 4 · 8 · 27 · 32
3/2
Baxter

Benton

✓ Boone: 28 ·
//
+ Bradley 3 19 ·
//
Calhoun

Carroll

✓ Chicot 21 ·
//
— Clark 0 · 3
2/
Clay

Cleburne

Cleveland

Columbia

+ Conway 12 · 22 ·
//
✓ Craighead 20
//
Crawford

+ Crittenden 0 · (10 · 10) · 17 · 18 ·
3/2
— Cross 2
2/
Dallas

+ Desha 21 ·
//
✓ Drew 21 ·
//
+ Faulkner 5
//
Franklin

Fulton

+ Garland 6 · 10 · 13 18 · 22 ·
3/2
— Grant 3
//
Greene

+ Hempstead 5 · 9 · 10 · 15 21 · 22 ·
4/2

Lynchings in Arkansas——2

√ Hot Springs 22.
1/1
Howard

Independence

Izard

+ Jackson 5. 14. 18.
2/1
— Jefferson 9. 10.
2/
— Johnson: 1.
1/
+ Lafayette 3. 7. 26.
2/1
Lawrence

+ Lee 0. 5 19.
2/1
— Lincoln 10. 19. 19.
1/2
+ Little River 2. 10. 17.
2/1
Logan

+ Lonoke 15. 17.
1/1
Madison

Marion

+ Miller 6. 17. 22.
1/2
+ Mississippi 1. 3. 21. 26.
2/2
— Monroe 2-15.
2/
Montgomery

+ Nevada 1. 16.
1/1
Newton 19.
0/1
+ Ouachita 2 25
1/1
Perry

√ Phillips 19. 19. 19. 19. 21. 27.
0/6
Pike

√ Poinsett 36.
0/1
+ Polk: 1. 16.
1/1
+ Pope 12.
1/0
— Prairie 9.
1/0

Lynchings in Arkansas---3

+ Pulaski 6·13·27·
2/1
— Randolph: 1·
1/0
+ St. Francis 2·11·15·19·
3/1
Salina

Scott

Searcy

Sebastian

Sevier

Sharp

Stone

+ Union 10·19·23·
1/2
Van Buren

Washington

— White 0·0 ·0
3/0
— Woodruff 7·11
2/0
Yell

Unknown: 1902· 3·3 ·1905· Elmath, Pillor 6·6· 10·10
1912·

7 Lynch parties
9 men killed

1900-1915 / 1916-1940

Lynchings in Florida

Counties

+ Alachua 2·2·4·8·15 16·16·16·16·16·16·23·26·
5/8
√ Baker 20·20·20·20·
0/2
+ Bay 8·8 39·
2/1
— Bradford 3·21
1/1
— Brevard 26·
0/26
Broward 35· off map
0/1
+ Calhoun 13 31·31·
1/2
Charlotte

— Citrus 6·6·
2/0
Clay

Collier

+ Columbia: 0·19·29· 11·11·11·11·11·11·
7/2
Dade 18·20·23·
0/3
+ DeSoto 9·9 17
2/1
Dixie

+ Duval 9 19·19·23·23·
1/4
— Escambia 2·3·8·9·10
5/0
Flagler

Franklin

√ Gadsden 29·
0/1
Gilchrist

Glades

Gulf

+ Hamilton: 0 24·32·
1/2
√ Hardee 21
0/1
Hendry

+ Hernando 0 26·29·29·
1/3
Highlands

+ Hillsborough 3 10·10·10·10·10·10· 12· 30·34·35·
7/3
— Holmes 10·10·10·10·10·10·
6/0

Lynchings in Florida---2

√ Indian River 26.26.
0/2

— Jackson 0.0.5.10.10.11.34.43.
6/1

Jefferson

+ Lafayette 10.12.22
0/1

√ Lake 24.24.
0/2

√ Lee 24.24.28
0/3

+ Leon 9 37.
1/1

+ Levy 4 23.23.23.23.
1/4

Liberty

+ Madison 1.1.3.6.8.19.21.36.45
5/3

— Mantee 3.12
2/0

+ Marion 1.12.12.15.15.16.21.25
5/3

Martin

√ Monroe 21
0/1

Nassau

Okaloosa

Okeechobee

√ Orange 20.22.25
0/3

— Osceola .15
1/0

√ Palm Beach 23.26.
0/2

+ Pasco 1.1.2
3/0

+ Pinellas 14.28.
1/1

+ Polk: 0.1.3.3.4.6.9.9.10.13.14.3.20.21
12/2

Putnam

St. Johns

St. Lucie

+ Santa Rosa 13.19.22.37
1/3

Sarasota

√ Seminole 25
0/1

— Sumter: 0
1/0

Lynching in Florida——3

Suwannee: 0.18
1/1

Taylor 4.8.8.9.22.22.38.
4/3

Union

Volusia 39.
0/1

Wakulla

Walton

Washington: 1.16.
1/1

Unknown: 1906.1906. 1908. 1910. Yellow River 1913. Gordonville 1914.
6/0

Lynchings in Kentucky

Adair

Allen

Anderson

Ballard 1. 1. 1. 3. 15.

Barren

Bath

Bell

Boone

Bourbon 9. 20.

Boyd

Boyle

Bracken 13.

Breathitt 29.

Brekinridge 2. 2.

Bullitt 4.

Butler

Caldwell 15. 32.

Calloway

Campbell

Carlisle

Carroll

Carter

Casey

Christian 9.

Clark

Clay

Clinton

Crittenden

Cumberland

Daviess

Lynchings in Kentucky—— 2

Edmonson

Elliott

Estill

Fayette

Fleming

Floyd 24.

Franklin 9.

Fulton 2. 2. 4. 15. 18.

Gallatin

Garrard

Grant 0.

Graves 15.

Grayson 13.

Green

Greenup

Hancock 5.

Hardin 2.

Harlan

Harrison

Hart

Henderson 15.

Henry

Hickman

Hipkins

Jackson

Jefferson

Jessamine 2.

Johnson

Kenton

Knott

Knox

Lynchings in Kentucky---3

Larue 1.

Laurel

Lawrence

Lee

Leslie

Letcher 2 7.

Lewis

Lincoln

Livingston

Logan 8. 8.

Lyon

Madison

Magoffin

Marion

Marshal

Martin

Mason 3. 17.

McCracken 16. 16.

McCreary

McLean 1.

Meade 2.

Menifee

Mercer

Metcalf

Monroe

Mongomery

Morgan

Muhlenberg

Nelson

Lynchings in Kentucky---4

Unknown: Spysfield 2. 4.
Maple Grove 7. Goff 10.

Nicholas

Ohio

Oldham

Oqwn

Owsley

Pendleton

Perry 34.

Pike

Powell

Pulaski

Robertson

Rockcastle

Rowan Russell

Scott

Shelby 1. 1. 11. 11. 11.

Simpson 8. 8. 8. 8

Spenser 5.

Taylor

Todd 4. 5. 26.

Trigg 6. 9.

Trimble

Union

Warren

Washington

Wayne 8.

Webster 8.

Whitley

Wolf 11. 11. 11. 11.

Woodford 20.

Lynchings in Louisiana

— Arcadia 1.

Allen

Asdension

√ Assumption 33.

+ Avoyelles 7. 15. 16.

Bauregard

+ Bienville 6. 7. 33

+ Bossier 1 1. 1. 3. 3. 7 12. 12. 12 18. 19. 22. 22. 25.

+ Caddo 1. 1. 1. 3. 6. 8. 9. 12. 13. 13. 13. 14. 14. 14. 14. 17. 19. 23. 34.

+ Calcasieu 1. 27.

√ Caldwell 18. 21.

Cameron

— Catahoula 8.

+ Claiborne 2. 5. 8. 11. 21. 24. 33.

— Concordia 2 3. 3.

— DeSoto 12

— East Baton Rouge 0. 12.

East Carroll

— East Feliciana 1. 6. 7

Evangeline

+ Franklin 11. 21. 22. 32. 35.

Grant

— Iberia 2. 8

+ Iberville 3. 6. 35.

— Jackson 5.

√ Jefferson 35.

— Jefferson Davis 1. 13.

— Lafayette 6.

Lafourche

LaSalle

√ Lincoln 38.

Lynchings in Louisiana--2

Livingston 0.10.

Madison 6.

Morehouse 2.7.9.18.19.34.

Natchitoches 2.

Orleans 0.0.0.0.0.0.0.0

Ouachita 6.7.7.9.10.13.14.14.14.14.18.18.19.

Plaquemines 31.

Pointe Coupee 5.

Rapides 0.0.3.4.7.7.7.28.28.

Red River 0.6.15.19.

Richland 1.9.9.10.10.11.12.18.18.18.18.

Sabine

St. Bernard

St. Charles 3.

St. Helena 9.

St. James

St. John the Babtist 17.

St. Landry 1.11.16.33.

St. Martin

St. Mary

St. Tammany 14.

Tangipahoa 0.0.0.0.5.17.17.17

Tensas

Terrebonne

Union

Vermilion

Vernon

Washington 19.

Webster 1.

West Baton Rouge 0.21.

Lynchings in Louisiana---3

— West Carroll 2. 8. 9. 9.

— West Feliciana 4.

— Winn 2. 2. 14.

Unknown 1. Ballstown 2. 3. Millview 3. 8. Grand Prairie 9. G.P. 9. Slabtown 9. 12.
Campville 13. Sylvester 14. Syl. 14. Fawndale 18.
Humphreys 18. 21.

Lynchings in Mississippi

Adams

+ Alcorn 0. 2. 3. 20. 20.

+ Amite 0. 0. 2. 4. 44.

Attala

✓ Benton 33. 34. 34.

+ Bolivar 1. 3. 4. 4. 5. 5. 13. 30. 34. 34.

Calhoun

+ Carroll 1. 1. 1. 1. 7. 35.

— Chickasaw 4. 7. 9. 13.

Choctaw

Claiborne

✓ Clarke 18. 18. 18. 18. 20. 20. 42.

+ Clay 15. 16.

+ Coahoma 0. 2. 5. 8. 8. 15. 15. 19. 24. 25.

+ Copiah 8. 16. 22.

Covington

+ De Soto 0. 5. 7. 8. 14. 14. 14. 19. 25. 35.

+ Forrest 3. 5. 5. 21. 24. 28.

Franklin

— George 6.

✓ Greene 27.

Grenada

Hancock

+ Harrison 0. 0. 3. 4. 8. 20.

+ Hinds 0. 1. 1. 6. 12. 30. 34.

+ Holmes 10. 19. 23. 25.

Humphreys

Lynchings in Mississippi--2

Issaquena 0.0.3.4.6.

Itawamba

Jackson 1.1.8.8.8.

Jasper

Jefferson 13.13.

Jefferson Davis 6.

Jones 2.6.19.42

Kemper 6.9.9.9.9.12.15.24.30.30.

Lafayette 8.35.

Lamar 20.

Lauderdale 5.10.11.21.21.

Lawrence

Leake 2.

Lee 6.

Leflore 7.8.9.16.23.25.25.33.

Lincoln 3.8.8.28.28.

Lowndes 6.15.22.31.33.35.35.

Madison 21.21.38.39.

Marion 17.17.19.

Marshall 14.14.35.

Monroe 14.15.22.

Montgomery 37.

Neshoba 1.

Newton 8.8.8.11.

Noxubee 1.1.12.15.27.27.27.29.

Oktibbeha 12.12.

Panola 23.

Pearl River 9.18.21.25.

Perry 0.1.19.23.

Pike 2.2.21.28.

Lynchings in Mississippi---3 Ozark: 4.4.4.

√Pontotoc 22.22

Prentiss

+ Quitman 2.7.13.13.19.22.

+ Rankin 5. 21.21.21.34.

Scott

√Sharkey 38.

— Simpson 6.10.

— Smith 3.3.3.3.3.

+ Stone 7.19.35.38.

— Sunflower 3.4.4.4.4.13.13.28.31.

— Tallahatchie 0.0.0.5.5.5.

Tate

Tippah

Tishomingo

+ Tunica 0.0.0.0.0.1.7.7.7.8.8.23.

√Union 25.

√Walthall 20.20.25.

+ Warren 0.3.7.15.19.21.30.

— Washington 1.1.1.3.5.9.12.14.

√Wayne 23.

— Webster 4.

— Wilkinson 3.3.5.5.6.

+ Windston 13.15.27.27.33.

√Yalobusha 21.25.

+ Yazoo 7.7.7.8.21.22.23.25.27

Unknown: 0. Cuckhusha 1. Griffith 2. Cross Roads 3. Stouts Crossing. 4. 9. Mustadon 10. Armory 10.

Lynchings in North Carolina---1

√Alamanance 20

Alexander

Alleghany

Lynchings in North Carolina---2

— Anson 1. 6.

Weh4Avery

— Baufort 2.

√ Bertie 18.

Bladen

Brunswick

— Bucombe 6.

Burke

Cabarrus

Caldwell

Camden

Carteret

— Caswell 10.

Catawba

√ Chatham 21.

Cherokee

Chowan

Clay

Cleveland

Columbus

— Craven 5.

Cumberland

Currituck

Dare

Davidson

Davie

Duplin

Durham

√ Edgecombe 30.

Forsyth

Lynchings in North Carolina---3

√ Franklin 19. 19. 35

Gaston

Gates

Graham

Granville

Greene

Guiford

Halifax

Harnett

— Haywood 0.

Henderson

Hertford

Hoke

Hyde

Iredell

Jackson

— Johnston 8.

Jones

Lee

√ Lenoir 16. 21.

Lincoln

McDowell

Macon

Madison

Martin

— Mecklenburg 3. 10. 13.

Mitchell

Montgomery

— Moore 0. 12.

Nash

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LYNCHINGS IN NORTH CAROLINA---4

NEW HANOVER

— NORTHHAMPTON 4.

✓ ONSLOW 19. 19.

ORANGE

PAMLICO

PASQUOTANK

✓ PENDER 33.

PERQUIMANS

✓ PERSON 20.

PITT

POLK

RANDOLPH

RICHMOND

ROBESON

ROCKINGHAM

— ROWAN 2. 6. 6.

— RUTHERFORD 0.

SAMPSON

SCOTLAND

STANLY

STOKES

SURRY

SWAIN

TRANSYLVANIA

TYRRELL

UNION

VANCE

+ WAKE 14. 18.

✓ WARREN 21. 21.

WASHINGTON

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Lynchings in Oklahoma

Counties:

Bryan: 1907

Caddo: 1913

Carter: 1913, 1913

Cleveland: 1915

Comanche: 1916

Creek: 1910, 1911

Grady: 1906, 1930

Grant: 1901

Hughes: 1917, 1920

Latimer: 1909

McClain: 1911, 1914

McCurtain: 1916

McIntosh: 1914, 1923

Marshal: 1918

Muskogee: 1907

Nowata: 1916, 1916

Okfuskee: 1910, 1911, 1911

Oklahoma: 1906, 1920, 1922

Pontotoc: 1909, 1909, 1909, 1909

Pottowatami: 1915

Seminole: 1913

Sequoyah: 1912

Tulsa: 1920

Wagoner: 1914, 1915

Unknown: 1901, 1911

LYNCHINGS IN NORTH CAROLINA---5

WATAUGA

+ WAYNE 2. 16. 20.

WILKES

WILSON

YADKIN

YANCEY

LYNCHINGS IN SOUTH CAROLINA---1 Unknown: Basket Mills 0. Rose Station 3. Mont Willing 6.

+ ABBEVILLE 5. 16. 19.

+ AIKEN 3. 21. 31. 26. 26. 26. 33.

✓ ALLENDALE 21.

+ ANDERSON 1. 18.

— BAMBERG 12. 12. 12.

+ BRANWELL 1. 5. 5. 18.

— BAUFORT 1.

BERKELEY

CALHOUN

— CHARLESTON 2.

— CHEROKEE 12. 12.

CHESTER

— CHESTERFIELD 3. 4.

— CLARENDON 13.

COLLETON

DARLINGTON

DILLON

— DORCHESTER 4.

— EDGEFIELD 7.

— FAIRFIELD 15.

— FLORENCE 4. 9. 14.

GEORGETOWN

+ GREENVILLE 3. 11. 33. 47.

LYNCHINGS IN SOUTH CAROLINA----2

GREENWOOD 2.2.6.33.

HAMPTON 1.8.14.

HORRY

JASPER

KERSHAW 4.

LANCASTER

LAURENS 4.13.20.33.

LEE

LEXINGTON 9.21.

MCCORMICK 21.

MARION 7.

MARLBORO

NEWBERRY 6.10.12.

OCONEE 30.

ORANGEBURG 3.3.9.12.14.24.

PICKENS

RICHLAND

SALUDA

SPARTANBURG

SUMTER 14.

UNION 0.1.6.30

WILLIAMSBURG 22.

YORK 17.

LYNCHINGS IN TENNESSEE----1

ANDERSON

BEDFORD 12.12.12.

BENTON 22.22.

BLEDSOE 44.

BLOUNT

BRADLEY

CAMPBELL 3.

LYNCHINGS IN TENNESSEE----2

CANNON

CARROLL 11

CARTER

CHEATHAM

CHESTER

CLAIBORNE

CLAY

COCKE

COFFEE 5. 34.

CROCKETT 29.

CUMBERLAND

DAVIDSON 24. 35.

DECATUR

DEKALB 11

DICKSON

DYER 1 2. 2. 13. 17.

FAYETTE 15.

FENTRESS

FRANKLIN 1 18. 18.

GIBSON 19.

GILES 8.

GRAINGER

GREENE

GRUNDY

HAMBLEN

HAMILTON 6.

HANCOCK

HARDEMAN 8.

HARDIN

HAWKINS

LYNCHINGS IN TENNESSEE - 3

+ HAYWOOD 4. 40

✓ HENDERSON 18.

HENRY

HICKMAN

HOUSTON

HUMPHREYS

JACKSON

JEFFERSON

JOHNSON

KNOX

— LAKE 0. 1. 7. 8. 8. 8. 10. 10.

+ LAUDERDALE 0. 0. 0. 0. 3. 4. 6. 17.

LAWRENCE

✓ LEWIS 16. 16.

LINCOLN

LOUDON

MCMINN

MCNAIRY

— MACON 11.

MADISON

— MARION 0.

— MARSHALL 1. 1. 1. 1. 2 3. 3.

✓ MAURY 27. 33

— MEIGS 2.

MONROE

— MONTGOMERY 14.

— MOORE 2. 3.

— MORGAN 8.

✓ OBION 31.

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LYNCHINGS IN TENNESSEE---4

Unknown: Walnut Log 8.8.

[redacted]

PERRY

PICKETT

POLK

PUTNAM

RHEA

ROANE

— ROBERTSON 1.12.

— RUTHERFORD 8.

✓ SCOTT 21. 33.33.

SEQUATCHIE

SEVIER

+ SHELBY 5.11.12.17.27.

— SMITH 1.

✓ STEWARD 26.

SULLIVAN

— SUMNER 11.

✓ TIPTON 37.

TROUSDALE

UNICOI

✓ UNION 18.

VAN BUREN

WARREN

WASHINGTON

— WAYNE 11.

— WEAKLEY 15.

WHITE

— WILLIAMSON 0.

✓ WILSON 16.

LYNCHINGS IN TEXAS----1

ANDERSON

ANGELINA

AUSTIN

BASTROP 5.
Baylor: 16
BELL 10.17.

BEXAR

✓ BOWIE 16.22.40

✓ BRAZORIA 3.3.9.14. (20.20.20.20) 20.22.

✓ BRAZOS 22.23.30.

BURLESON

CALDWELL 2.2.4.5.

CALHOUN
Cameron: 15.16.22
✓ CAMP 21.

— CASS 8.

CHAMBERS

— CHEROKEE 3.10.

— COLLIN 11.

COLLINGSWORTH

✓ COLORADO 2.4.4.35

— COOKE 1.

COTTLE

— DALLAS 10.

DELTA

✓ DENTON (22.22)

DEWITT
Eastland 29
— ELLIS 5.

— FALLS 6.9.

✓ FANNIN 30.

✓ FAYETTE 23.

LYNCHINGS IN TEXAS----2

✓ FORT BEND 18.

FRANKLIN

✓ FREESTONE 22. 22. 22. 22 22.

✓ GALVESTON 17.

GOLIAD 5. 7.

GONZALES

✓ GRAYSON 30.

+ GREGG 2. 8. 19. 21. 23. 23.

+ GRIMES 8. 14. 17. 22.

GUADALUPE

✓ HARDIN 21. 33.

+ HARRIS 8. 17. 19. 26. 26. 26 28.

+ HARRISON 3 9. 9. 9. 9. 11. 12. 12. 17.

HAYS

HENDERSON

Hidalgo- 19.

✓ HILL 15. 15. 15. 15. 15. 15. 22

— HOPKINS 5. 5. 15.

✓ HOUSTON 24. 32

HUNT

JACKSON

JASPER

— JEFFERSON 0. 3. 8. 10.

JOHNSON

Karnes: 1.

KAUFMAN 3.

KING

KINNEY

+ LAMAR 1. 1. 13. 20. 20.

— LAVACA 15.

LEE

— LEON 6. 7. 10.

LYNCHINGS IN TEXAS----3

LIBERTY

LIMESTONE 6. 18. 21.

McLENNAN 5. 9. 16. 21. 22.

MADISON

MARION 0. 0. 0. 14.

MATAGORDA 16.

MILAN 7. 11.

MITCHELL

MONTGOMERY 8. 8. 8. 22. 22. 27.

MORRIS 8.

MOTLEY

NACOGDOCHES

NAVARRO 1. 10. 16.

NEWTON 13. 22. 34

NUECES 23.

ORANGE 17.

PANOLA 3. 33.

POLK 6.

RAINS

RED RIVER 5. 11. 13. 16.
Reeves: 6.

REFUGIO

ROBERTSON 13. 14. 29. 29.

ROCKWELL 9.
Runnels: 21

RUSK 5. 5.

SABINE 8. 8. 8. 8. 8. 8. 8.

SAN AUGUSTINE

SAN JACINTO

SHELBY 20. 28.

SMITH 12.

LYNCHINGS IN TEXAS----4

TARRANT 20. 21.
Terrell: 16
TITUS

TRAVIS

✓TRINITY 26.

+ TYLER 1. 9. 18. 20.

+ UPSHUR 5. 16. 19.
Val Verde .7
VAN ZANDT

VICTORIA

+ WALKER 5. 18. 18. 18. 18. 18. 18.

— WALLER 2. 2. 2. 8. 16.

WASHINGTON

WHARTON

WICHITA

WILBARGER
Willacy: 26.
WILLIAMSON

+ WOOD 1.

Unknown: Harrison: 5 Negroes 1901
San Bonito & Edenburg - 6 Mexicans 1915

✓Runnels 21.

✓~~Willacy 26.~~
~~Eastland 29.~~

~~Brazoria 16.~~

✓~~Terrell 16.~~

Lynchings in Virginia

Counties:

Albermarle: 1910

Amherst: 1902

Brunswick: 1901, 1921

Culpeper: 1918

Fauquier: 1932

Greensville: 1900, 1900

Halifax: 1901, 1905

Henrico: 1912

Laudown: 1902

Nelson: 1900, 1904

Northumberland: 1917

Shenandoah: 1902

Southampton: 1900

Sussex: 1904, 1925

Tasewell: 1900

Warwick: 1902

Wise: 1920, 1927

Wythe: 1900, 1926

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Lynching

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Tuskegee Institute

FOUNDED BY BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, 1881

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

RECEIVED
DEC 29 1952
Southern Regional Council

December 31, 1952

Please do not release until December 31, 1952

Dear Sir:

Continuously since 1913, Tuskegee Institute has issued an annual report to the nation on the subject of lynching, thus spotlighting public attention on this national problem. For the period, 1913-1952, our records show 896 cases of lynching, broken down by decades as follows:

Lynchings By Decades 1913-1952

Years	Number	Percent
1913-1922	597	66.6
1923-1932	175	19.5
1933-1942	103	11.5
1943-1952	21	2.3
Total	896	100.0

Tuskegee Institute has no lynchings, as such, to report for 1952, according to criteria used in our Department of Records and Research. This is the first time such a report has been made in the 70 years of lynching record keeping, 1882-1952. The 5 years, 1948-1952, show a total of 8 cases.

One case of "Lynchings Prevented" was listed. From Columbia, South Carolina came the report that in March of this year the relatives of a 16-year-old Negro school girl had to talk fast to keep about 50 men from storming the county jail and lynching William Felder, about 28, who allegedly shot the young student to death, after a rape attempt. We find that even where officers of the law have been brave enough to thwart mob action, in some cases they prefer not to make this fact known. The term "lynching" is becoming more and more unpopular.

However, in this our 40th annual report, it appears important to the welfare of the country to state that while lynching as one form of extra-legal punishment seems to be steadily declining, other rather similar forms of violence and lawlessness have not declined. Indeed, there appears to be too many cases of unnecessary brutality and killings by officers of the law of persons suspected or guilty of crimes; and a resurgence of the mob spirit as expressed in beatings, floggings, incendiarism, bombing and the like.

In a report as brief as this, it is not possible to present data on all of these patterns of violence, but we think it pertinent to focus attention upon at least one of them, the use of the bomb.

BOMBINGS AND ATTEMPTED BOMBINGS. During the past few years, these activities have been directed against homes, schools, religious and other community institutions. As they relate to Negroes, bombing of homes and other property has taken place mainly where members of the race have moved or attempted to move into what were considered white neighborhoods. In a few cases, bombing has occurred where Negro leaders were thought to be too active in improving the status of their people.

In regard to religion, Jewish religious and welfare institutions and at least one Catholic church have been the targets. Homes and property of other whites, who in one way or another had incurred the enmity of the bombers, have not been exempt from blasts.

The potential for destruction of life and property by this form of violence is incalculable. To-date, two lives have been snuffed out--that of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore of Mims, Florida on December 25, 1951. Occupants of other bombed homes have been more fortunate and no fatalities have been reported from houses of religious worship. Only chance has kept human casualties low, although property destruction has been high.

Bombing is confined to no section of the country. Recently, it has become more prevalent in the South. While the data presented below are not intended to be a complete coverage of all cases of bombing (those connected with strikes and other labor disputes are not included here) they are indicative of the big task of education in human relations still to be accomplished in our democracy.

For the 4 years, 1949-1952, at least 68 instances of bombing or attempted bombing were recorded, connected in the main with racial and religious tensions: 49 of these were directed against Negroes; 10 against whites and public institutions; at least 8 against Jewish synagogues, schools and community centers and 1 against a Catholic church.

Bombings have happened in the following places: ALABAMA--Birmingham, Crossville, Cottonwood, Dothan, Phenix City; CALIFORNIA--Los Angeles; FLORIDA--Bartow, Jacksonville, Orlando, Miami, Mims; GEORGIA--Atlanta, Bainbridge, Rome; LOUISIANA--New Orleans; MISSOURI--Kansas City; ILLINOIS--Cairo, Chicago; OHIO--Warren; NORTH CAROLINA--Charlotte, Oxford; PENNSYLVANIA--Philadelphia; TENNESSEE--Chattanooga, Nashville; TEXAS--Dallas; VIRGINIA--Ashland, Norfolk.

This makes a total of 13 states and 27 cities and towns.

Very truly yours,

W. W. Patterson

President

g

F. D. PATTERSON, PRESIDENT

L. H. FOSTER, JR., BUSINESS MANAGER

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Tuskegee Institute

FOUNDED BY BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, 1881

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DEC 28 1950

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

December 31, 1950

Dear Sir:

I send you the following information concerning lynching for the year 1950.

NUMBER OF LYNCHINGS. According to records compiled in the Department of Records and Research, Tuskegee Institute, I find that 2 persons were lynched during this year. Recorded lynchings for the past 5 years were:

1950.....2
1949.....3
1948.....2
1947.....1
1946..... ..6

Total.....14

One of the victims was Charlie Hurst, white, 39-year-old rolling store operator of Pell City, St. Clair County, Alabama. He was mortally wounded on February 22 in his front yard by a group of unmasked men. They had come to his home at bedtime and tried to force him into their car. His 19-year-old son, who came to his father's assistance, was also wounded. Hurst had previously told his son that "it looks like the Kluxers are after me." There were no charges against the victim. It seems that the mob got the "wrong man."

The other victim was Jack Walker, alias Jack Kendall, also known as Clinton Walker, a 40-year-old Negro laborer of near Gay Meriwether County, Georgia. His body was found on August 18 in a creek near the Flint River by a group of fishermen. He had been shot to death by three men for whom he worked. Walker is said to have known too much about illegal whiskey traffic.

(See next page)

LEGAL PUNISHMENT FOR LYNCHING. During the week of March 16, Greenville County, South Carolina paid to the estate of Willie Earle, lynched in that county in 1947, the minimum sum of $2,000 as compensation under a South Carolina law providing for such payment.

On April 4, in the Calhoun County, Mississippi, Circuit Court, James Moore, age 20, white, was found not guilty in the slaying of Malcolm Wright, Negro, near Houston, Chickasaw County, Mississippi on July 2, 1949. Moore claimed self-defense. Wright was a well respected tenant farmer in that area.

On June 28, in the St. Clair County, Alabama Circuit Court, Charlie Carlisle, Jr., 24 years old, white, was sentenced to five years in prison for his part in the slaying of Charlie Hurst of Pell City, Alabama on February 22, 1950. He was later released on a $3,000 appeal bond. Three other men indicted for the same crime were released on a $5,000 bond. Another person was tried and cleared.

On September 7, in the Meriwether County, Georgia Supreme Court, Warner Hannah and Jack Dunn drew life sentences and Herbert Dunn was given three to five years in prison for the slaying of Jack Walker, alias Jack Kendall, also known as Clinton Walker, Negro, of near Gay, Meriwether County, Georgia on August 18, 1950. The three men, all white, had entered pleas of guilty.

On November 3, John Wallace, white, was electrocuted for the slaying of William (alias Wilson) Turner, a 26-year-old white tenant farmer of Meriwether County, Georgia in 1948. Three other men are serving life sentences for their part in the crime.

LYNCHINGS PREVENTED. Lynchings were prevented in at least 7 instances--6 in the South and 1 in the North. Of the persons saved from mobs, 3 were white and 4 were Negroes.

Very truly yours,

F. D. Patterson

President

PLEASE DO NOT RELEASE UNTIL
DECEMBER 31, 1950

Lynching

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

December 31, 1951

Please do not release
until December 31, 1951

Dear Sir:

I send you the following information on lynching for the year 1951.

NUMBER OF LYNCHINGS. According to records compiled in the Department of Records and Research, Tuskegee Institute, I find that one lynching was recorded for the year. Lynchings for the past five years follow:

1951	1
1950	2
1949	3
1948	2
1947	1
Total	9

The 1951 victim was Melvin Womack, 26-year-old Negro of Winter Garden, Orange County, Florida. He died on March 31 in an Orlando hospital of wounds received after being forced by masked men from his home. The day following his seizure, he was found in an orange grove by an officer of the law. Taken to the hospital, he died two days later. Reports state he did not know his assailants or why he had been kidnapped. It is thought the night riders lynched the wrong man.

THE GROVELAND, FLORIDA CASE. Though technically not considered a lynching, this release feels called upon to direct attention to the November 6 slaying of Samuel Shepherd and the critical wounding of Walter Lee Irvin, Negroes, by an officer of the law near Umatilla, Florida. Handcuffed together, they were being removed from the Raiford State Prison to Tavares, Florida for a new trial that had been granted them by the United States Supreme Court.

The two victims, accused with two others in July, 1949 of raping a 17-year-old white girl, had been sentenced to death. The third, a 16-year-old boy, was given life imprisonment. The fourth youth was shot to death shortly after the alleged crime by a posse.

Reversing the decision of the State court, the United States Supreme Court ordered a new trial on the basis that "this trial took place under conditions and was accompanied by events which would deny defendants a fair trial before any kind of jury."

The officer of the law is reported to have said the "prisoners 'jumped'him' when he stopped to repair a flat tire" on a lonely

road. The surviving victim reported that both he and the dead prisoner were shot without provocation. The sheriff concerned was absolved from all blame by a Coroner's jury. This is a glaring instance where an officer of the law seems unnecessarily to have killed a prisoner and wounded another with whose care he was entrusted.

LYNCHINGS PREVENTED. Lynchings were prevented in at least three instances: On June 21, near Brundidge, Alabama, Forrest Jones, 35-year-old Negro farmer, saved himself from a mob by fleeing. A rumor had been spread that he had "kidnapped a white woman." The truth of the matter was he had been given a ride to town by the young farm mother, who, on the way, had an automobile accident in which her baby was injured. Out of gratitude for the ride, Jones had carried the bleeding baby to a doctor's office. Upon arriving home, he found the mob awaiting him. As he fled, he was shot in the hand. Shortly thereafter, the sheriff took Jones into custody and the mother verified Jones' story of what had actually happened.

On September 2, at Colonial Beach, Virginia, a town policeman, Charles White and a special officer were saved by other officers of the law from a mob approximating 500 persons who became incensed over the alleged mistreatment of a prisoner. The officer had been called to quell a disturbance at a restaurant.

On November 22, near Washington, North Carolina, Lafayette Miller, 21-year-old Negro on parole, was removed from the jail at Greenville to an eastern North Carolina prison because "he probably would have been lynched." He was charged with killing a young white farmer and abducting the victim's wife in the trunk of the stolen automobile.

SIGNIFICANT LEGISLATION PROPOSED. Two states in 1951 proposed anti-lynching bills of significance. In South Carolina, a House of Representatives majority passed an anti-lynching bill, after a decisive second reading, on a 51-34 vote. The bill would give punishment of death for "first degree" lynching; that is, where mob action resulted in the victim's death. Recommendation of mercy by a jury would mean 5 to 40 years imprisonment. The bill also takes cognizance of non-fatal mob action or "second degree" lynching. Punishment under this charge would result in imprisonment from 3 to 20 years. Thus intention to lynch would be penalized.

The Florida Legislature also proposed an anti-lynching bill somewhat similar to the South Carolina proposal, also giving death as the maximum punishment for "first degree lynching," each participant in the lynching being equally guilty. Minimum penalty for the crime would be 5 years' imprisonment. "Second degree lynching" could be punished by a maximum of 10 years imprisonment.

Very truly yours,

H. W. Matthews

PRESIDENT

Lynching

F. D. PATTERSON, PRESIDENT

L. H. FOSTER, JR., BUSINESS MANAGER

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December 31, 1952

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Dear Sir:

Continuously since 1913, Tuskegee Institute has issued an annual report to the nation on the subject of lynching, thus spotlighting public attention on this national problem. For the period, 1913-1952, our records show 896 cases of lynching, broken down by decades as follows:

Lynchings By Decades 1913-1952

Years	Number	Percent
1913-1922	597	66.6
1923-1932	175	19.5
1933-1942	103	11.5
1943-1952	21	2.3
Total	896	100.0

Tuskegee Institute has no lynchings, as such, to report for 1952, according to criteria used in our Department of Records and Research. This is the first time such a report has been made in the 70 years of lynching record keeping, 1882-1952. The 5 years, 1948-1952, show a total of 8 cases.

One case of "Lynchings Prevented" was listed. From Columbia, South Carolina came the report that in March of this year the relatives of a 16-year-old Negro school girl had to talk fast to keep about 50 men from storming the county jail and lynching William Felder, about 28, who allegedly shot the young student to death, after a rape attempt. We find that even where officers of the law have been brave enough to thwart mob action, in some cases they prefer not to make this fact known. The term "lynching" is becoming more and more unpopular.

However, in this our 40th annual report, it appears important to the welfare of the country to state that while lynching as one form of extra-legal punishment seems to be steadily declining, other rather similar forms of violence and lawlessness have not declined. Indeed, there appears to be too many cases of unnecessary brutality and killings by officers of the law of persons suspected or guilty of crimes; and a resurgence of the mob spirit as expressed in beatings, floggings, incendiarism, bombing and the like.

In a report as brief as this, it is not possible to present data on all of these patterns of violence, but we think it pertinent to focus attention upon at least one of them, the use of the bomb.

BOMBINGS AND ATTEMPTED BOMBINGS. During the past few years, these activities have been directed against homes, schools, religious and other community institutions. As they relate to Negroes, bombing of homes and other property has taken place mainly where members of the race have moved or attempted to move into what were considered white neighborhoods. In a few cases, bombing has occurred where Negro leaders were thought to be too active in improving the status of their people.

In regard to religion, Jewish religious and welfare institutions and at least one Catholic church have been the targets. Homes and property of other whites, who in one way or another had incurred the enmity of the bombers, have not been exempt from blasts.

The potential for destruction of life and property by this form of violence is incalculable. To-date, two lives have been snuffed out--that of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore of Mims, Florida on December 25, 1951. Occupants of other bombed homes have been more fortunate and no fatalities have been reported from houses of religious worship. Only chance has kept human casualties low, although property destruction has been high.

Bombing is confined to no section of the country. Recently, it has become more prevalent in the South. While the data presented below are not intended to be a complete coverage of all cases of bombing (those connected with strikes and other labor disputes are not included here) they are indicative of the big task of education in human relations still to be accomplished in our democracy.

For the 4 years, 1949-1952, at least 68 instances of bombing or attempted bombing were recorded, connected in the main with racial and religious tensions: 49 of these were directed against Negroes; 10 against whites and public institutions; at least 8 against Jewish synagogues, schools and community centers and 1 against a Catholic church.

Bombings have happened in the following places: ALABAMA--Birmingham, Crossville, Cottonwood, Dothan, Phenix City; CALIFORNIA--Los Angeles; FLORIDA--Bartow, Jacksonville, Orlando, Miami, Mims; GEORGIA--Atlanta, Bainbridge, Rome; LOUISIANA--New Orleans; MISSOURI--Kansas City; ILLINOIS--Cairo, Chicago; OHIO--Warren; NORTH CAROLINA--Charlotte, Oxford; PENNSYLVANIA--Philadelphia; TENNESSEE--Chattanooga, Nashville; TEXAS--Dallas; VIRGINIA--Ashland, Norfolk.

This makes a total of 13 states and 27 cities and towns.

Very truly yours,

W. W. Patterson

President

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① HCP ✓
② AH ✓
③ KSV
④ D.T.

December 31, 1953

Dear Sir:

According to criteria used in the Department of Records and Research, Tuskegee Institute, for the second consecutive year, has no lynchings to report. The 5 years, 1949-1953, show a total of 6 lynchings.

Lynchings Prevented. However, in at least 3 instances lynchings were prevented. Reports on these follow:

On January 17, near Mobile, Alabama, Henry Lee Brown, 17 year old Negro, escaped from Sheriff's deputies while being taken to Kilby Prison at Montgomery. Convinced that he was about to be lynched when his handcuffs were removed and the deputies stopped their cars, the prisoner jumped from the car in which he rode and ran into the swamps, while shots were fired at him. He later gave himself up, was tried and acquitted of the charge of slaying a white woman.

In March, near Willcox, Arizona, Arthur Thomas, 29 year old Negro migrant cotton worker, accused of murdering a white woman storekeeper, was saved from lynching by an officer of the law.

On May 24, at New York City, Edward Cartagena, 42 year old Puerto Rican, was rescued from a mob by two umpires of a baseball game and the mounted police. Before several hundred persons watching the game in Central Park, Cartagena stabbed his estranged common-law wife to death. Players and spectators tried to kill him.

New Index to Race Relations to be Issued. Lynching as traditionally defined and as a barometer for measuring the status of race relations in the United States, particularly the South, seems no longer to be a valid index to such relationships. This is due to significant changes in the status of the Negro and to the development of other extra-legal means of control, such as bombings, incendiarism, threats and intimidation, etc.

We believe that a new standard for measuring race relations is needed. This can and should be as objective and as factual as were the lynching reports. This standard, we think, can best

be established in such areas as employment and other economic conditions; in political participation; in education; in law and legislation; in health and perhaps in other fields.

We propose then, in future annual releases, to issue a statement with information as significant for the present times as was the Annual Lynching Letter in the past.

The Department of Records and Research, which has recorded lynchings for the last forty-one years, will continue to do so and will furnish such information to those who may request it.

Very truly yours,

L. H. Foster

L. H. Foster
President

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SOME FACTS ABOUT LYNCHING

How Many Since 1889?

Fairly reliable lynching statistics have been available since 1889. The figures on the number of persons lynched are as follows, 1889-1946 inclusive:

Negroes	3060
Whites	799
Total	3859

Lynching Has Declined

In the fifty-year period, 1889-1938, the nimber of Negroes lynched was 3033, or an average of 61 per year. The number of Whites lynched was 797, or an average of 16 per year. In the past eight years, 1939-1946 inclusive, 27 Negroes and 2 Whites have been lynched.

But It Is Still Here

During the War lynching almost disappeared. In 1943 there were 3 lynchings; in 1944 only 2; in 1945 only 1. But in 1946 there were 6. All the victims were Negroes, and four of them were slain in the Walton County, Georgia, atrocity of July 25. Lynchers have changed their tactics. They operate quietly and, usually, in small groups. It is becoming harder and harder to define "lynching".

Accusations Against Victims

Contrary to popular notions, less than one-fourth of the persons lynched since 1889 were accused of assaults on women. The following figures on accusation will be of interest:

Rape and Attempted Rape	24%
Murder	37%
All others	39%

Keep Informed

For further information, read such books as The Tragedy of Lynching, by Arthur Raper, and the pamphlets distributed by The Southern Regional Council. Keep up with current efforts to strengthen state and federal laws to control lynching, and let your elected representatives know where you stand.

Published by

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Sherman, Texas - May 9, 1930 -

Body burned after death in negro section of town.

5050

Honey Grove, Texas - May 18, 1930 -

Body burned after death in front of negro church.

Jasper, Florida - June 6, 1932 -

Body burned after death by shooting

Bainbridge, Georgia - 1937

Body burned after death

Crisp County, Georgia - 1938

Body saturated with gasoline and burned while still alive but unconscious

Ruston, Louisiana - 1938

Body burned after death

Mississippi - 1938

Body burned after death

Maryville, Missouri - 1931
Chained to roof of schoolhouse alive; schoolhouse burned

Lucas - 1933
Burned after death

Virginia - 1932
Burned after death

Lynching

SECURITY OF THE PERSON IN THE SOUTH

Summary: With the decline of lynching in the South, other forms of extra-legal violence have come to the fore. Mob violence in its traditional aspects has largely been supplanted by acts of murder, brutality and terrorism committed by small groups conspiring secretly, or in some cases, by law enforcement officers themselves. Southern public opinion, however, is showing itself less and less willing to tolerate, much less condone, such acts of violence, whether committed under cover of law or not. The accute need is for modern police systems which will reflect these improved public attitudes in all their operations.

(1) Lynching: The annual report of the Department of Records and Research at Tuskegee Institute listed only one lynching for 1951. There were two in 1950, three in 1949 and two in 1948. In comparison, Tuskegee recorded 64 lynchings in 1921, 61 in 1920 and 83 in 1919.

Lynchings have not only decreased drastically in number in the last thirty years; the pattern of lynching has undergone a transformation. The traditional lynch mob, publicly hunting and torturing its victims, has been replaced by a smaller group that plans and kills quietly. With the technical definition of lynching requiring three or more participants, it becomes increasingly hard to distinguish between bonafide lynchings and "just murders."

Down through the years the number of lynchings per years came to be used as an index of the status of racial tensions. This is no longer the case. With public opinion frowning on old-fashioned lynching violence and law officers taking action against lynching participants, the number of lynchings has declined to the point of near disappearance. But the number

of floggings, shootings in the "course of arrest," police brutality and particularly, bombings, has increased tremendously. The lawlessness of the lynch mob has been diverted to new forms of interracial violence.

(2) Bomb Violence: Since the close of World War II the bomb and the dynamite stick have come to the forefront as instruments of violence. Records of the Southern Office of the Anti-Defamation League--admittedly incomplete--show that 59 bombings have occurred in just six Southern states since Jan., 1950. Many others took place between 1946 and 1950. Yet to date there is no record that any of the terrorists setting off these blasts have been convicted, and only in a few instances have the guilty persons been apprehended.

The great majority of these bombings have been concentrated in Southern cities whe e Negro housing is still pitifully inadequate and Negro families are attempting to buy and build in neighborhoods formerly offupied by whites. Dallas, for example, has had 13 such bombings; Birmingham, 10; Atlanta and Chatanooga several each. Left-over white housing, vacated as more and more families push out toward the suberbs, is generally the only housing available to the urban Negro. But the first sign of Negro occupancy in "white" neighborhoods often results in a period of suspicion and tension, ultimately climaxed by bombing of the Negro's new home.

Recognizing the extent to which the housing shortage in the South is germane to the problem of bomb violence, a conference of Southern human relations agencies, called together by the Southern Regional Council this spring, urged civic-minded individuals and groups to join in the following efforts: (1) Organize local fact-finding committees to survey housing needs; (2) Give minority groups representation on planning bodies; (3) Give support to efforts to develop expansion areas for those inadequately housed; (4) Foster recognition of the fact that Negroes can pay decent prices for

decent housing and that the presence of Negro residents does not in itself destroy "property" values; (5) Urge public officials to provide for public housing and slum clearance; (6) Explore special federal and private credit devices to enable private housing to expand; and (7) Keep informed on municipal housing standards. Also concerned with the present lethargy of law enforcement agencies in bombing cases, the group called for insistence on prompt and impartial police handling of housing tensions.

While most of the Southern bombings have been related to housing pressures, some can be traced to other tensions. Notable exceptions include the Mims, Fla. bombing which resulted in the death of Harry T. Moore and his wife; the series of Miami bombings of synagogues; and the blasting of a Negro polling station in Jacksonville, Fla. in May of this year.

(3) Police Brutality: During the past year hardly any Southern state has been free of incidents involving alleged police brutality. In August a federal court in Macon, Ga. indicted a sheriff, his deputy and a state highway patrolman on charges of jailing and beating a Negro man and woman in violation of their civil rights. About the same time a Roanoke, Va. lawyer filed suit against four members of the Lynchburg police department, charging false arrest, unlawful imprisonment, assault and battery of a 19-year-old Lynchburg youth. Not long after, a 25-man deputized posse killed an excaped Negro prisoner suspected of rape near Chiply, Fla. Nor have Southerners concerned with justice forgotten the shooting of the two suspects in the Groveland, Fla. rape case by Sheriff McCall last November.

Police violence of any sort, but expecially police violence against Negroes is most difficult to prove. The police officer's word usually carries more weight in a courtroom than that of the plain citizen, and witnesses are reluctant to testify against policemen. There are, of course, situations when police officers must use force to protect themselves and

others.

The special difficulties of curbing police violence against Negroes, plus the general indifference of the white community, have produced a rather tolerant attitude toward this form of legalized crime. Eventually the tolerance may backfire. White people in Birmingham, Ala., for example, became victims of an outburst of police brutality toward the end of 1951. Negroes in Birmingham had been protesting police violence since 1948--indeed, Emory O. Jackson, editor of the Birmingham World, reported that 26 Negroes were killed by city police between 1948 and 1951--but not a singlempoliceman had been indicted for unjustifiable homicide.

Improved police training is an obvious need in securing individual safety for the Southern Negro. Training designed to professionalize police forces, to develop in the policeman an attitude of impartiality of the law above personal prejudice, if widespread, would act as a preventative measure for many of the violences against the person being committed at present.

A major step toward modern police training for the South has already been taken. In 1951 the Southern Police Institute of Louisville, Ky. was organized with the aim of raising professional police standards in the region. Serving the states of Arkansas, Alabama, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia and West Virginia, the Institute offers three 12-week courses per year. Curriculum, as described in an Institute prospectus, includes "a broad course covering not only essentials of police science but also embracing law, administration and sociology." There is a special unit entitled "Socio-legal Problems of the Southern Region" which emphasizes the background of racial tensions and the role

of the police in dealing with tensions.

There are also indications that more Southern police departments will provide training in human relati ns as a part of their regular personnel instruction. This year, for instance, the New Orleans police department prepared a handbook for their human relations training program and recently mailed it to police chiefs throughout the South.

A second important influence in the improvement of police practice is the employment of Negro policemen and policeowmen. Regarded as a daring experimant less than 10 years ago, the employment of Negro police is now generally accepted as a practical common sense aid to law enforcement. Latest tabulations show that a total of 571 Negro police are now on forces in 96 Southern cities and 6 counties. In the past two years "Negroes have begun to serve as deputy sheriffs, a further indication of the acceptance and effectiveness of Negro police.

Police chiefs attending the annual convention of the International Association of Police Chiefs in Miami last November were unanimous in their praise of Negro police. Miami Chief Walter Headley spoke for many Southern police departments when he declared, "In the seven years since the first of our Negro officers were sworn in crimes of violence in our Negro communities have been reduced about 50%."

(4) Klan Violence: At the close of World War II the South experienced a revival of the Ku Klux Klan somewhat similar to the revival following the first world war. This time, however, the period of growth and enthusiasm for the Klan was short-lived, with public sentiment turning against the Klan within a couple of years.

The present Klan is broken up into three splinter groups in Georgia, Florida and South Carolina. Most of the Klan activity outside the

Carolinas has been confined to public demonstrations and cross-burnings, with scattered and apparently uncoordinated acts of brutality and terrorism.

The fate of the South Carolina Ku Klux and its leader Tom Hamilton made headlines recently. Most determined of all Klan figures, Hamilton vowed he would build such a powerful organization that law forces would not dare touch him. Successful night-flogging raids in Horry County, S. C., particularly near the Myrtle Beach area in 1949 and 1950, encouraged Hamilton to move across the state line and set up a klavern at Fair Bluff, N. C. He also attempted to organize a Klan unit in Charlotte but met with stiff opposition from local authorities, quick passage of an anti-Klan ordinance and general public indignation.

Hamilton initiated a reign of terror and fear in Columbus County, N. C. on the night of Jan. 18, 1951 with the flogging of a Mrs. Evergreen Flowers, who he said was "running around with white men." Later victims were whites, beaten for supposed offenses ranging from excessive drink to non-payment of debts.

In Feb., 1952 the FBI moved in and, using the Lindbergh kidnapping act, started large-scale prosecution. By August Hamilton and 62 of his followers were sentenced to jail terms ranging upward to six years or payment of fines totaling $16,300. As ring-leader, Hamilton got a jail sentence with a maximum penalty of four years. Sentences covered 158 indictments for crimes of violence against citizens of Columbus County.

Prior to the FBI action Sheriff C. E. Stasser of Horry County, S. C. waged a continuous and unsuccessful battle against the South Carolina Association of Klans.

Southern public opinion has of late been strongly opposed to the Klan and its principles. Proof of this is found in the passage of anti-Klan and anti-mask laws in four Southern states and 52 Southern cities. The

new state laws enacted by Alabama, Florida, Georgia and South Carolina have "teeth," as do the anti-Klan laws put on the statute books in Louisiana, Oklahoma and Texas during the surge of Ku Kluxism in the 1920's. Tennessee still has a weak anti-Klan measure dating back to Reconstruction days and Arkansas, a weak law passed in 1909. Kentucky, North Carolina and Virginia are thus the only Southern states without specific legal devices for stamping out the Klan. Newspapers, church groups and civic organizations have been outspoken against the hooded order and were active in exerting pressure for anti-Klan legislation.

Despite its organizational weakness and loss of prestige, the Klan nevertheless remains influential as a symbol of lawlessness. As such it continues to inspire fear in the hearts of Negroes living within its reach and to bolster violence-minded individuals to take the law into their own hands.

(5) Race and Law Enforcement: The problem of security of the person in the South is therefore largely a problem of acheiving impartial law enforcement, and at the same time strengthening the trend of public sentiment to value individual safety above racial prejudice.

The Southern Regional Council is now in the midst of a southwide effort to get at the core of the problem. In February the Council published a booklet "Race and Law Enforcement: A Guide to Modern Police Practice," designed to familiarize the citizen with modern police standards and with techniques for securing improved police practice in his own community. Copies were distributed to SRC membership and through other human relations agencies in the South with a twofold purpose in mind: to educate public opinion to the need for improved police practice; and to

initiate action programs on the local level.

Currently the Fellowship of the Concerned--an organization of Southern churchwomen headed by Mrs. M. E. Tilly--is in the process of getting churchwomen in each of the Southern counties to visit their sheriff, discuss the police standards outlined in "Race and Law Enforcement" and give the sheriff a copy of the booklet. The Women's Society of Christian Service of the Methodist Church is cooperating with SRC and the Fellowship of the Concerned in this project, and to date 128 sheriffs have been interviewed.

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"Vital

. . . to the stability of a democratic society

is the right of each individual to physical freedom, to security against illegal violence, and to fair, orderly legal process."

(*President's Committee on Civil Rights, October,* 1947)

* * *

The Lynching Situation in the U. S.
Some Churches and Editors Condemn It.
What You Can Do To Help Abolish It.

Lynchings

Lynching and Mob Violence Persist in the United States

At the same time that the Nation celebrated Brotherhood Week, February, 1947, a mob of 35 men dragged Willie Earle, 25, Negro, from the Pickens County Jail, Greenville, South Carolina, and lynched him. In a court trial which followed later in the year, the confessed lynchers were acquitted by an all-white jury.

Mobs sprung up in other sections: At Jackson, North Carolina, a Negro youth outran a shooting posse; In Clinton, North Carolina and Columbia, South Carolina, Negro youths in both places, accused of rape, were removed to the penitentiary for safekeeping from mobs. ***Mayor Hugh Vann of Hurtsboro, Alabama, out-talked a mob there on June 10, saving the prospective Negro victim's life when the rope was already in place. ***The deputy sheriff at the county jail at Carrollton, Georgia, during July, held off 300 members of a mob until reinforcements arrived and rescued a Negro murder suspect. ***A mob of twenty tried to lynch a Negro the night of October 26, in Aberdeen, Mississippi, and left him wounded, apparently thinking he was dead. Police Chief said the Negro apparently was the "wrong man."

Eight Negro convicts were shot to death on July 11 at the Glynn County prison camp near Brunswick, Georgia. In a Federal court indictment the warden and four guards at the camp were charged with depriving the convicts of their life without due process of law; a special committee of the State Legislature reported to the Governor that the slaying of the men was necessary to end a mutiny and prevent a mass escape. At the trial, November 4, the jury which deliberated only 13 minutes acquitted the warden and four guards.

During August, 1947, six young white college students, working on a credit union project in Columbia, N. C. and living in a Negro home there, were ordered to leave town, by a group of 200 or more white men and women. ***A special police detail was assigned to a northwest Atlanta (Ga.) section on October 23, 1947, after officers reported white men had set fire to a house in a white residential area, into which a Negro family had just moved.

* * *

According to figures from the records of Tuskegee Institute (Alabama), there were at least 31 instances in which lynchings were prevented during 1947: 24 by officers of the law; 4 by persons who saved themselves from mobs; 2 by persons not officers of the law; and 1 instance in which the victim, left as dead by the mob, survived bullet wounds. ***44 persons were under indictment during 1947 as participants in lynchings or attempted lynchings; and 44 were freed.

The Church Should Mould Public Opinion Against Lynching and Mob Violence

The Church believes that God revealed by Jesus Christ is the Father of all races; that the practice of justice must apply to all men regardless of race; that the dignity and worth of human personality should be respected regardless of race; that lynching and mob violence contradict and destroy the operation of these principles in society.

What Have Some Churches Said Against Lynching and Mob Violence?

The North Georgia Conference of the Methodist Church:

"Resolved, That we appeal to our Methodist people and to all citizens to discourage by every possible means the injection of race or class prejudice into political campaigns. . . .

"It is further patent to all that prejudice and race hatred are a constant threat to law and order and the fruitful source of acts of violence and the detestable crime of lynching. . . ."

The Women's Society of Christian Service of the North Georgia Conference, The Methodist Church, Atlanta, Ga., March 27, 1947:

"We urge and will continue to expect full justice to be given in all our courts to all citizens regardless of station in life, creed or color, and we urge all Methodist women to lift their voices both in support of good government and law enforcement and in protest against any acts of unfairness or brutality on the part of any officer of the law and against injustice wherever found. . . ."

The North Carolina State Baptist Convention meeting at Asheville, N. C., November, 1946:

"Faced with the grim reality of . . . lynchings and the demonstrated hopeless inadequacy of laws to cope justly with this barbaric disgrace, we advocate the immediate passage by the Congress of the United States of a Federal Anti-Lynching law."

The General Assembly of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, Knoxville, Tennessee, June, 1947:

"We deplore and heartily condemn lynchings."

Annual Meeting of the Southern Baptist Convention, St. Louis, Missouri, May 7-11, 1947, adopted an interracial charter. Under Principles of Conduct in the charter the Convention said:

"We shall be willing for the Negro to enjoy the rights granted to him under the Constitution of the United States including the right . . . to receive justice in the courts, to be free from mob violence. . . ."

The Mecklenburg (N. C.) Baptist Interracial Commission, May 31, 1947:

"Therefore, be it Resolved: . . .

"That we lament the fact that certain enraged groups have taken upon themselves the prerogatives of law enforcement which rightfully should be executed by the state; . . . That we take cognizance of the fact that if such promiscuous miscarriage of justice is allowed to prevail in the South where racial tension is increasingly ominous, . . . the future relationship between the two races will be jeopardized and the progress of mutual understanding and goodwill will be impeded."

The Saxon Baptist Church, Spartanburg, S. C., (June 1, 1947) after the acquittal of the 28 lynchers at Greenville, S. C.:

"Resolved: 1) That we go on record as advocating a Federal anti-lynch law as an aid in protecting all citizens and as an instrument for meting out proper punishment to all who undertake to be a law unto themselves; 2) That we give the press a copy of this resolution and that a copy of it be sent to our Congressmen and our Senators with a request that they use their influence to have enacted a Federal anti-lynch bill."

The Greenville (S. C.) Christian Ministers Association, March 1947:

"Resolved: that the Greenville Christian Ministers' Association does hereby go on record as deploring the lawlessness exhibited in the recent lynching murder of Willie Earle. We desire to state our emphatic disapproval of this act of infamy as being contrary not only to the principles of Christianity but to the American standards of fairness and justice for all."

The Virginia Council of Churches (June 20, 1947):

"New lynching outbreaks concern the church . . . In the light of its Christian convictions and its desire to abolish lynching, The Virginia Council of Churches urges its constituent churches to take the following action to:

Educate the people of their community against lynching.

Develop an enlightened opinion by getting other organizations to take similar action.

Work for legislation that will secure all persons equal protection under the law.

Request their ministers to set forth the evils of lynching.

Urge church members to pray and act for its elimination.

Ask church members to write letters to daily newspapers denouncing the crime."

The Executive Committee of The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America:

Voted March 16, 1948, that the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of Churches authorize the Department of Race Relations to appear before any hearings in Congress on the anti-lynching bill on the basis of the resolution adopted March 23, 1934, in which the Executive Committee declared that it

"believes that national legislation is a moral necessity to bring the Federal Government into prompt and effective cooperation with the state and local authorities in the prevention of lynching and the prosecution of lynchers."

The action at the March 16, 1948 meeting was adopted by a vote of 28 to 8. The representatives of the Presbyterian Church in the United States asked to be recorded as dissenting from the advocacy of Federal legislation. This action was forwarded in letters to the Chairmen of the House and Senate Judiciary Committees, respectively, for record.

Recognizing the reduction in the number of actual lynchings and the progress made in centering the attention of the Nation on Civil Rights, the Executive Committee at this meeting also voted unanimously that

"While there is difference of opinion among us as to the best method of eliminating lynching, we are one in our resolve to eliminate it."

Organization Needed.

Information from Greenville, South Carolina, indicates that while many church people deplored both the lynching and the subsequent acquittal of the twenty-eight lynchers they were powerless to prevent either because the churches were not organized for action against lynching and mob violence.

Is Not The Lack of Action a Sin of Omission?

Public Opinion Registered Against Lynching.

The Richmond (Va.) *Times Dispatch,* May 1947:

"Mobs which seek to take the law into their own hands are the forerunners of anarchy. Whenever a mob sets itself up as judge, jury and executioner, it undermines the foundation of the state."

Events and Trends in Race Relations, (*Race Relations Institute, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.*) June 1947:

"The month of May (1947) was marked by an unprecedented number of editorials, with almost one half of a total of 556 clippings dealing with the Greenville, South Carolina, lynching trial and the attempted lynching at Jackson, N. C. Geographical classification of these clippings concerned with the lynchings showed that out of 257 editorials 143 were from Southeastern states; 81 from the Northeast; 13 from the Middle West; 11 from the Far West; 8 from border states; one from the Northwest."

In the *Atlanta* (Ga.) *Journal,* July 7, 1947, Ralph McGill says:

"We cannot for a moment condone lynchings or murder. We cannot excuse violence and not do great and lasting damage to our personal moral values and to the values of our whole program of law, upon which our civilization is based. They are, when they occur, our crimes and our responsibilities."

Public Opinion Favors Anti-Lynching Legislation.

A release of July 1, 1947 by George Gallup, Director, American Institute of Public Opinion, reports that 69% of a true cross-section of the voters of the 48 states favored federal anti-lynching legislation, allowing the United States Government to step in if the state doesn't deal with the crime justly; 20% voted no and 11% had no opinion.

The release pointed out this in contrast with the Institute poll of the country on the Gavagan Anti-Lynching Bill (debated by Congress in 1940) when it was found that 50% favored passage and 41% were opposed.

(*Richmond* (Va.) *Times Dispatch,* July 1, 1947.)

The *Kannapolis* (N. C.) *Independent,* May 14, 1947:

". . . The trial in Greenville is not alone for . . . white men who are accused of lynching a Negro. The whole south is on trial. The south has claimed that it can handle its own problems justly without interference from the federal government or modern carpet-baggers. The south now must prove it."

The *Macon* (Ga.) *News*:

". . . We are not ourselves too enthusiastic over a Federal anti-lynching bill. But it is a fact that state laws are impotent against the lynching evil and we are willing to take the best way we can get which, under the circumstances, seems to be a Federal law. . . .

"In any case, a Federal anti-lynching law, whatever its defects, is better than unrestrained and unpunished murder. Without it we can't do worse, and with it we might do better." (quoted from *The New South,* July 1947.)

"Devastating Consequences."

Said the Report of President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights, published October, 1947:

"While available statistics show that, decade by decade, lynchings have decreased, this Committee has found that in the year 1947 lynching remains one of the most serious threats to the civil rights of Americans. . . .

"The devastating consequences of lynchings go far beyond what is shown by counting the victims. When a person is lynched and the lynchers go unpunished, thousands wonder where the evil will appear again and what mischance may produce another victim. . . ."

Decisive Action Needed

Said President Truman in his Message on Civil Rights to Congress on February 2, 1948:

"A specific Federal measure is needed to deal with the crime of lynching — against which I cannot speak too strongly. . . . It is a principle of our democracy, written into our Constitution, that every person accused of an offense against the law shall have a fair, orderly trial in an impartial court. . . . So long as one person walks in fear of lynching we shall not have achieved equal justice under law.

"I call upon the Congress to take decisive action against this crime."

* * *

Bills Against Lynching — Past and Present

The period between 1921 and the present has been marked by repeated efforts to secure Federal anti-lynching legislation. Three times anti-lynching bills have passed the House of Representatives: the Dyer Bill in January, 1922; the Gavagan Bill, April 15, 1937; and the Gavagan-Fish Bill in January, 1940. The Dyer and Gavagan bills failed in passage by the Senate because of a filibuster. Although the Gavagan-Fish bill was reported favorably to the Senate, it did not reach the floor during that session of Congress.

Many bills were introduced in the 80th Congress, the two claiming the most attention being the Wagner-Morse Bill S.1352, and the Case Bill H.R.5673 (practically identical).

The Case Bill was favorably reported by the House Judiciary Committee.

It is directed against not only lynching but violence or attempted violence by an assemblage of two or more persons upon a person or his property because of race, creed, color, national origin, ancestry, religion; or because the victim is suspected of or charged with a criminal offense. Any person aiding or inciting a mob, or any member of a mob shall be punished by a fine not exceeding $10,000, by imprisonment not exceeding 20 years, or both. Officers of the law wilfully failing to prevent lynching or to prohibit lynchers shall be punished by a fine not exceeding $5000 or by imprisonment, or both. The bill provides for compensation to families of the lynch victims. Criminal prosecution will be brought in a Federal Court.

What You Can Do

Ministers should still preach sermons against the evil.

Editors and magazine columnists should still write against this violation of human rights.

Study should be made of the entire Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights and community plans projected for its implementation. (Obtain from Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., $1.00)

Community committees should be organized to prevent lynching and mob violence and to demand effective enforcement of the law.

Make inquiry concerning the activities against lynching of such organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 20 West 40th St., New York 18, N. Y.

Send to the Department of Race Relations, Federal Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N. Y. a brief report of what you are able to do in your church and community in this effort.

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526 Masonic Temple Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

WHO ARE THE LYNCHERS OF JESSE J. PAYNE

On the answer to this question depends the security of our nation and the safety of the Negro people. The answer must be given by Governor Millard Caldwell and Attorney General J. Tom Watson of Florida.

According to an Associated Press release dated October 12, Jesse James Payne was lynched at Madison, Florida, on October 10 or 11. The story which referred to Payne as a "youthful Negro" stated that he was arrested on July 4, ten days after an alleged attack on a white child of five. He had pleaded innocent to the charges. At the time of his arrest, Jesse James Payne was attacked and wounded by a posse. Subsequently he was removed to the state prison. On the day of the lynching, the prisoner was returned to the county jail at Madison. According to the statement of the Sheriff, Lonnie Davis, the prison was located on a lot adjacent to his (Davis') house and was left unguarded at night. (There were four or five other prisoners in the jail on October 11.) Jesse James Payne's body was found on the highway 10 miles away from the jail. The coroner's jury which met on Saturday October 13 reached the conclusion that Jesse James Payne met his death at the hands of persons unknown.

This lynching occurs in northwest Florida, one of the most benighted sections of our country. In 1933, the lynching and mutilation of Claude Neal took place in this area at Mariana. A year ago, 3 Negro youth were railroaded to the electric chair in this region after a trial at Gainesville which was a mockery of justice.

Now the habitual lynchers have struck again. Jesse James Payne is their victim. If the criminals are not identified and brought to summary justice in this case, the signal will have been given to lynch minded fascists throughout the South and the nation. The Ku Klux Klan groups which are organizing will know that they can launch their attacks against the lives of Negroes without fear of prosecution. The white supremacists who have threatened to "keep the Negro veteran in his place" will feel encouraged to provoke assaults against our ex-service men without fear of prosecution. The fomenters of the hate strikes in Northern schools will find justification for their evil doings.

The lynchers of Jesse James Payne can be exposed and convicted. They are undoubtedly known to many people in northwest Florida. An indignant American people must demand action.

You are called upon to send wires and letters and to get your friends and organizations to do the same to Governor Millard Caldwell and Attorney General J. Tom Watson at State Capitol, Tallahassee, Florida;

(1) Demanding apprehension and prosecution of the lynchers, and

(2) Demanding that all facts in the case be made public;

(a) How old was the 'youthful Negro'? Was he 16, 18 or 20? Was he of legal age? Could he have been a child?

(b) Why was the jail unguarded when it was known the prisoner had been assaulted and wounded at the time of his arrest?

(c) On whose charge was Payne arrested 10 days after an alleged attack on a five year old child?

(3) Demanding that the State of Florida provide adequate and full indemnity for the family of the murdered youth.

The fight for justice in this case is the fight for our future, for the democracy which millions of fighting men sacrificed and died to preserve. We must combine with this struggle a renewed effort to secure passage of a federal anti-lynch bill and of the G I Assault bill, which would make it a federal offense to attack a member of the armed forces.

Most important of all WE MUST ACT NOW. The lynching of Jesse James Payne may be the signal for a new wave of lynch terror in the South. Every letter, every wire counts. Please let this office know what action you take.

Memo to: All Lovers of Freedom and Justice

From: Louis E. Burnham, Organizational Secretary.

Memo from GUY B. JOHNSON

to

1942 — 5 Mo. 1 Tex. 1 Miss. 3

1943 — 3 Fla. 1 Ga. 1 Ill. 1

1944 — 2 Miss. 1 Tenn. 1

1945 — 1 Fla. 1

15/19 11.26
15
40
30
100
90

Memo from GUY B. JOHNSON

to 7-31-46

Lynchings, Ga.

1931	0	
32	0	
33	4	Talmadge
34	1	
35	2	
36	6	
37	1	Rivers
38	1	
39	0	
40	2	(1 wh.)
41	1	Talmadge
42	0	
43	1	Arnall
44	0	
45	0	
46	4	on July 25

Ga. Tenn.: Sept. 8, 1940, Cantron Cadenway, Negro, charged with attempted attack on a wh. woman, taken from jail at night by pistol armed men and shot.

Bedford, Early County, May 6, 1941, Robt. Sapp, Negro, suspected of attacking farm girl employer, was beaten unconscious by 3 men. Died several days later.

Jan. 20, 1943, in Baker County, Ga., Robt. Hall, accused of stealing a tire, beaten to death by Sheriff & 20 other white men

Memo from GUY B. JOHNSON

to

Talmadge's Terms

persons lynched

1st Term, 1933-34 —— 5 ~~lynchings~~

2nd term, 1935-36 —— 8 ..

3rd term, 1941-42 —— 1 ..

all of the victims were Negroes.

Memo from GUY B. JOHNSON

to

Mr. Talmadge was quoted in the press yesterday as saying, "During my three terms as Governor there was not a lynching in the State." Unfortunately Mr. Talmadge was in error. There were actually fourteen persons lynched in Georgia during his three administrations. Here are the figures, taken from the most reliable sources, showing the lynchings

Memo from GUY B. JOHNSON

to

in Georgia during the various governors' terms since 1931.

Gov. Richard B. Russell, 1931-32 - - - - 0

.. Eugene Talmadge 1933-36 - - - - 13

~~1941-36 - - -~~ 8

.. E. D. Rivers, 1937-40 - - - - 4

.. Eugene Talmadge 1941-42 - - - - 1

.. Ellis Arnall, 1943 to present - - 5

[1 in 1943, 4 on July 26, 1946]

Until the recent multiple lynching, there had been only one case during Arnall's administration ~~of~~ ~~and~~ this occurred in 1943, and was followed by a period free from any lynchings until July 25, 1946.

1882 through 1930, Georgia had 508 lynchings, for an average of 10.3 per year. From 1931 through 1945, Georgia had 19 lynchings, or an average of 1.3 per year. In six of the past fifteen years, Georgia had no lynchings.

~~During the Talmadge three terms there were 14 lynchings.~~

~~Dering~~

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Lynchings in Georgia

1885 - 1894
1895 - 1904
1905 - 1914
1915 - 1924
1925 - 1934
1935 - 1944

LYNCHINGS [redacted]

1900-1934

1900

DATE	NAME	PLACE	ACCUSATION
Mar. 4	Crosby, James	Selo Hatchel	Making threats
Mar. 18	Humphries, Charles	Lee County	Attempted assault
May 7	Unknown Negro	Geneva, Geneva County	Rape
July 6	Roe, John	Columbia, Houston County	Attempted assault
July 23	Clark, Elijah	Huntsville, Madison County	Rape
Sept. 12	Floyd, Zed	Wetumpka, Elmore County	Attempted assault
Oct. 2	Thomas, Winfield	Electric, Elmore County	Attempted assault
Oct. 30	Abbamathy	Duke, Calhoun County	Assault

8

1901

Jan. 5	McAdams, Louis	Wilsonville, Shelby Co.	Murderous assault
Mar. 6	Davis, Bud	Moulton, Lawrence County	Offense unknown
May 6	Mayes, Ed	Selma, Dallas County	Sheltering a murderer
May 6	Mayes, 'Dic'	Selma, Dallas County	Sheltering a murderer
May 6	Dawson, Robert	Selma, Dallas County	Sheltering a murderer
May 11	Williams, William	South Side	Theft
May 11	Unknown Negro	Leeds, Jefferson County	Mistaken identity
May 30	Reeves, Frank	Butler County	Attempted Rape
June 16	Harris, George	Limestone County	Arson
July 15	Herman, Alexander	Courtland, Lawrence Co.	Murder
Aug. 2	Bentley, Charles	Leeds, Jefferson County	Murder
Aug. 7	Pennington, John	Enterprise, Coffee Co.	Rape
Sept. 3	Fourney, William	Chestnut, Monroe County	Rape
Dec. 6	Three unknown Negroes	Opp, Covington County	Race prejudice

14

1902

Mar. 24	Ziegler, William	Locality undetermined	Criminal assault
Apr. 6	Reynolds, William	Tuscumbia, Colbert Co.	Murder
June 25	Campbell, Willy	Locality undetermined	Attempted murder
Nov. 3	Harris, Samuel	Salem, Lee County	Murder
Dec. 20	Bishop, Scott	Marbury, Autauga Co.	Murder

5

1903

June 24	Diggs, Andrew	Scottsboro, Jackson Co.	Attempted rape
Nov. 15	Young, Charles	Locality undetermined	Attempted rape

Lynchings in Alabama

(Continued)

1903

(Cont'd.)

Date	Name	Place	Accusation
Nov. 30	Davis, Phillip	Locality undetermined	Murder
Nov. 30	Carter, Walter	Locality undetermined	Murder
Nov. 30	Thomas, Clinton	Locality undetermined	Murder

5

1904

Apr. 16	Sims, Ruben	Little River, Baldwin Co.	Murder
May 1	Hall, Gaines	Kingston, Coffee Co.	Rape
June 22	Pope, Ephrein	Lamison, Wilcox Co.	Rape
July 1	Jones, John	Altoona, Etowah Co.	Rape
Aug. 7	Bell, Ed	Near Selma, Dallas Co.	Murder
Sept. 7	Maples, Horace	Huntsville, Madison Co.	Murder

6

1905

Mar. 14	Plowly, Edward	Pine Apple, Wilcox Co.	Murder
Mar. 14	Plowly, William	Pine Apple, Wilcox Co.	Murder
Aug. 25	Latt, Oliver	Tunnel Springs, Monroe Co.	Murder

3

1906

Feb. 11	Richardson, Bunkie	Gadsen, Etowah County	Rape and murder
Feb. 20	Pedigrie	Andalusia, Covington Co.	Rape
Apr. 29	Brown, William	Riensi	Murder
Oct. 6	Robinson, Richard	Prichard Station, Mobile Co.	Rape
Oct. 6	Peters, Henry	Prichard, Station, Mobile Co.	Rape
Oct. 20	Dove, Daniel	Locality undetermined	Attempted rape

6

1907

Jan. 4	Unknown	Midway, Bullock County	Attempted rape
Mar. 24	Harding, Cleveland	Florence, Lauderdale Co.	Attempted rape
Mar. 26	Unknown	Hartford, Geneva County	Rape
Apr. 29	Calhoun, Eben	Pittsview, Russell Co.	Murderous assault
Aug. 27	Lipsey, John	Pickensville, Pickens Co.	Rape
Sept. 5	Johnson, Jerry	N. Birmingham, Jefferson Co.	Rape
Sept. 22	Cossett, Moses	Prichard Station, Mobile Co.	Attempted rape
Nov. 2	Sumroll, Abram	Vinegar Bend, Washington Co.	Murder
Nov. 2	Lucas, Henry	Vinegar Bend, Washington Co.	Complicity in murder

Lynchings in Alabama

(Continued)

1907

(Cont'd.)

Date	Name	Place	Accusation
Nov. 3	Quigleton, Fred	Talladega, Talladega, Co.	Murder
Nov. 30	Saunders, Newt	Opp, Covington Co.	Rape

11

1908

Jan. 9	Franklin, Cleveland	Dothan, Houston County	Robbery and shooting
Apr. 6	Clayton, Walter	Bay Minette, Baldwin Co.	Rape
Aug. 8	Miller, William	Brighton, Jefferson Co.	Dynamiting
Oct. 21	Stover, Tom	Halselle, Choctaw County	Attempted rape

4

1909

Jan. 22	Robertson, Douglass	Mobile, Mobile County	Murder
Jan. 24	Davenpprt,	Leighton, Collier County	Barn burning
Feb. 1	Unnamed Negro	Bolivar, locality undetermined	Attempted rape
Apr. 25	Thomas,	Near Birmingham, Jefferson Co.	Rape
Sept. 4	Balaam, Joshua	Jackson, Clarke County	Murder
Sept. 4	Balaam, Lewis	Jackson, Clarke County	Murder
Nov. 24	Rolston, Ray	Anniston, Calhoun Co.	Murderous assault
Dec. 20	Montgomery, Clinton	Magnolia, Marengo County	Murder

8

1910

May 26	Matson, Jesse	Calera, Shelby County	Murder
July 3	McKenny, Henry	Dothan, Houston Co.	Attempted rape
Aug. 1	Wallace, William	Axia, Mobile County	Rape
Sept. 14	Glover, Isaac	Springville, St. Clair Co.	Murder
Oct. 4	Withers, Bush	Sanford, Covington Co.	Rape
Oct. 8	Negro	McFall, Calhoun Co.	Rape
Oct. 9	Richardson, Grant	Centerville, Bibb Co.	Rape
Oct. 9	Dell, John	Montgomery, Montgomery Co.	Murder

8

1911

Feb. 12	Peterson, Iver	Eufaula, Barbour County	Attempted rape
Aug. 30	Unnamed Negro	Clayton, Barbour County	Murder

2

Lynchings in Alabama

(Continued)

1912

Date	Name	Place	Accusation
Jan. 28	Chandler, John	Bessemer, Jefferson Co.	Murder
Feb. 19	Unnamed	Dothan, Houston County	Murder
Aug. 5	Verge, Sam	Locality undetermined	Murder
Aug. 28	Unnamed	Near Gadsen, Etowah Co.	Murder
Nov. 2	Smith, William	Bessemer, Jefferson Co.	Murder
Nov. 18	Berney	Wetumpka, Elmore County	Murder
Dec. 7	Curtis, Azariah	Butler, Choctaw County	Murder
Dec. 20	Unnamed	Cuba, Sumter Co.	Murder

4

1913

Jan. 3	Carson	Selma, Dallas County	Unnamed offense
Aug. 28	Unknown Negro	Kilgore, county unknown	Unnamed cause

2

1914

Mar.			
Mar. 29	Young, Charles	Clayton, Barbour County	Murder
Dec. 19	Jones, William	Fort Deposit, Lowndes Co.	Murder

2

1915

Jan. 1	Hartley, Dock	Greenville, Butler County	Burglary
Jan. 4	Smith, Edwin	Wetumpka, Elmore County	Murder
Jan. 4	Smith, William	Wetumpka, Elmore County	Murder
Jan. 1 8	Deeley, Herman	Taylorsville, Bartow Co.(?)	Murder
May 5	Hatch, Jesse	Fulton, Clarke County	Attempted rape
Aug. 10	Fox, James	Locality undetermined	Murder
Aug. 17	Jackson, "Kid"	Hope Hull, Montgomery Co.	Poisoning mules
Aug. 17	Russell, Henry	Hope Hull, Montgomery Co.	Poisoning mules
Aug. 17	Unnamed Negro	Hope Hull, Montgomery Co.	Poisoning mules

9

1916

Jan. 28	Burton, Richard	Boyds, Sumter County	Burglary

1

1917

July 16	Unidentified Negro	Reform, Pickens County	Burglary
July 23	Hibbler Poe	Pickens County	Attempted rape
July 23	Powell, William	Letohatchee, Lowndes Co.	Threat to kill

3

Lynchings in Alabama

(Continued)

1918

Date	Name	Place	Accusation
June 21	Womack, John	Red Level, Covington County	Attempted rape
Nov. 10	Bird, William	Sheffield, Colbert County	For making unruly remarks
Nov. 12	Whiteside, George	Sheffield, Colbert County	For killing officer of the law

3

1919

Date	Name	Place	Accusation
Mar. 15	Cage, Cicero	Ralph, Tuscaloosa County	Attempted rape
June 17	McMillan, James	Greene Pond, Bibb County	Attempted rape
June 22	Foukal, Frank	Bay Minette, Baldwin Co.	Murder
Aug. 1	Robinson, Argo M.	Whatley, Clarke County	Charged with demanding that when addressed title Mister be used.
Sept. 29	Phifer, Miles	Montgomery, Montgomery Co.	Rape
Sept. 29	Croskey, Robert	Montgomery, Montgomery Co.	Rape
Sept. 30	Temple, John	Montgomery, Montgomery Co.	Killing officer of the law

7

1920

Date	Name	Place	Accusation
Jan. 15	Waters, Jack	Florala, Covington County	Rape
Mar. 11	Smith, Wilbur	Legrand, Montgomery County	Rape
July 30	Spinks, Sills	Grimes, county unknown	Murderous assault
July 30	Jennings, Juster	Grimes, " "	Murderous assault
Aug. 9	Wood, Monroe	Near Newville, Henry Co.	Insulting woman
Sept. 15	Windham, Alto	Near Hartford, Geneva Co.	Insulting woman
Oct. 14	Reeves, Select	Greenville, Butler Co.	For striking man

7

1921

Date	Name	Place	Accusation
Jan. 15	Beard, William	Jasper, Walker County	Complicity in murder
July 28	Jordan,	Silas, Choctaw Co.	Shooting man to death

2

1922

Date	Name	Place	Accusation
Jan. 10	Jenkins, William	Eufaula, Barbour County	Using insulting language to white woman.
Dec. 2	Teague, George	Crenshaw County	Complicity in murder of white man

2

Lynchings in Alabama

(Concluded)

1923

Date	Name	Place	Accusation
July 13	McBride, William	Adamsville, Jefferson Co.	Frightening school children.

1924

1925

Dec. 16	Cole, Grant	Montgomery, Montgomery Co.	Insulting woman

1926

1927

1928

1929

1930

July 4	Robertson, Jacob	Emelle, Sumter County	Murder

1931

Aug. 25	Quinn, Neal (Negro)	Hayneville, Lowndes Co.	Attempted rape.

1932

1933

[redacted]	Harden, A. T. (Negro	Blocton, Bibb Co.	Murder
	Pippen, Dan (Negro)	Blocton, Bibb Co.	Murder
	[illegible]ss, Dennis (Negro)	Tuscaloosa, Tuscaloosa Co.	Attempted rape.

1934

Aug. 23	Unidentified Negro man	Birmingham, Jefferson Co.	Insulting woman. Did not come into hands of the law.

LYNCHINGS IN ALABAMA

1936

1937

DATE	NAME	PLACE	ACCUSATION
Feb. 2	Wes Johnson	Abbeville, Henry Co.	Criminal assault

1940

May 9	O'Dee Henderson	Fairfield, Jefferson Co.	Altercation w/ white man
June 28	Jesse Thornton	Luverne, Crenshaw Co.	Disrespectful to officer

LYNCHINGS IN ARKANSAS

1900-1934

40

1900

DATE	NAME	PLACE	ACCUSATION
May 26	Unknown Negro	West Point, White County	Robbery
June 12	Brodie, John	Lee County	Attempted murder
June 17	Mullens, Nat	Earle, Crittenden Co.	Murder
June 17	Jenkins, S. A.	Searcy, White Co.	Suspected robbery
June 19	Woodward, William	Searcy, White County	Murder
Dec. 21	Unknown Negro	Arkadelphia, Clark Co.	Rape

6

1901

Feb. 20	Berryman, Peter	Mena, Polk Co.	Assaulting a white person
Mar. 23	Stunly, George	Pocohantos, Randolph Co.	Murder
Apr. 6	Hearn, May	Osceola, Mississippi Co.	Murder
May 13	Key, Lee	Knoxville, Johnson Co.	Race prejudice
Aug. 1	Seigler	Rosston, Nevada Co.	Murder

5

1902

Mar. 10	McCoy, Horace	Foreman, Little River Co.	Criminal assault
Aug. 1	Newton, Lee	Locality undetermined	Attempted rape
Sept. 5	Wilson, Hog	Stephens, Ouachita Co.	Rape
Oct. 20	Young, Charles	Forrest City, St. Francis Co.	Rape and murder
Nov. 20	Wells, Elijah	Wy County Cross County	Murderous assault

5

1903

Mar. 20	Robertson, Frank	Bradley, Lafayette Co.	Arson
Apr. 6	Turner, John	Warren, Bradley Co.	Attempted rape
Apr. 25	Thompson, Alexander	Gurdon, Clark Co.	Murderous assault
July 22	Gilbert, John	Locality undetermined	Murder
July 22	Unknown	Locality undetermined	Murder
Sept.	Hellem,	Luxora, Mississippi Co.	Assaulted colored girl
Oct. 6	McCollum, Edward	Sheridan, Grant Co.	Murderous assault

1904

Feb. 18	Days, Glence	Crossett, Ashley County	Murder
Mar. 26	Smith, Jas.	St. Charles, Arkansas Co.	Race prejudice

Lynchings in Arkansas
(Continued)

1904

Mar. 26	Smith, Charles	St. Charles, Arkansas Co.	Race prejudice
Mar. 26	Baldwin, Mack	St. Charles, Arkansas Co.	Race prejudice
Mar. 26	Bailey, Abe	St. Charles, Arkansas Co.	Race prejudice
Mar. 26	Flood, Garrett	St. Charles, Arkansas Co.	Race prejudice
Mar. 26	Johnston, Killis	St. Charles, Arkansas Co.	Race prejudice
Mar. 26	Carter, Perry	St. Charles, Arkansas Co.	Race prejudice
Mar. 26	Griffin, Henry	St. Charles, Arkansas Co.	Race prejudice
Mar. 26	Griffin, Walter	St. Charles, Arkansas Co.	Race prejudice
Mar. 26	Flood, Randall	St. Charles, Arkansas Co.	Race prejudice
Mar. 26	Baldwin, William	St. Charles, Arkansas Co.	Race prejudice
Mar. 26	Madison, William	St. Charles, Arkansas Co.	Race prejudice
Mar. 26	Hinton, Aaron	St. Charles, Arkansas Co.	Race prejudice
Aug. 31	Two unknown	Stephens, Ouachita Co.	Insulting white woman
Sept. 5	Unknown	Crossett, Ashley Co.	Assaulting whites

16

1905

Jan. 1	Allwhite, Louis	Newport, Jackson Co.	Murder
Jan. 1	Jetton, White	Spring Hill, Hempstead	Murder
Apr. 20	Barrett, John	Askew, Lee County	Murder
July 6	Woodman, James	Locality undetermined	Eloping with white girl
Sept. 22	Brown, Frank	Conway, Faulkner Co.	Mistaken identity

6

1906

Feb. 7	Calton, James	Elmarth, locality undetermined	Murderous assault
~~July 8~~	~~Anderson, William~~		
July 8	Anderson, William	Pillar, locality undetermined	Rape
Oct. 7	Blackburn, H.	Argenta, Pulaski	Murderous assault
Oct. 8	Davis, Anthony	Texarkana, Miller Co.	Attempted rape
Nov. 29	Unknown Negro	Hot Springs, Garland Co.	Attempted rape

5

1907

Mar. 20	Two colored women	Stamps, Lafayette Co.	Murderous assault
Dec. 5	Hussay, Washington	Augusta, Woodruff Co.	Murder

2

1908

June 20	Williams, Ernest	Parkdale, Ashley Co.	Using offensive language

1

Lynchings in Arkansas
(Continued)

1909

Jan. 18	Hillard,	Hope, Hempstead Co.	Insulting white girl
May 24	Aikens, Albert	Pine Bluff, Jefferson Co.	Rape
Dec. 20	Baily, George	Devill's Bluff, Prairie Co.	Murder

3

1910

Mar. 19	Austin, Robert	Marion, Crittenden Co.	Murder
Mar. 19	Richards, Charles	Marion, CrittendenCo.	Murder
Mar. 25	Jones, "Judge"	Pine Bluff, Jefferson Co.	Insulting women
Apr. 5	Pride, Frank	Locality undetermined	Murder
Apr. 5	Mitchell, Laura	Locality undetermined	Murder
May 14	McLane, "Dock"	Ashdown, Little River Co.	Murderous assault
June 14	Hunter, William	Star City, Lincoln Co.	Insulting white women
July 6	Powell, Sam	Mattig, Union Co.	Robbery and Arson
Nov. 26	Chitwood, Oscar	Hot Springs, Garland Co.	Murder

9

1911

Sept. 9	Dean, Arthur	Augusta, Woodruff Co.	Rape
Oct. 16	Lucey, Nathan	Forrest City, Saint Francis County	Rape
~~Oct. 20~~	~~Lewis, Charles~~		
Oct. 20	Lewis, Charles	Hope, Hempstead Co.	Insulting women

3

1912

Mar. 25	Lewis, Sanford	Locality undetermined	Murder
July 5	Williams, John	Plumerville, Conway Co.	Murder
Aug. 20	Franklin, Monroe	Russellville, Pope Co.	Rape

3

1913

June 19	Norman, William	Near Hot Springs, Garland County	Rape
Sept. 5	Simms, Lee	Little Rock, Pulaski Co.	Rape

1

1914

Oct. 28	Davis, Howard	Newport, Jackson Co.	Murder

1

1915

Mar. 2	Gandy, H. M.	Clarendon, Monroe Co.	Stealing hogs

1

Lynchings in Arkansas
(Continued)

1915

(Cont'd.)

Mar. 2	Mansel, Jefferson	Clarendon, Monroe Co.	Stealing hogs
June 15	Haley, Loy	Hope, Hempstead Co.	Murder
Sept. 12	Bowers, Jacob	Carlisle, Lonoke Co.	Murder
Dec. 3	Patrick, William	Forrest City, Saint Francis County	Murder

5

1916

Jan. 22	Unnamed Highwayman	Vandervoort, Polk County	
May 27.	Gilman, Felix	Prescott, Nevada Co.	Murder
Aug. 9	Unnamed Negro	Stuttgart, Arkansas Co.	Rape
Oct. 9	Dodd, Frank	Dewitt, Arkansas Co.	Attempted rape

4

1917

Feb. 8	Smith, James	Proctor, Crittendon Co.	Murder
July 31	Avery, Andrew	Garland City, Miller Co.	Robbery
Aug. 9	Jimerson, Aaron	Ashdown, Little River Co.	Murderous assault
Sept. 15	Gates, Samuel	England, Lonoke Co.	Insulting girls

4

1918

June 13	Mitchell, Allen	Earle, Crittendon Co.	Wounding women
Aug. 28	Wagner, Frederick	Near Hot Springs, Garland Co.	Disloyal remarks
Dec. 18	Robinson, Wills	Newport, Jackson Co.	Murdering policeman

3

1919

Jan. 30	Keifer, John	Deer, Newton Co.	Murder
Apr. 25	McIntyre, Samuel	Forrest City, Saint Francis County	Murder
May 21	Livingston, Frank	Eldorado, Union Co.	Murder
June 15	Ellison, Clyde	Star City, Lincoln Co.	Attempted rape
Sept. 1	Briggs, Clinton	Star City, Lincoln Co.	Insulting white woman
Sept. 15	Unnamed Negro	Jonesville, Bradley Co.	Found under bed in white man's house
Oct. 7	Johnson, Dr. Elihu	Near Elaine, Phillips Co.	Abetting riot
Oct. 7	Johnson, Dr. Louis H.	Near Elaine, Phillips Co.	Abetting riot
Oct. 7	Johnson, Gibson	Near Elaine, Phillips Co.	Abetting riot
Oct. 7	Johnson, Leroy	Near Elaine, Phillips Co.	Abetting riot
Oct. 20	Wilson, Alexander	Mariana, Lee Co.	Shooting white woman

11

Lynchings in Arkansas
(Continued)

1920

Dec. 26	Thomas,	Jonesboro, Craighead Co.	Killing officer of the law

1

1921

Jan. 27	Lowry, Henry	Modena, Mississippi Co.	Murder
Mar. 15	Tutt, Brownie	Hope, Hempstead Co.	Rape
Mar. 21	Slater, Phillip	Monticello, Drew Co.	Rape
May 11	Smith, Leroy	McGehee, Desha Co.	Attempted assault
Nov. 18	Turner, William	Helena, Phillips Co.	Rape
Nov. 23	Hicks, Robert	Near Lake Village, Chicot Co.	Writing note to white woman

6

1922

Feb. 4	Harrison, Harry	Malvern, Hot Springs Co.	Indecent exposure of person and frightening girls and women
May 19	Owens, Mullen	Texarkana, Miller, County	Murder
July 28	West, John	Hope, Hempstead Co.	Striking man
Aug. 1	Harris, Gilbert	Hot Springs, Garland Co.	Burglary and murder
Dec. 9	Smith, Less	Morrilton, Conway Co.	Murder

5

1923

Jan. 16	Gregor, E. C.	Harrison, Boone Co.	Railroad Striker
Aug. 10	Brooks, Edward	Murphyville, Union Co.	Insulting white woman

2

1924

1925

May 29	Unnamed Negro	Louann, Ouachita Co.	Attempted rape

1

1926

May 26	Blades, Albert	Butler, Mississippi Co.	Attempted rape
Aug. 4	Powell, Charles	Lewisville, Lafayette Co.	Murder

2

1927

May 4	Carter, John	Little Rock, Pulaski Co.	Attacking two white women

1

Lynchings in Arkansas
(Concluded)

1927

(Cont'd.)

June 8	Fleming, Owens	Mellwood, Phillips Co.	Murder
Aug. 26	Pounds, Winston	Wilmot, Ashley Co.	Rape

2

1928

1929

1930

1931

1932

Sept. 15	Tucker, Frank (Negro)	Crossett, Ashley County	Wounding office of law

1

1933

1934

1936

April 29	Willie Kees	Lepanto, Poinsett Co.	Attempted criminal assault

LYNCHINGS IN FLORIDA

1900 - 1935

DATE	NAME	PLACE	ACCUSATION
		1900	
Mar. 11	Unknown Negro	Jennings, Hamilton Co.	Murder
May 14	Two Negroes	Brooksville, Hernando Co.	Murder
June 10	Unknown Negro	Sneads, Jackson Co.	Suspected murder
June 10	Sanders, John	Sneads, Jackson Co.	Complicity in murder
June 27	Davis, Robert	Mulberry, Polk Co.	Murder
June 27	Thomas, Jack	Live Oak, Suwanee Co.	Attempted rape.
June 29	Barco, James	Panasoffkee, Sumter Co.	Unknown offense
Nov. 27	Williams, Spencer	Lake City, Columbia Co.	Murderous assault.
		1901	
Jan. 7	Denson, James	Madison, Madison Co.	Murder
Jan. 7	Denson's stepson	Madison, Madison Co.	Murder
Jan. 16	McKinney, Norman	Dennellon, Marion Co.	Trainwrecking
Feb. 8	Wright, William	Dade City, Pasco Co.	Complicity in murder
Feb. 8	Williams, Sam	Dade City, Pasco Co.	Complicity in murder
May 30	Rochelle, Fred	Bartow, Polk Co.	Murder
Sept. 7	Unknown	Chipley, Washington Co.	Rape
		1902	
July 28	Unknown Negro	Bluff Springs, Escambia Co.	Unknown offense
Aug. 1	Williams, Alonzo	San Antonio, Pasco Co.	Rape
Sept. 1	Price, Manny	Newberry, Alachua Co.	Murder
Sept. 1	Scruggs, Robert	Newberry, Alachua Co.	Murder
		1903	
Mar. 9	Thomas, Henry	Parish, Manatee Co.	Rape
May 3	Kennedy, Dan	Mulberry, Polk Co.	Murder
May 19	Jarvis, Washington	Madison, Madison Co.	Murder
May 20	Randall, Amos	Mulberry, Polk Co.	Murder
May 20	Gordon, Henry	Mulberry, Polk Co.	Murder
July 21	Greene, Crane	Pine Barren, Escambia Co.	Rape
Oct. 9	Williams, Samuel	Lawby, Bradford Co.	Refusing information
Dec. 5	Lewis, Jackson	nr. Tampa, Hillsborough Co.	Attempted rape
		1904	
Jan. 15	Clark, Jumbo	High Springs, Alachua Co.	Rape
May 20	Unknown	Mulberry, Polk Co.	Unknown offense
Sept.6	Bradley, Wash	Bronson, Levy Co.	Murder
Oct. 4	Rivers	Perry, Taylor Co.	Attempted rape
		1905	
July 1	Peters, Doc	Cottondale, Jackson Co.	Murder

1906

May 17	Jordan, Frank	Inverness, Citrus Co.	Murder
June 8	Davis, James	Inverness, Citrus Co.	Murder
July 27	Black, John	Locality undetermined	Murder
July 27	Reagin, Wm.	Locality undetermined	Murder
Aug. 21	Bapes, John	Mulberry, Polk Co.	Murderous assault
Nov. 9	Unknown Negro	Madison, Madison Co.	Rape

1907

1908

Mar. 5	Long, John	Newberry, Alachua Co.	Murder
Mar. 19	McMullen, Will	Perry, Taylor Co.	Murder
Mar. 19	Smith, Richard	Perry, Taylor Co.	Murder
Feb. 2	Pitman, Chas.	Greenville, Madison Co.	Suspected murder
Apr. 24	Two Negroes	Mullville, Bay Co.	Shooting
Apr. 24	(one of above)	" "	"
July 29	Shaw, Leander	Pensacola, Escambia Co.	Attempted assault
Oct. 5	Price, Benjamin	Locality undetermined	Rape

1909

Feb. 13	Nader, Jacob	Lakeland, Polk Co.	Rape
Apr. 5	Alexander, David	Pensacola, Escambia Co.	Murder
Apr. 28	Scarborough, Chas.	Bartow, Polk Co.	Attack on woman
Apr. 10	Smith, Jno.	Arcadia, DeSoto Co.	Rape
May 9	Unnamed Negro	Duval County	Rape
June 6	Morris, Maik	Tallahassee, Leon Co.	Murder
June 15	Unnamed Negro	Arcadia, DeSoto Co.	Attempted rape
Sept. 26	Anderson, Chas.	Perry, Taylor Co.	Murder

1910

Mar. 7	Ellis, Wade	Tampa, Hillsborough Co.	Murder
Mar. 7	Ellis, Sam	" "	"
Mar. 8	Negro	" "	"
June 11	Matthews, Robt.	Locality undetermined	Rape
July 9	McIntosh, Sam	Kathleen, Polk Co.	Attempted murder
July 30	Negro	Bonifay, Holmes Co.	Murder
July 30	"	" "	"
Aug. 2	Negro	" "	Complicity in murder
Aug. 2	"	" "	" " "
Aug. 2	"	" "	" " "
Aug. 2	"	" "	" " "
Sept. 2	Christian, Edward	Graceville, Jackson Co.	Murder
Sept. 2	Bowman, Hattie	" " "	Complicity in murder
Sept. 20	Ticoretea, Castenego	Tampa, Hillsborough Co.	Attempted murder
Sept. 20	Albano, Angelo	" "	" "
Nov. 26	Lowe, Richard	Mayo, Lafayette Co.	Attempted rape
Nov. 26	Matthews, Robt.	Gull Point, Escambia Co.	Rape

1911

Mar. 5	Baker, Galvin	Marianna, Jackson Co.	Threats to kill
May 21	Negro	Lake City, Columbia Co.	Murder
May 21	"	" " " "	"
May 21	"	" " " "	"
May 21	"	" " " "	"
May 21	"	" " " "	"
May 21	"	" " " "	"

1912

Apr. 15	Arline, Sam	nr. Tampa, Hillsborough Co.	Murder
July 14	English, Wm.	Bradentown, Manatee Co.	Insulting white woman
Sept. 15	Murphy H.	Alton, Lafayette Co.	Rape
Nov. 14	Nellis, Preech	Ocala, Marion Co.	Murder
Nov. 19	Archer, Jno.	Ocala, Marion Co.	Murder

1913

July 6	Smith, Roscoe	Yellow River	Murder
July 7	Unnamed Negro	Milton, Santa Rosa Co.	Rape
July 10	Tempers, Kid	Blountsville, Calhoun Co.	Murder
July 23	White, Sam	Haines City, Polk Co.	Attempted rape

1914

Jan. 14	Peek, Lewis and		
Jan. 14	unknown companion	Mulberry, Polk Co.	Murderous assault
May 18	Woolsome, James	Gordonville	Attempted assault on woman in hotel.
Nov. 12	Evans, John	St.Petersburg,Pinellas Co.	Murder

1915

Feb. 16	Richards, John	Sparr, Marion Co.	Insulting women
Feb. 28	Reed, William	Kissimmee, Osceola Co.	Rape
July 23	Owens, H. M.	Trenton, Alachua Co.	Popular prejudice
Sept. 7	Thompson, George	Orlando, Orange Co.	Speaking disrespectfully to a white woman.
Dec. 29	Nimrod, Joseph	Reddick, Marion Co.	Attempted rape

1916

Jan. 20	Anderson, Richardson	Ocala, Marion Co.	Murder
Apr. 17	Dykes, John	Vernon, Washington Co.	Murder
Aug. 19	Young, Stella	Newberry, Alachua Co.	Alleged accessory to murder.
Aug. 19	Dennis, Mary	Newberry, Alachua Co.	" " " "
Aug. 19	Dennis, Bert	" " "	" " " "
Aug. 19	McHenry, Andrew	" " "	" " " "
Aug. 19	Haskins, John	" " "	" " " "
Aug. 19	Dennis, James	" " "	" " " "

1917

June 25	Trent, Shepherd	Punta Gorda, DeSoto Co.	Attempted rape.

1918

Feb. 25	Ganzer, Edward	Live Oak, Suwanee Co.	Murder
May 22	Jackson, Henry	Miami, Dade Co.	Throwing white man under train.

1919

Mar. 12	Walker, Joseph	Greenville, Madison Co.	Shooting man
Mar. 14	Johnson, Bud	Pace, Santa Rosa Co.	Rape
Sept. 8	Cook, Bowman	Jacksonville, Duval Co.	Murder
Sept. 8	Marine, John	" "	"
Nov. 28	Mosely, Samuel	Columbia County	Insult to young white woman.

1920

May 7	Scott, M.	nr. Lakeland, Polk Co.	Insulting white woman
Oct. 5	Givens, Rayfield	McClenny, Baker Co.	Implicated in killing a farmer.
Oct. 5	Givens, Benjamin	" "	" " " "
Oct. 5	Fulton, Smith	" "	" " " "
Oct. 5	Duncan, Samuel	" "	" " " "
Nov. 3	Perry, James	Ocoee, Orange Co.	Insisting on attempting to vote.
Nov. 29	Harris, J. B.	Princeton, Dade Co.	Attempted rape.

1921

Feb. 10 ✓	Campbell, Benjamin	Wauchula, Hardee Co.	Attempted rape.
Feb. 12 ✓	Jones, Elijah	Ocala, Marion Co.	Rape
Mar. 14 ✓	Bowles, William	Eagle Lake, Polk Co.	Improper remarks to white woman.
May 9 ✓	Ballinger, Samuel	Starke, Bradford Co.	Murder.
Oct. 1 ✓	Newsome, Ray	Pinetta, Madison Co.	Insulting white girl
Dec. 26 ✓	Head, Manual	Key West, Monroe Co.	Shooting man.

1922

Jan. 17 ✓	Unnamed man	Mayo, Lafayette Co.	Murder
Feb. 24 ✓	Unnamed man	Santa Rosa County	Killed by mob seeking another Negro who had killed a white man in altercation
July 18 ✓	Mock, Oscar	Lake Jennie Jewell, Orange Co.	Murder
Dec. 10 ✓	Wright, Charles	Perry, Taylor Co.	Murder
Dec. 12 ✓	Young, Arthur	Perry, Taylor Co.	Complicity in murder.

1923

Jan. 2 ✓	Carter, Samuel	Rosewood, Levy Co.	Rape
Jan. 5 ✓	Williams, Mingo	Levy County	No charge
Jan. 5 ✓	Gordon, Lesty (woman)	- Rosewood, Levy Co.	No charge
Jan. 6 ✓	Carrier, James	Rosewood, Levy co.	Resisting posse

1923 (cont'd.

Jan. 17	Wilson, Abraham	Newberry, Alachua Co.	Cattle stealing
June 7	Simmons, Henry	Palm Beach, Palm Beach Co.	Murder
June 15	Simmons,	Homestead, Dade Co.	Murder
Aug. 24	Hart, Benjamin	Jacksonville, Duval Co.	Peeping into young woman's window.
Dec. 30	Burnam, Gene	Dinsmore, Duval Co.	No charge.

1924

May 26	Wilson, Bubbers	Fort Myers, Lee Co.	Attempted rape
May 26	Williams, Milton	Fort Myers, Lee Co.	Rape
July 21	Unnamed man and	Lake County	Insulting woman
July 21	companion	" "	" "
Aug. 31	Woods, Warren	Jasper, Hamilton Co.	Murder

1925

May 13	West, Jack	Longwood, Seminole Co.	Attacking child
Nov. 26	Henry, Arthur	Orlando, Orange Co.	Shooting officer

1926

Jan. 11	Williams, Dick	Ocala, Marion Co.	Attack on woman
May 8	Davis, Charles	Hernando County	Murder
May 9	Watson, Parker	nr. St. Petersburg, Pinellas Co.	Alleged burglaries
May 10	Patterson, Henry	Labelle, Lee Co.	Attempted rape
May	Unnamed man	Vero Beach, Indian River Co.	No charge
June	Unnamed man	" " " "	" "
July 11	Unnamed man	Eau Gallie, Brevard Co.	Rape
Sept. 26	Nelson, Samuel	Delray, Palm Beach Co.	Attempted rape
Dec. 27	Buttington, Geo.	Waldo, Alachua Co.	Attempting to extort at pistol point an alleged debt from a white woman.

1927

1928

1929

Feb. 19	Allen, "Buster"	Brooksville, Hernando Co.	Rape
May 17	Romer, E.R.	Lake City, Columbia Co.	Wounded officer of the law
Oct.	Unnamed man	Hernando County	Charge unknown
Nov. 9	Larkins, Will	Quincy, Gadsden County	Rape

1930

Apr. 29	Hodaz, John	Hillsborough Co.	Bombing houses

1931

Aug. 28	Smoke, Charles	Bountstown, Calhoun Co.	Attacking & beating a forest ranger.
Aug. 28	Smoke, Richard	" "	" " " "

Lynchings in Fla.

		1932	
June 6	Woods, Henry	Jasper, Hamilton County	Robbery & murder
		1933	
		1934	
Jan. 30	Johnson, Robt.	Tampa, Hillsborough Co.	Rape. Taken from offices of the law.
Oct. 26	Neal, Claude	Marianna, Jackson Co.	Rape & murder. Taken from jail.
		1935	
June 2	Stacy, Reuben	Ft. Lauderdale, Broward Co.	Attacking white woman with a knife.
Dec. 30	Joseph Shoemaker	nr. Tampa, Hillsborough Co.	Alleged communistic activities.
		1936	
Sept. 11	Buckie Young	Greenville, Madison Co.	Criminal assault
		1937	
July 20	Richard Hawkins : Ernest Powders :	Tallahassee, Leon Co.	Stabbed an officer
Oct. 3	J. C. Evans	Milton, Santa Rosa Co.	Unnatural crime
		. . . . .	
		1938	
Aug. 9	Otis Price	Perry, Taylor Co.	Criminal assault
		1939	
April 1	Miles W. Brown	Panama City, Bay Co.	Murder
April 29	Lee Snell	Daytona Beach, Volusia Co.	running over w. boy
		1943	
June 16	Cellos Harrison	Marianna, Jackson Co.	tried for murder 1940 of white woman.
		1945	
Oct. 10	Jesse James Payne	Madison Co.	Rape

LYNCHINGS IN GEORGIA

1900-1921

1900

DATE	NAME	PLACE	ACCUSATION
Mar. 18	Barley, John	Marietta, Cobb County	Attempted rape
Apr. 3	Brooks, Allen	Berryville	Rape
May 4	Jones, Marshall	Douglas, Coffee County	Murder
May 13	Whitney, Alex	Harlem, Columbia County	Murder
May 14	Willis, William	Grovetown, Columbia Co.	Murder
June 9	Adams, Simon	Near Columbus, Muscogee Co.	Attempted rape
June 11	Jefferson, Lenny	Metcalf, Thomas County	Attempted rape
June 27	Hines, Jordan	Molena, Pike County	Unknown offense
July 12	Jennings, John	Caswell	Murder
July 24	Hillsman, Jack	Knoxville, Crawford Co.	Rape
Sept. 8	Welly, Grant	Thomasville, Thomas Co.	Assaulting white woman
Oct. 19	Hardman, Frank	Willaston	Rape
Oct. 24	Guer, James	Liberty Hill, Pike Co.	Race prejudice
Oct. 24	Caleaway, James	Liberty Hill, Pike Co.	Race prejudice
Dec. 8	Rufus, Bud	Near Rome, Floyd County	Murder
Dec. 28	Fuller, George	Marion County	Arson

1901

Jan. 3	Redd, George	Rome, Floyd County	Suspected rape
Jan. 3	Thompson, Sterling	Campbell County	Race prejudice
Jan. 5	Unknown Negro	Near Quitman, Brooks Co.	Rape
Mar. 2	Moody, John	Bryan County	Unknown offense
Mar. 13	Harris, Sherman	Shellman, Randolph Co.	Murder
Mar. 18	Unknown Negro	Randolph County	Murder
Apr. 15	Gordon, Kennedy	Portal, Bullock County	Attempted rape
May 10	Johnson, Henry	Valdosta, Lowndes County	Murderous assault
Apr. 29	Grousleby, William	Elberton, Elbert County	Murderous assault
June 29	Unknown Negro	Georgetown, Quitman Co.	Attempted rape
July 29	Erle, Frank	Vidalia, Montgomery Co.	Robbery
Aug. 10	Unknown Negro	Ways Station, Bryan Co.	Rape
Nov. 1	Unknown Negro	Allentown, Wilkinson Co.	Attempted rape

1902

Mar. 29	Young, Richard	Near Savannah, Chatham Co.	Murder
Apr. 1	Allen, Walter	Rome, Floyd County	Attempted rape
Apr. 22	Young, Harry	Locality undetermined	Unknown offense
July 28	McCauley, Arthur	Locality undetermined	Murder
July 28	Wise, John	Pembroke, Bryan County	Rape

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8/19

19

Lynchings in Georgia
(Continued)

1902

(Cont'd.)

DATE	NAME	PLACE	ACCUSATION
Aug. 31	Brosin, John	Monticelle, Jasper County	Attempted rape
Oct. 23	Brown, Benjamin	Tallapoosa, Harrison Co.	Rape

1903

Feb. 7	Hill, Lee	Wrightsville, Johnson Co.	Murder
Feb. 24	Fambro, William	Griffin, Spalding County	Insulted white woman
Apr. 23	Rainey, Andrew	Bainbridge, Decatur Co.	Arson
May 22	Hopkins, William	New Bainbridge, Decatur Co.	Rape
June 1	Gorman, Benjamin	Locality undetermined	Murder
June 8	Peavey, Banjo	Fort Valley, Houston Co.	Murder
June 24	McCoy, Garfield	Newton, Baker County	Murder
June 24	McKinney, George	Newton, Baker County	Murder
June 24	Annett, Wiley	Newton, Baker County	Murder
July 14	Claus, Edward	Eastman, Dodge County	Mistaken identity — N.O.
Sept.	Unknown Negro	Whigham, Grady County	Rape
Oct. 16	Unknown Negro	Cordelle, Crisp County	Unknown offense

1904

May 15	Cummings, John	Appling, Columbia County	Rape
June 1	Thompson, Arthur	Arlington, Calhoun County	Murder
Aug. 16	Reed, Paul	Statesboro, Bullock County	Murder
Aug. 16	Cate, William	Statesboro, Bullock County	Murder
Aug. 17	Son of Rogers	Statesboro, Bullock County	Race prejudice
Aug. 17	Rogers, Albert	Statesboro, Bullock County	Race prejudice
Aug. 17	Lesueres, Rufus	Thomaston, Upson County	Assault
Aug. 22	Glover, Jas	Locality undetermined	Rape
Aug. 28	Scott	Rebecca, Turner County	Murder
Aug. 30	McBride, Sebastian	Portal, Bullock County	Race prejudice
Sept. 18	Ware, John	Royston, Franklin County	Murder
Sept. 21	Troy, Jack	Talbotton, Talbot County	Murder
Sept. 21	Marshall, Eward	Talbotton, Talbot County	Murder
Oct. 12	Weaver, Moses	Tifton, Tift County	Murder
Nov. 29	Simmons, Hurbert	Neal, Pike County	Murder

1905

June 29	Aycock, Lon J.	Watkinsville, Oconee Co.	Murder
June 29	Robinson, Rich	Watkinsville, Oconee Co.	Murder
June 29	Robinson, Lewis	Watkinsville, Oconee Co.	Murder
June 29	Elder, Claude	Watkinsville, Oconee Co.	Murder
June 29	Allen, Rich	Watkinsville, Oconee Co.	Murder
June 29	Yerly, Gene	Watkinsville, Oconee Co.	Murder
June 29	Harris, Robert	Watkinsville, Oconee Co.	Murder

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Lynchings in Georgia
(Continued)

1905

(Cont'd.)

Date	Name	Place	Accusation
June 29	Price, Sandy	Watkinsville, Oconee County	Attempted rape
Oct. 8	Seabright, Thomas	Bainbridge, Decatur County	Rape
Oct. 29	Goodman, Augustas	Bainbridge, Decatur County	Murder

1906

May 14	Womack, William	Eastman, Dodge County	Rape
May 25	Irwin, John	Chipley, Harris County	Murder
July 11	Pearson, Ed	Swainsboro, Emanuel County	Murderous assault
July 31	Carmichael, Floyd	Lakewood — ?	Rape
Sept. 10	Miller, Chas.	Culloden, Monroe County	Attempted rape

1907

May 7	Harris, Charles	Dearing, McDuffie County	Murder
May 21 (5)	Five Negroes	Reidsville, Tattnall County	Race riot
July 1	Posey, "Dock"	Dalton, Whitfield County	Rape
July 2	Herbert, George	Cowen — ?	Murderous assault
Oct. 27	Wilks, John	Byron, Houston County	Robbery

1908

Jan. 9	Coley, Thomas	Goldsboro — ?	Murderous assault
Jan. 9	Webb, Isaac	Goldsboro — ?	Murderous assault
Feb. 17	Unknown Negro	Statesboro, Bullock County	Rape
Feb. 24	Thompson, Gilbert	Statesboro, Bullock County	Rape
	(Alleged rape, proved innocent afterwards)		
Feb. 26	Unknown Negro	Valdosta, Lowndes County	Conspiracy to do violence
Mar. 6	Curry, Robertson	Hawkinsville, Pulaski Co.	Murder
Mar. 6	Henry, John	Hawkinsville, Pulaski Co.	Murder
June 27	Wilkins, Walter	Waycross, Ware County	Rape
June 27	Baker, Albert	Waycross, Ware County	Rape
June 27	Unnamed Negro	Hickox, Wayne County	Complicity in rape
July 29	Williams, Alonzo	Choopee, Toombs County	Attempted rape
Aug. 7	Lokie, Charles	Tifton, Tift County	Insulting remarks to white woman
Aug. 25	Williams, Vance	Louisville, Jefferson Co.	Murder
Sept. 5	Towne, John	Damascus, Early County	Rape
Sept. 22	Thomas, George	Ft. Gaines, Clay County	Murderous assault
Oct. 11	White, Henry	Younker, Dodge County	Murderous assault

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Lynchings in Georgia
(Continued)

1909

Date	Name	Place	Accusation
Feb. 22	Three white men	Mineral Bluff, Fannin County	Rape
Mar. 2	Fowler, Joseph	Bakeley, Early County	Murder
May 24	Aikens, Albert	Lincolnton, Lincoln County	Murderous assault
June 22	Cornaker, William	Talboton, Talbot County	Unnamed offense
June 22	Hardy, Joseph	Talboton, Talbot County	Instigation of murder
June 25	Reese, Albert	Cuthbert, Randolph County	Murderous assault
July 1	Unnamed Negro	Barnett, Warren County	Burglary
July 20	Greene, King	Gum Branch, Liberty County	Insulting women
July 31	Anderson, Simon	Wellston, Houston County	Window peeping
Aug. 27	Clark, Benjamin	Tarryto n, Montgomery Co.	Murder
Aug. 27	Sweeney, John	Tarrytown, Montgomery Co.	Complicity in murder
Aug. 27	Clark, B.	Sopertown, Montgomery Co.	Murder
Dec. 1	Harvard, John	Cochran, Bleckley County	Murder

1910

Feb. 20	Lumpkin, Dan	Columbus County	Alleged complicity in murder
Mar. 2	Unnamed Negro	Vidalia, Toombs County	Attempted rape
Apr. 15	Royal, Albert	Amboy, Turner County	Rape
Apr. 15	Jackson, Charles	Amboy, Turner County	Rape
May 27	Wilson, Charles	Albany, Dougherty County	Rape
July 27	Ralent, Evan	Sylvania, Screven County	Attempted rape
July 31	Unnamed Negro	Near Cairo, Grady County	Rape
Apr. 11	Tabor, James	Alamo, Wheeler County	Rape
Sept. 6	Two Negroes	Clarke County	Attempted burglary and murder
Nov. 8	Walker, John	Montezuma, Macon County	Murder
Nov. 8	Barnes, William	Montezuma, Macon County	Murder

1911

Jan. 22	Johnson, William	Vera	Murder
Feb. 6	Kartz, Pearly	Montrose, Laurens County	Attempted murder
Feb. 25	Jones, Robert	Augusta, Richmond County	Murder
Feb. 25	Vease, John	Augusta, Richmond County	Murder
Apr. 7	Hale, Charles	Lawrenceville, Gwinnett Co.	Murder
Apr. 8	Jordan, Dawson	Ellaville, Schley County	Murder
Apr. 8	Pickett, Charles	Ellaville, Schley County	Murder
Apr. 8	Burton, Murray	Ellaville, Schley County	Murder
May 18	McLeod, John	Swainsboro, Emanuel County	Murder
May 21	Smith, Benjamin	Swainsboro, Emanuel County	Murder
May 22	Moore, Joseph	Crawfordsville, Taliaferro Co.	Murder

Lynchings in Georgia
(Continued)

1911

(Cont'd.)

Date	Name	Place	Accusation
June 30	Allen, Thomas	Monroe, Walton County	Rape
June 30	Watts, Foser	Monroe, Walton County	Suspected rape
July 11	McGroff, William	Baconton, Mitchell County	Murder
Aug. 29	Davis, Peter	Fort Gaines, Clay County	Murder
Sept. 5	Unnamed man	Carlton, Madison County	Attempted roberry and murder
Oct. 5	Unnamed Negro	Dublin, Laurens County	Attempted rape
Oct. 11	Chapman, Andrew	Irwinton, Wilkinson County	Attempted rape
Oct. 19	Lovelace, Terry	Manchester, Meriwether Co.	Murderous assault
Oct. 28	Walker, Daniel	Washington, Wilkes County	Murder
Dec. 23	Warren, John	Donald, Liberty County	Murder

1912

Jan. 22	Hemming, Eugene	Hamilton, Harris County	Murder
Jan. 22	Moore, John	Hamilton, Harris County	Murder
Jan. 22	Crutchfield, John	Hamilton, Harris County	Murder
Jan. 22	Hathaway, Belle	Hamilton, Harris County	Murder
Jan. 30	Hamilton, Albert	Cordelle, Crisp County	Rape
Feb. 4	Powell, Charles	Macon, Bibb County	Assualt and robbery
Mar. 21	Burk, Homer	Cochran, Bleckley County	Murder
Apr. 26	Ethridge, Henry	Near Jackson, Butts County	Race prejudice
Aug. 13	Cotton, T. Z.	Columbus, Muscogee County	Murder
Sept. 10	Edwards, Robert	Cummings, Forsythe County	Complicity in murder
Oct. 5	Yarborough	Americus, Sumter County	Rape
Nov. 30	Williams, Chesbley	Cordelle, Crisp County	Murder

1913

Feb.	McDonald, George	Barney, Brooks County	Disorderly
Feb. 28	Two unknown Negroes	Cornelia, Habersham Co.	Murder
May 5	Moore, John Henry	Appling, Columbia County	Firing pistol, disorderly
May 12	Owensby, Sam	Franklin, Heard County	Murder
June 21	Redding, William	Americus, Sumter County	Shooting officer
July 27	Shake, John	Dunbar, Houston County	Burglary and attempted murder
Aug. 25	Swanson, Virgil	Greenville, Meriwether Co.	Murder
Nov. 21	Boyd, General	Walden, BibbCounty	Attempted rape

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Lynchings in Georgia
(Continued)

1914

Date	Name	Place	Accusation
May 7	Jones, Charles	Grovetown, Columbia County	Suspected burglary
Sept. 26	Brown, Nathan	Rochelle, Wilcox County	Murder

1915

Jan.14	Barber, Daniel	Monticello, Jasper County	Attempted murder
Jan.14	Barber, Jesse	Monticello, Jasper County	Attempted murder
Jan. 14	Barber, Eula	Monticello, Jasper County	Attempted murder
Jan 14	Barber, Ella	Monticello, Jasper County	Attempted murder
Jan. 21	Morris, Peter	Arlington, Calhoun County	Murder
Feb. 4	Culberton, A. N.	Evans, Columbia County	Rape (white physician)
Apr. 16	Sheffield, Ceasar	Lake Park, Lowndes County	Burglary
June 14	Stevens, Samuel	Toccoa, Stephens County	Attempted rape
July 4	Greene, Alonzo	Round Oak, Jones County	Complicity in murder
July 4	Alonzo Green's son	Round Oak, Jones County	Complicity in Murder
July 4	Palmer, Earl	Round Oak, Jones County	Complicity in mrder
July 14	Jackson, Peter	Cochran, Bleckley County	Murder
July 14	Jackson, James	Cochran, Bleckley County	Complicity in murder
July 14	Fambrough, Peter	Cochran, Bleckley County	Complicity in murder
Aug. 16	Frank, Leo (white)	Near Marietta, Cobb County	Murder
Aug. 17	Higgins, John	Amsterdam, Decatur County	Rape
Dec. 20	Bland, Samuel	Eastman, Dodge County	Murder
Dec. 20	Stewart, William	Eastman, Dodge County	Murder

1916

Jan. 21	Seamore, Rodius	Sylvester, Worth County	Complicity in murder
Jan. 21	Seamore, Frank	Sylvester, Worth County	Complicity in murder
Jan. 21	Seamore, Dewey	Sylvester, Worth County	Complicity in murder
Jan.21	Seamore, Major	Sylvester, Worth County	Complicity in murder
Feb. 10	McCorkle, Jesse	Cartersville, Bartow County	Attempted rape
Feb. 10.	King, James	Near St. Mary's, Camden Co.	Murder
Aug. 18	Lewis,	Cat Creek, Lowndes County	Burglary
Sept. 20	White, Henry	Durham, Walker County	Attempted rape
Sept. 21	Hudson, Peter	Cuthbert, Randolph County	Murder
Sept. 27	Shuler, Maxie	Bainbridge, Decatur Co.	Attempted rape
Oct. 4	Conley, Mary	Leary, Calhoun County	Complicity in Murder
Oct. 7	Smith, Charles	Sandersville, Washington Co.	Robbery

1917

Mar. 1	Linton, George	Meigs, Thomas County	Rape
Sept. 18	Moncrief, Rufus	White Hall, Clarke County	Rape

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4

Lynchings in Georgia
(Continued)

1917

(Cont'd.)

Date	Name	Place	Accusation
Nov. 9	Slater, Jesse	Brooks County	Writing insulting letter to woman
Nov. 17	Johnson, Collius	Sale City, Mitchell County	Disputing with white man
Nov. 17	Johnson, D. C.	Sale City, Mitchell County	Disputing white man
Dec. 15	Dekle, Claxton	Metter, Candler County	Murder

1918

Feb. 18	Crosby, "Bud"	Fayetteville, Fayette Co.	Attempted burglary
Mar. 22	Evans, Spencer	Crawfordsville, Taliaferro Co.	Rape
May 18	Head, William	Brooks County	Complicity in murder and assault
May 18	Thompson, William	Brooks County	Complicity in murder
May 18	Turner, Hayes	Brooks County	Complicity in murder
May 18	Rice, Eugene	Brooks County	Complicity in murder
May 19	Turner, Mary	Brooks County	For making unwise remarks about the lynching of her husband — N.O.
May 19	(About this date)	Brooks County	Chime Riley, Simon Schuman and three unidentified Negroes charged with complicity in murder — Extra
May 25	Cobb, James	Cordele, Crisp County	Rape and murder
May 25	Johnson, Sidney	Valdosta, Lowndes County	Murder
May 24	Calhoun, John	Near Barnesville, Pike Co.	Murder
Aug. 11	Raney, Isaac	Near Miller, Colquitt Co.	Rape
Sept. 3	Gillham, John	Gray, Jones County	Rape
Sept. 24	Reaves, Sandy	Blackshear, Pierce County	Rape

5 Lynchings Extra

1919

Apr. 13	Williams, William	Jenkins County	Complicity in murder
May 2	Brown, Denny	Warrentown, Warren County	Murder
May 16	Walters, James	Dublin, Laurens County	Attempted rape
May 26	Washington, Berry	Milan, Telfair County	Murder
Aug. 1	Kelly, Charles	Wesley, Emanuel County	Unknown offense
Aug. 5	Unknown Negro	Cochran, Bleckley County	For making remarks about the Chicago race riot — N.O.
Aug. 14	Grant, James	Pope City, Wilcox County	Attempted murder
Aug. 27	Cooper, Eli	Cadwell, Laurens County	Incendiary talk
Sept. 10	Cox, Obe	Oglethorpe County	Rape and murder

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Lynchings in Georgia
(Continued)

1919

(Cont'd.)

Date	Name	Place	Accusation
Sept. 22	Glenwood, Ernest	Lilly, Dooley County	Incendiary talk
Oct. 5	Martin, Moses	Washington, Wilkes County	Boastful remarks about another Negro shooting an officer of the law — N.O.
Oct. 5	Freeman, Moses	Washington, Wilkes County	Misleading members of mob searching for Jack Gordon — N.O.
Oct. 6	Gordon, Jack	Washington, Wilkes County	Attempted murder
Oct. 7	Hamilton, Eugene	Jasper County	Attempted murder
2 Oct. 18 2	Two unknown Negroes	Near Buena Vista, Marion Co.	Offense unknown
Nov. 5	Jones, Paul	Macon, Bibb County	Rape
Nov. 19	Baynes, Wallace	Madison, Morgan County	Murder
Nov. 30	Everetts, Wesley	Wilkinson County	Attempted murder
Dec. 21	West, Charles	Smithville, Lee County	Murder

1920

Mar. 4	Alexander, Cornelius	Pike County	Jumping labor contract — NO.
June 21	Gaithers, Phillip	Rincon, Effingham County	Rape and murder
Sept. 25	Cremer, Felix	Greene County	Complicity in attempted murder
Sept. 25	Unknown Negro	Dooley County	Attempted murder
Nov. 18	Perry, William	Douglas, Coffee County	Complicity in murder
Nov. 18	Ivory, William	Douglas, Coffee County	Complicity in murder
Nov. 18	Ivory, William Mrs.	Douglas, Coffee County	Complicity in murder
Nov. 23	McKelvey, Curley	Worth County	Complicity in murder
Nov. 30	Unknown Negro	Pavo, Thomas County	Rape

1921

Jan. 2	Roland, James	Mitchell, Glascock County	Murder
Jan. 6	Williams, Samuel	Talbotton, Talbot County	Offense unknown
Jan	Unknown Negro	Undetermined locality	Rape
Feb.	Unknown Negro	Undetermined locality	Murder
Feb. 16	Eberhardt, John Lee	Athens, Clarke County	Murder
Mar. 4	Anderson, William	Baker County	Offense unknown
Apr.	Unnamed old woman	Undetermined locality	Complicity in murder
Apr.	Unnamed man	Undetermined locality	Complicity in murder
June 18	Williams, John Henry	Moultrie, Colquitt County	Murder

R/4

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Lynchings in Georgia
(Continued)

1922

Date	Name	Place	Accusation
Feb. 13	Jones, William	Ellaville, Schley County	Complicity in murder
Mar. 12	Williams, Alfred	Harlem, Columbia County	Attempted murder
May 18	Atkins, Charles	Davisboro, Washington Co.	Murder
May 28	Byrd, William	Brentwood, Wayne County	Murder
July 1	Harvey, James	Liberty County	Rape
July 1	Jordan, Joseph	Liberty County	Rape
July 14	Davis, Jacob	Colquitt, Miller County	Rape
July 25	Anderson, William	Ellenton, Colquitt Co.	Attempted rape
Aug. 1	Glover, John	Holton, Monroe Co.	Murder
Sept. 2	Reid, James	Winder, Barrow County	Attempted burglary and assault
Sept. 28	Johnson, James	Near Sandersville, Washington County	Attempted rape

1923

Feb. 3	Butts, George	Hancock County	Attempted murder
Feb. 3	Unknown Negro	Hancock County	Attempted murder
Aug. 17	Harris, Aaron	Cochran, Blackley County	Rape
Aug. 17	Greene, Lee	Wellston, Houston County	Rape

1924

Mar. 18	Hayes, John	Cordelle, Crisp County	Attempted rape
Apr. 3	Thrash, Beach	Woodbury, Meriwether Co.	Murder

1925

Mar. 2	Unnamed Negro	Rocky Ford, Screven Co.	Rape
Sept. 20	Dixon, William	Milledgeville, Baldwin Co.	Murder

1926

Aug. 30	Wright, David	Douglas, Coffee County	Murder

1927

1928

1929

R/6

3

Lynchings in Georgia
(Concluded)

1930

Date	Name	Place	Accusation
Feb. 1	Irvine, James	Ocilla, Irwin County	Rape and murder
July 29	Mincey, S. S.	Ailey, Montgomery County	No charge reported N.O.
Sept. 8	Grant, George	Darien, McIntosh County	Murder
Sept. 25	Kirkland, William	Thomasville, Thomas County	Rape
Sept. 28	Mitchell, Lacy	Thomas County	Reported to have been star witness in case against two white men for attempted rape of a Negro woman. N O
Oct. 1	Clark, John William	Cartersville, Bartow County	Murder

1931

1932

1933

May 12	Kinsey, William (Negro	Warrenton, Warren Co.	Murder
June 12	Thomas, T. J. (Negro)	Newton, Baker Co.	Altercation with white boys
June 17	Marshall, Richard (Negro)	Newton, Baker Co.	Cause unknown
Oct. 23	Davis, Sexis (Negro) (Cephus)	Richland, Stewart Co.	Rape of Negro girl, resisting arrest and wounding officer of law.

1934

Oct. 7	James, Curtis (Negro)	Nones, McIntosh Co.	Implicating others in stealing turpentine and bootlegging it. Did not come into hands of law. NO

1935

Sept 27	Lewis Harris (Negro)	Vienna, Dooly Co.	Forcibly taking prisoner from officer N.O.
Oct 17	"Bo" Bronson, Negro	Moultrie, Colquitt Co.	Shot to death by posse seeking another man NO

1936

Mar 14	Philip Baker, Negro	Chattahoochee County, Cusseta	Rape
Apr 28	Sim Shaw, Negro	Danielsville, Madison Co.	Att. Rape
May 3	John Rushin, Negro	Paris, Thomas Co.	Murder

LYNCHINGS IN GEORGIA

1935

DATE	NAME	PLACE	ACCUSATION
Sept. 28	Lewis Harris	Vienna, Dooley Co.	Resisting arrest
Oct. 17	"Bo" Bronson	Moultrie, Colquitt Co.	No offense

1936

March 14	Philip Baker	Cusseta, Chattahoochee Co.	Assaulting white woman
April 28	Lint Shaw	Danielsville, Madison Co.	Attempted criminal Assault
May 3	John Rushin	Pavo, Thomas Co.	Attempted assault
Sept. 6	A. L. McCamy	Dalton, Whitfield Co.	Attempted assault
Sept. 12	Tom Finch	Atlanta, Fulton Co.	Resisting arrest
Dec. 23	Mack Henry Brown	Atlanta, Fulton Co.	Insulting white woman

1937

May 25	Willie Reed	Bainbridge, Decatur Co.	Murder and assault white w.

1938

July 6	John Dukes ~~Arab~~	Arabi, Crisp Co.	Killing officer

1940

March 7	Ike Gaston (w)	Atlanta, Fulton Co.	Cruel to wife
Sept. 8	Austin Callaway	LaGrange, Troup Co.	Attempted attack on w.w.

1943

Jan. 30	Robert Hall	Albany, Baker Co.	theft of auto tire, beaten to death by officers of the law en route to jail

1946

July 14	Roger Malcolm + wife George Dorsey and wife	Monroe, Walton Co.	attempted murder of white man by Malcolm

LYNCHINGS IN KENTUCKY

1900-1934

1900

DATE	NAME	PLACE	ACCUSATION
Oct. 18	Warfield, Fraten	Elliston, Grant County	Attempted rape

1901

Sept. 12	Howard, Frank	Wickliff, Ballard Co.	Murder
Sept. 12	Redd, Sam	Wickliff, Ballard Co.	Murder
Sept. 12	Harris, Ernest	Wickliff, Ballard Co.	Murder
Oct. 2	Fields, Jumbo	Shelbyville, Shelby Co.	Murder
Oct. 2	Garnett, Clarence	Shelbyville, Shelby Co.	Murder
Oct. 31	Esters, Silas	Hodgenville, Larue Co.	Forcing white boy to commit crime

1902

Jan. 11	Mays, Jas.	Spyfield	Criminal assault
Feb. 6	Brown, Thomas	Nicholasville, Jessamine Co.	Criminal assault
Feb. 15	Duly, Bell	Fulton, Fulton Co.	Suspected murder
Mar. 20	Drake, Elijah	Madrid Bend, Breckenridge Co.	Larceny
Mar. 20	Stewart, Jas.	Madrid Bend, Breckenridge Co.	Implicated in larceny
Apr. 10	Blambard, Thomas	Fulton, Fulton Co.	Murder
Apr. 30	Dewley, Ernest	Bradenburg, Meade Co.	Murderous assault
Nov. 16	Buckles, Harlan	Elizabethtown, Hardin Co.	Murder

1903

July 14	Thackson, William	Maysville, Mason Co.	Murder
Oct. 9	Hall, Thomas	Kevil, Ballard, Co	Murder

1904

Jan. 24	Radford, Lewis	Guthrie, Todd County	Murder
June 14	Thompson, Marie	Lebanon Junction, Bulitt Co.	Murder
July 17	Unknown	Locality undetermined	Murder
Aug. 30	Bumpass, Joe	Near Hickman, Fulton Co.	Rape

1905

May 22	Shaw, Robert	Waltman, Hancock Co.	Murder
July 7	Beard, Leon	Normandy, Spencer Co.	Rape

Lynchings in Kentucky
(Continued)

1905

(Cont'd.)

Oct. 12	Leavell, Frank	Elkton, Todd Co.	Attempted rape

1906

Jan. 22	Baker, Ernest	Cadiz, Trigg Co.	Murder

1907

Aug. 16	Clifford, William	Maple Grove, - ?	Rape and murder

1908

May 31	McDowell, Jacob	Providence, Webster Co.	Murder
Aug. 1	Jones, Virgil	Russellville, Logan Co.	Expressing sympathy with murder of white man.
Aug.	Riley, Jos	Russellville, Logan Co.	Expressing sympathy with murder of white man.
Oct. 4	David, Wallace, wife and two children	Hickory Grove, Simpson Co.	Making threats.
Dec. 17	Hill, Elmer	Monticello, Wayne Co.	Cause not given

Begin Bourbon Cours.

1909

Apr. 9	Brame, Benjamin	Hopkinsville, Christian Co.	Attempted rape
June 3	Maxey, Jno.	Frankfort, Franklin Co.	Murder
July 20	Lawson, Albert	Paris, Bourbon Co.	Shooting a sheriff
Aug. 10	Miller, Wallace	Cadiz, Trigg Co.	Attempted rape

1910

Apr. 1	Carroll,	Goff, - ?	By night riders

1911

Jan. 15	Patterson, Wade	Shelbyville, Shelb y Co.	Insulting women
Jan. 15	West. James	Shelbyville, Shelby Co.	Insulting women
Jan. 15	Marshall, Gene	Shelbyville, Shelby Co.	Murder
Apr. 21	Potter, William	Livermore, McLean Co.	Murder
Apr. 25	four unknown whites	Campton, Wolfe Co.	Unknown cause

4 persons

1912

14

Lynchings in Kentucky
(Continued)

1913

July	Two Negroes	Germantown, Bracken Co.	Unknown cause
Sept. 26	Richardson, Joseph	Leitchfield, Grayson Co.	Rape

1914

1915

Jan. 12	Molenndro, P	Lovelaceville, Ballard Co.	Night riders
Feb. 9	Tinker, Thomas	Mayfield, Graves Co.	Murder
June 4	Bell, Arthur	Princeton, Caldwell Co.	Rape
Sept. 10	Johnson, Claude	Hickman, Fulton Co.	Murder
Nov. 26	Buckner, Ellis	Henderson, Henderson Co.	Rape

1916

Oct. 16	Henley, Brock	Paducah, McCracken Co.	Rape
Oct. 16	Durrett, Jesse	Paducah, McCracken Co.	Expressing sympathy with Henley

1917

Mar. 12	Sanders, William	Maysville, Mason Co.	Robbery
May 20	Dempsey, Laurence	Fulton, Fulton Co.	Murderous assault

1918

Dec. 16	Lewis, Charles	Hickman, Fulton Co.	Beating sheriff

1919

1920

Mar. 29	Smith, Grant	Paris, Bourbon Co.	Rape

1921

Mar. 13	James, Richard	Versailles, Woodford Co.	Murder

1922

1923

Lynchings in Kentucky
(Concluded)

1924

Nov. 2	Shannon, Frederick	Wayland, Floyd Co.	Murder

1925

1926

June 15	Kirby, Primus	Guthrie, Todd Co.	Wounding officer of the law

1927

Nov. 30	Wood, Leonard	Whitesburg, Letcher Co.	Murder

1928

1929

Dec. 25	Fugate, Chester	Jackson, Breathitt Co.	Murder

1930

1931

1932

May 31	Merrick, Walter (white)	Princeton, Caldwell Co.	Dynamiting store

1933

1934

Jan. 24	Scott, Rex (Negro)	Vicco, Perry County	Wounding man in altercation. Taken from jail.

LYNCHINGS IN LOUISIANA

1900-1934

1900

DATE	NAME	PLACE	ACCUSATION
May 15	Harris, Henry	Lena, Rapides Parish	Attempted rape
June 12	Cobb, Seth	Devalle Bluff, Baton Rouge	Making threats
June 23	Gilmore, Frank	Livingston, Parish	Rape
July 9	Jefferson, Henry	Greene's Bayou, Red River Parish	Unpopularity
July 25	Charles, Robert	New Orleans, Orleans Parish	Murder
July 25	Unknown Negro	New Orleans, Orleans Parish	Race prejudice
July 25	Thomas, August,	New Orleans, Orleans Parish	Race prejudice
July 25	Filean, Baptiste	New Orleans, Orleans Parish	Race prejudice
July 25	Taylor, Lewis	New Orleans, Orleans Parish	Race prejudice
July 25	Mabry, Anna	New Orleans, Orleans Parish	Race prejudice
July 25	Jackson, Silas	New Orleans, Orleans Parish	Race prejudice
July 25	Unknown Negro	New Orleans, Orleans Parish	Race prejudice
Sept. 11	Amos, Thomas J.	Cheyneyville, Rapides Parish	Murder
Sept. 21	Bickham, George	Ponchatoula, Tangipahoa Parish	Burglary
Sept. 21	Bowman, Nathaniel	Ponchatoula, Tangipahoa Parish	Burglary
Sept. 21	Elliott, Charles	Ponchatoula, Tangipahoa Parish	Burglary
Sept. 21	Rollins, Isaiah	Ponchatoula, Tangipahoa Parish	Burglary
Oct. 9	Johnson, Wiley	Baton Rouge, Baton Rouge Parish	Murder

1901

Feb. 17	Jackson, Thomas	St. Peter, St. Landry Parish	Murder
Feb. 21	Vital, Thomas	Fenton, Jefferson Davis Parish	Rape
Mar. 5	Davis, William	Blanchard, Caddo Parish	Rape
May 4	Brigman, Felton	Rodessa, Caddo Parish	Rape
May 4	Johnson, Grant	Alden Bridge, Bossier Parish	For keeping a gambling house
June 5	Dickson, Dic	Minder, Webster Parish	Murder
June 20	Smith, Prophet	Bossier, Bossier Parish	Murder
June 20	Moland, F. C.	Bossier, Bossier Parish	Murder
July 15	Thomas, Louis	Girard, Richland Parish	Theft
July 19	Unknown Negro	Crowley, Acadia Parish	Resisting arrest

Lynchings in Louisana
(Continued)

1901
(Cont'd.)

Sept. 1	West, Sam	E. ~~Louisiana~~ Louisiana Parish	Attempted rape
Oct. 12	Morris, William	Balltown ?	Rape
Nov. 24	Thompson, Frank	Shreveport, Caddo Parish	Murder
Dec. 7	Poydrass, Sam	Lake Charles, Calcasieu Parish	Murderous assault

1902

Jan. 26	Two Negroes	West Carrol Parish	Murder
Feb. 20	Bibb Oliver	Winona, Winn Co.	Accessory to murder
Mar. 19	Woodward, John	Vidalia, Concordia Parish	Murder
Apr. 10	Franklin, George	Homer, Claiborne Parish	Attempted rape
Apr. 10	Unknown Negro	Victoria, Nachitoches Parish	Murder
May 4	Sims, John	Oak Ridge, Morehouse Parish	Sheltering murderer
May 13	Dublane, Nicholas	Loreauville, Iberia Parish	Attempted criminal assault
Sept. 8	Mobley, Wm.	Winona, Winn Co.	Attempted rape
Nov. 26	Lamb, Joseph	Francisville, ½ ?	Attempted rape

1903

Jan. 19	Unknown white man	Locality undetermined	Unknown offense
Jan. 26	Momas, Joseph	Luling, St. Charles Parish	Murder
Feb. 7	Lee, Cornelius	Plaquemine, Iberville Parish	Murderous assault
June 12	Dupree, Frank	Forrest Hill, Rapides Parish	Murder
June 24	Harris, Jack	Concordia Parish	Assault on white man
June 24	Whittle, Lamb	Concordia Parish	Assault on white man
July 26	Sturs, Jennis	Near Shreveport, Caddo Parish	Murder
Oct. 16	Kenny, George	Taylor Town, Bossier Parish	Threats to kill
Nov. 2	Graddvels, Joseph	Taylor Town, Bossier Parish	Murder
Dec. 27	Carr, James	Millview, ?	Murder

1904

May 8	Piper, Frank	Alexandria, Rapides Parish	Making threats
Sept. 18	Allison, John	McGhee Station, West Feliciana Co.	Murder

1905

Apr. 26	Craighead, R.	Homer, Claiborne Parish	Murder
June 1	Wilson, Thomas	Batchelor, Pointe Coupee Parish	Murder
Aug. 12	Unknown Negro	Eros, Jackson Parish	Murder

Lynchings in Louisiana
(Continued)

1905
(Cont'd.)

Nov. 26	Williams, Monsie	Tangipahoa, Tangipahoa Parish	Attempted rape

1906

Feb. 24	Wiltzie, Page	Bienville, Bienville Parish	Suspected rape
Mar. 18	Carr, William	Plaquemine, Iberville Parish	Theft
Mar. 28	Cotton, Corrolle	Red River Parish	Attempted rape
May 8	Whitney, George	Ethel, East Feliciana Parish	Insulting lady
May 23	Jackson, Thomas	Blanchard, Caddo Parish	Robbery
May 29	Rogers, R. T.	Tallulah, Madison Parish	Murder
Aug. 26	Shaugfilet, Alfred	Calhoun, Ouachita Parish	Murder
Nov. 29	Domingo, Huton	Lafayette, Lafayette Parish	Disorderly conduct

1907

Mar. 15	Williams, Flint	Monroe, Ouachita Parish	Murder
Mar. 15	Gardner, Henry	Monroe, Ouachita Parish	Murder
Apr. 16	Strauss, Chas.	Bunkie, Avoyelles Parish	Attempted rape
Apr. 17	Kilbourne, Fred	Clinton, East Feliciana Parish	Attempted rape
May 3	Baly, Silas		
May 3	Baly, Silas	Bossiers' City, Bossier Parish	Rape
June 1	Johnson, Henry	Echo, Rapides Parish	Attempted rape
June 10	Wilson, James	Gibsland, Bienville Parish	Attempted rape
June 25	Jackson, Mathias	Near Alexandria, Rapides Parish	Rape
June 28	Dorans, Ralph	Ruby, Rapides Parish	Rape
Dec. 13	Unknown Negro	Mer Rouge, Morehouse Parish	Murderous assault

1908

Feb. 5	Mitchell, Robert	Oak Grove, West Carroll Parish	Murder
June 4	Cooper, Bird	Homer, Claibourne Parish	Murder
July 18	Three unnamed Negroes	Jonesville, Catahoula Parish	Suspected arson
Aug. 5	Harris, Andrew	Bethany, Caddo Parish	Attempted rape
Sept. 19	Miles, John	Locality undetermined	Robbery and assault
Oct. 12	Hector, Nicholas	New Iberia, Iberia Parish	Desperado

1909

July 30	Antoine, Emile	Grand Prairie,	Murder
July 30	Thomas, Onexsine	Grand Prairie,	Murder
Aug. 15	Unnamed Negro	Morehouse Parish,	Bringing suit against white man

Lynchings in Louisiana
(Continued)

1909
(Con'td.)

Aug. 24	Way, William	Monroe, Ouachita Parish	Murderous assault
Sept. 8	Hill, Henry	Mangham, Richland Parish	Rape
Oct. 1	Ard, Aps	Near Greensburg, St. Helena Parish	Murder
Oct. 12	Rodriguez, Michael	Slabtown,	Robbery
Oct. 27	Gifford, Joseph	Floyd, West Carroll Parish	Murder
Oct. 27	Hill, Alex	Floyd, West Carroll Parish	Murder
Nov. 20	Estes, James	Delhi, Richland Parish	Murder
Nov. 27	Rachel, Henry	Shreveport, Caddo Parish	Rape

1910

Mar. 14	Denton, Ely	Rayville, Richland Parish	Murder
July 10	Freeman, J. D.	Rayville, Richland Parish	Charge not given
Aug. 25	Porter, Laura	Monroe, Ouachita Parish	Keeping disreputable house
Sept. 14	Glover, Isaac	Springfield, Livingston Parish	Murder

1911

Jan. 20	Poulson, Oval	Opalousas, Saint Landry Parish	Murder
July 24	Taylor, Miles	Claiborne, Parish	Murder
Sept. 15	Byrd, Walter	Winnsboro, Franklin Parish	Murderous assault
Nov. 8	Nixon, William	Delhi, Richland Parish	Murder

1912

Apr. 9	Miles, Thomas	Shreveport, Caddo Parish	Insulting white women
Apr. 25	Unnamed	Delhi, Richland Parish	Unnamed offense
May 3	Allums, Ernest	Locality undetermined	Insulting white women
Sept. 25	Johnson, Sam	Grand Cane, De Soto Parish	Murder
Nov. 28	Burke, Wood	Benton, Bossier Parish	Murderous assault
Nov. 28	Heard, Jas.	Benton, Bossier Parish	Murderous assault
Nov. 28	Jimmerson, Silas	Benton, Bossier Parish	Murderous assault
Dec. 28	Cadore, "Norm"	Baton Rouge, East Baton Rouge Parish	Murder

1915

Feb. 15	Ryson, Chas.	Shreveport, Caddo Parish	Cause unknown
Aug. 27	Comeaux, James	Jennings, Jefferson Davis Parish	Murderous assault

Lynchings in Louisiana
(Continued)

1913

(Cont'd.)

Oct. 22	Eaton, Warren	Monroe, Ouachita Parish	Murder
Dec. 13	White, Henry	Campville, ?	Being found under bed in white girl's room
Dec. 16	Williams, Ernest	Blanchard, Caddo Parish	Murder
Dec. 16	Williams, Frank	Blanchard, Caddo Parish	Murder

1914

Mar. 17	Turner, Allen	Wynn Parish	Wounding a white farmer
May 12	Hamilton, Edward	Shreveport, Caddo Parish	Rape
July 7	Unknown colored man	Slidedell, St. Tammany Parish	Murder
Aug. 5	Holmes, Henry	Monroe, Ouachita Parish	Murder
Aug. 7	Griffin, Preston	Monroe, Ouachita Parish	Murder
Aug. 7	Hall, Charles	Monroe, Ouachita Parish	Murder
Aug. 9	Unnamed colored man	Monroe, Ouachita Parish	Suspected murder
Dec. 2	Lewis, Toobe	Sylvester, ?	Murder
Dec. 2	Durden, Monroe	Sylvester, ?	Murder
Dec. 11	Lewis, Watkins	Shreveport, Caddo Parish	Complicity in murder
Dec. 11	Washington, Chas.	Mooringsport, Caddo Parish	Murder
Dec. 11	Henderson, Board	Mooringsport, Caddo Parish	Murder

1915

July 16	Collins, Thomas	Bankie, Avoyelles Parish	Wounding a policeman
Aug. 21	Unknown colored man	Coushatta, Red River Parish	Attempted rape

1916

July 16	Collins, Thomas	Bunkie, Avoyelles Parish	
Nov. 15	Grant, James	Melville, St. Landry Parish	Murder

1917

Feb. 28	Hooper, Emma	Hammond, Tangipahoa Parish	Wounding officer of the law
May 11	Brooks, Henry	Shreveport, Caddo Parish	Intimacy with white woman
May 11	Ruffin, Marcel	(about) Edgard, St. John the Baptist Parish	Vagrancy
July 29	Rout, Dan	Amite, Tangipahoa Parish	Murder

Lynchings in Louisiana
(Continued)

1917
(Cont'd.)

July 29	Rout, Jerry	Amite, Tangipahoa Parish	Murder

1918

Jan. 26	Nelson, James	Benton, Bossier Parish	Being intimate with white woman
Feb. 26	Lewis, James	Delhi, Richland Parish	Participation in fight between white and Negro
Feb. 26	Jones, James	Delhi, Richland Parish	Participation in fight between white and Negro
Feb. 26	Powell, William	Delhi, Richland Parish	Participation in fight between white and Negro
Mar. 16	McNeal, George	Monroe, Ouachita Parish	Robbery and rape
Mar. 16	Richards, John	Monroe, Ouachita Parish	Robbery and rape
Apr. 22	Williams, Clyde	Fawndale,	Assault with intent to murder
June 18	Clayton, Georgia	Mangham, Richland Parish	Murder
Aug. 7	Hall, "Bubber"	Bastrop, Morehouse Parish	Attempted rape

1919

Jan. 18	Thomas, Henry	Grand Bayou, Red River Parish	Murder
Jan. 29	Smith, Thompson	Columbia, Caldwell Parish	Murder
Feb. 14	Fortner, William	Bossier, Bossier Parish	Murder
Apr. 29	Holden, George	Monroe, Ouachita Parish	Writing insulting letter to white woman
Aug. 29	McCarty, Lucius	Bogalusa, Washington Parish	Attempted rape
Sept. 6	Unnamed colored man	Mer Rouge, Morehouse Parish	Attempted rape
Oct. 25	Jackson, Gus	Near Shreveport, Caddo Parish	Charge not given

1920

1921

Feb. 2	Werner, George	Port Allen, West Baton Rouge Parish	Dangerously wounding a man
Apr. 15	Williams, Tony	Rodessa,	Rape
Sept. 2	Unnamed man	Athens, Claiborne Parish	Complicity in murder
Sept. 13	Holmes, Gilemsn	Columbia, Caldwell Parish	Robbery and attempted murder
Oct. 25	Gordon, Samuel	Winnsboro, Franklin Parish	Charged with shooting a white farmer

Lynchings in Louisiana
(Concluded)

1922
~~(Cont'd.)~~

Mar. 13	Culpepper, Brown	Holley Grove, Franklin Parish	No charge
July 7	Pemberton, Joseph	Benton, Bossier Parish	Shooting two women
Aug. 30	Rivers, Thomas	Bossier Parish	Rape

1923

Jan. 4	Leggett, Leslie	Shreveport, Caddo Parish	Trying to associate with white woman. (Leslie was reported as being a Spaniard)

1924

Aug. 2	Wilson, John	Athens, Claiborne Parish	Murder

1925

Feb. 26	Airy, Joseph	Benton, Bossier Parish	Murder

1926

1927

Apr.	Unnamed Negro	DeQuincy, Calcasieu Parish	No charge reported

1928

June 2	Blackman, Lee	Boyce, Rapides Parish	Being brothers of William Blackman
June 2	Blackman, David	Boyce, Rapides Parish	

who in battle with officers of the law had slain one of the officers and had in turn been slain in the battle.

1929

1930

1931

Aug. 2	Livingston, Oscar (Negro)	Pointe a la Hache, Plaquemines Parish	Attempted rape

Lynchings in Louisiana
(Concluded)

1932

Nov. 19	House, William (Negro)	Wisner, Franklin Parish	Insulting white women

1933

Jan. 10	Jenkins, Fell (Negro)	Homer, Claiborne Parish	Cause unknown
Feb. 19	Nash, Nelson (Negro)	Ringgold, Bienville Parish	Murder
Sept. 26	White, John (Negro)	Opelousas, Saint Landry Parish	Attempted rape
Oct. 12	Moore, Freddy (Negro	Labadieville, Assumption Parish	Murder

1934

July 9	McLeod, Andrew (Negro)	Bastrop, Morehouse Parish	Attempted rape. Taken from jail.
Aug. 5	Page, Gafton (Negro)	Bethany, Caddo Parish	Attempted rape. Did not come into hands of law.

1935

Jan. 11	Jerome Wilson	Franklinton, Franklin Parish	Murder
March 3	Anderson Ward	Maringuoin, Iberville Parish	Whipped w. man
Nov. 1	Two Negro men	Gretna, Jefferson Parish	Attempted rape

1938

Oct. 13	R. C. Williams	Ruston, Lincoln Parish	Criminal assault-murder

3

LYNCHINGS IN MISSISSIPPI

1900 - 1935

1900

DATE	NAME	PLACE	ACCUSATION
Mar. 4	Crosby, James	Tutwiler, Tallahatchie Co.	Threats to kill.
Mar. 10	Clayton, Thomas	Hernando, DeSoto County	Rape
Mar. 27	Edward, William	Depp Creek Bridge, Perry Co.	Murder
Apr. 16	York, Moses	Near Tunica, Tunica Co.	Murder
Apr. 19	McAfee, Henry	Brownsville, Hinds Co.	Attempted Rape.
May 1	Ratcliff, Henry	Gloster, Amite County	Attacking white man.
May 1	Gordon, George	Albin, Tallahatchie Co.	Attacking white man.
May 7	Unknown Negro	Amite County	No offense
May 16	Hinson, Samuel	Cushtusha	Assault
June 3	Pete, Dago	Tutwiler, Tallahatchie Co.	Rape
June 10	Askew,	Mississippi, Harrison Co.	Suspected murder.
Aug. 13	Betts, Jack	Corinth, Alcorn Co.	Rape
Sep. 12	Floyd, Zed	Tunica, Tunica Co.	Murder
Sep. 14	Brown, Frank	Tunica, Tunica Co.	Murder.
Sep. 14	Brown, William	Tunica, Tunica Co.	Murder
Sep. 14	Moore, David	Tunica, Tunica Co.	Murder
Oct. 23	Barnes, Gloster	Near Vicksburg, Warren Co.	Murder
Nov. 8	Nabors, Kit	Coahoma, Coahoma Co.	Murder
Dec. 19	Two unknown Negroes	- Arcadia, Issaquena Co.	Murder
Dec. 20	Lewis,	Gulfport, Harrison Co.	Murder.

1901

Feb. 1	Matthews, Warner	Ocean Spgs., Jackson Co.	Rape
Feb. 18	Isham, Fred	Macon, Noxubee Co.	Arson
Feb. 18	Isham, Henry	Macon, Noxubee Co.	Arson
Feb. 26	Knox, John	Scranton, Jackson Co.	Murder
Mar. 20	Bell, Terry	Terry, Hinds Co.	Race prejudice.
Mar. 22	Calvert, Milt	Griffith,	Attempted rape
July 11	Three unknown men	Erwin, Washington Co.	Suspected cattle thieves.
July 11	Ameo, John & Victor-	Erwin, Washington Co.	Offense unknown.
July 20	Philips, Jesse P.	Cleveland, Bolivar Co.	Murder.
Aug. 1	McCray, Betsy	Carrolton, Carroll Co.	Implicated in murder.
Aug. 1	McCray, Ida	Carrolton, Carroll Co.	Implicated in murder.
Aug. 1	McCray, Belfield	Carrollton, Carroll Co.	Implicated in murder.
Aug. 4	Price, William	Carrolton, Carrol Co.	Alleged complicity in murder
Sep. 1	Hill, Richard	Philadelphia, Neshoba Co.	Mu der.
Nov. 4	Unknown Negro	Perry County	Rape

1902

May 13	Muller, Horace	Cookamie County	Attempted murder
July 15	Ody, William	Clayton, Tunica Co.	Attempted rape
July 20	Two Negroes	Cross Roads	Race prejudice
Aug. 4	McDaniel, John	Smithdale, Amite Co.	Lawlessness
Aug. 17	Johnson, Chas.	Walnut Grove, Leake Co.	Rape
Sep. 28	Clark, Thomas	Corinth, Alcorn County	Murder
Oct. 29	Unknown Negro	Estabuchie, Jones Co.	Attempted rape
Nov. 1	Unknown Negro	Darling, Quitman Co.	Mu der
Nov. 20	Youngblood, John	Summit, Pike County	Complicity in murder

1902 (cont'd.)

Nov. 20	Unknown Negro	Summit, Pike Co.	Complicity in murder.

1903

Jan. 10	Hollins, John	Drew, Sunflower Co.	Attempted assault
May 3	Bryant, Robert	Vicksburg, Warren Co.	Murder
May 20	Hart, Mose	Corinth, Alcorn Co.	Murderous assault
May 28	Unknown Negro	Woodville, Wilkinson	Arson
June 4	Dennis, Robert	Greenville, Washington Co.	Alleged rape
June 8	Four Negroes	Smith County	Complicity in murder.
June 8	Negro woman	Smith County	Complicity in murder.
June 12	Kincaid, George	Near Cleveland, Bolivar Co.	Murderous Assault.
July 7	Jarrett, Cato	Stouts Crossing	Murder
Sep.	Jones, George	Mayersville, Issaquena Co.	Arson
Sep.	Williams, Will	Centerville, Wilkinson Co.	Murder
Oct. 27	McAlpin, William	Smith County	Murder
Oct. 29	Unknown Negro	Hattiesburg, Forrest Co.	Attempted rape
Nov. 5	Adams, Samuel	Pass Christian, Harrison Co.	Rape
Dec. 24	Hilson, Eli	Brookhaven, Lincoln Co.	Race prejudice

1904

Jan. 14	Riley, Bush	Tallula, Issaquena Co.	Murder
Feb. 7	Holbert, Luther & Wife	Doddsville, Sunflower Co.	Murder
Feb. 7	Three unknown white men	Near Doddsville, Sunflower Co.	Murder
Mar. 17	Unknown Negro	Saucier, Harrison Co.	Murder
Mar. 19	Sawyer, Fayette	Cleveland, Bolivar Co.	Murder
Mar. 19	Harris, Burke	Cleveland, Bolivar Co.	Murder
May 24	Unknown Negro	O'Neil, Amite Co.	Murder
June 3	Van Horne	Trail Lake, Ozark Co.	Murder
June 3	Clark	Trail Lake, Ozark Co.	Murder
June 4	Mayfield	Trail Lake, Ozark Co.	Murder
June 26	Dunham, Sterling	Europa, Webster Co.	Rape
July 9	Unknown	Unknown	Attempted rape
July 10	Tucker, Jesse	Houston, Chickasaw Co.	Attempted rape

1905

Jan. 4	Unknown Negro	Benoit, Bolivar Co.	Unknown offense
Mar. 5	Unknown Negro	Helm Station, Washington Co.	Murder
June 25	Mobarly, Pierce	Near Meridan, Lauderdale Co.	Murder
July 19	Harris, Henry	Near Glendora, Tallahatchie Co.	Murder
July 25	Harris, Wm.	Near Glendora, Tallahatchie Co.	Murder
Aug. 4	Lewis, Ed	Hattiesburg, Forrest Co.	Murder
Aug. 4	George, Kid	Hattiesburg, Forrest Co.	Murder

Lynchings in
Miss. - cont'd.

1905 (cont'd.)

Aug. 16	Young, Henry	Lake Cormorant, DeSoto Co.	Murder
Sep. 1	Rees, Alt	Rosetta, Wilkinson Co.	Rape
Sep. 14	James, William	Tallahatchie Co.	Informing
Sep. 19	McDowell, John	Rankin County	Unknown offense
Oct. 10	James, John	Woodville, Wilkinson Co.	Attempted rape.
Nov. 22	Simms, David	Coahoma, Coahoma Co.	Murder
Dec. 11	Green, James	Boyle, Bolivar Co.	Rape

1906

Jan. 17	Unknown Negro	Pinola, Simpson Co.	Attempted rape
May 8	Simms, Sam	Jackson, Hinds Co.	Killing a horse
May 23	Younger, George	Columbus, Lowndes Co.	Murder
June 11	Ambrose, Wood	Prentiss, Jefferson Davis Co.	Murder
June 30	Unknown Negro	DeKalb, Kemper Co.	Alleged rape
Sep. 7	Two Negroes	Laurel, Jones Co.	Attempted rape.
Oct. 6	Unknown Negro	Basin, George County	Rape
Oct. 25	Crompton, Thomas	Centerville, Wilkinson Co.	Murder
Nov. 8	Hinks, "Jet"	Lee County	Murder
Dec. 5	Young, Wes	Near Valley Park, Issaquena Co.	Murder

1907

Jan. 23	Bell, Henry	Greenwood, Leflore Co.	Rape
June 8	Johnson, Abe	Near Yazoo City, Yazoo Co.	Race rioter
June 8	Johnson, Harry	Near Yazoo City, Yazoo Co.	Race rioter
June 9	Fox, Less	Near Yazoo City, Yazoo Co.	Race rioter
July 20	Trice, Andrew	Olive Branch, DeSoto Co.	Murder
July 29	Washington, Sam	Near Vicksburg, Warren Co.	Murder
Oct. 11	Jackson, William	Tunica, Tunica County	Burglary
Oct. 11	Shoots, James	Tunica, Tunica County	Burglary
Oct. 11	Robinson, George	Tunica, Tunica County	Burglary
Oct. 23	Sykes, Henry	Van Fleet, Chicasaw Co.	Insulting women.
Oct. 27	Meyer	Carrolton, Carroll Co.	Complicity in murder
Oct. 29	German, Charles	Near Belen, Quitman Co.	Rape
Dec. 16	Husband, Pat	McHenry, Stone Co.	Rape

1908

Jan. 2	Unnamed Negro	Brookhaven, Lincoln Co.	Murder
Jan. 28	Two unnamed Negroes	- Commerce, (near) Tunica Co.	Murder
Feb. 10	Pigatt, Eli	Brookhaven, Lincoln Co.	Rape
Mar. 10	Poe, David	Van Cleave, Jackson Co.	Incendiarism
Mar. 10	Ranston, Thomas	Van Cleave, Jackson Co.	Incendiarism
Mar. 10	Jenkins, Bros.(2)	Van Cleave, Jackson Co.	Incendiarism
Apr. 5	Burr, John	Wesson, Copiah Co.	Murder
Aug. 28	Williams, John	Ittababa, Leflore Co.	Arson
Sep. 8	Patton, Lawson	Oxford, Lafayette Co.	Murder
Sep. 20	Jones, Charles	Yazoo City, Yazoo Co.	Murder
Oct. 10	Dawson, Dee	Hickory, Newton Co.	Alleged complicity in murder.

1908 (cont'd.)

Oct. 10	Fuller, William	Hickory, Newton Co.	Alleged complicity in murder.
Oct. 10	Johnson, Frank	Hickory, Newton Co.	Alleged complicity in murder.
Oct. 11	Davis, Joseph	Lula, Coahoma Co.	Murder
Oct. 11	Davis, Frank	Lula, Coahoma Co.	Murder
Oct. 15	Jackson, W. J.	Hernando, DeSoto Co.	Theft
Nov.	Hodges, William	Union, Newton Co.	Rape
Nov. 10	Leidy, Henry	Biloxi, Harrison Co.	Rape

1909

Jan. 16	Willis, "Pink"	Poplarville, Pearl River Co.	Attempted rape.
Feb. 9	Buskin, Robby	Houston, Chickasaw Co.	Murder
Mar. 12	Gordon, Joseph	Greenwood, Leflore Co.	Murder
Apr. 11	Montgomery, Horace	Unknown	Murder
Aug. 17	Robinson, William	Greenville, Washington Co.	Unnamed cause.
Oct. 28	Four (unnamed)	Kemper County	Murder
Nov. 25	Chambers, Morgan	Meehan, Lauderdale Co.	Robbery

1910

Apr. 10	O'Neil, Thomas	Meridian, Lauderdale Co.	Murder
June 12	Curl, Elmer	Mastadon	Murder
June 15	Mitchell, Otto	Durant, Holmes Co.	Attempted murder
June 28	Jones,	Braxton, Simpson Co.	Murder
Sep. 1	Thompson, Nicholas	- Armory,	Rape

1911

June 16	Bradford, William	Chunky, Newton Co.	Desperado
Nov. 7	Moseley, "Judge"	Lockhart, Lauderdale Co.	Murderous assault.

1912

Jan. 15	Giles, Neely	Sucarnoochee, Kemper Co.	Murder
Feb. 14	Hamilton, Mann	Starkesville, Oktibbeha Co.	Rape
Apr. 3	Coleman, Alex	Starkesville, Oktibbeha Co.	attempted rape.
May 7	Unnamed	Greenville, Washington Co.	Attempted rape.
May 7	Edd, G. W.	Near Macon, Noxubee Co.	Murder
Dec. 17	Unnamed	Jackson, Hinds Co.	Murderous assault

1913

Jan. 30	Unnamed Negro	Drew, Sunflower Co.	Murder
Feb. 7	Williams, Andrew	Houston, Chickasaw Co.	Murder
Feb. 23	Webb, Willie	Drew, Sunflower Co.	Murder
June 27	Robinson, William	Lambert, Quitman Co.	Murder
July 15	Towner, Samuel	Alligator, Bolivar Co.	Murder
Sep. 21	Crosby, Henry	Louisville, Winston Co.	Annoying a white woman.
Sep. 28	Jones, Walter	Harrison. Jefferson Co.	Murder

1913 (cont'd.)

Sept. 28	Jones, William	Harriston, Jefferson Co.	Murder
Oct. 15	Brownlee, Walter	Hinchcliff, Quitman Co.	Alleged rape, proved innocent.

1914

Feb. 16	McQuirk, Johnson	Love Station, De Soto Co.	Murder
Feb. 24	Petty, Sam	Leland, Washington Co.	Murder
July 14	Bailey, Joseph	Comorant,	Murder
Oct. 25	Miller, Mayshe	Aberdeen, Monroe Co.	Murderous assault.
Nov. 3	Burns, Thomas	Hernando, DeSoto Co.	Murder
Nov. 24	Sullivan, Frederick	Byhalia, Marshall Co.	Arson
Nov. 24	Sullivan, Mrs. Fred.	" "	Arson

1915

Jan. 20	Johnson, Edward	Bicksburg, Warren Co.	Murder & cattle stealing
Feb. 10	Hill, Alexander	Brookville, Noxubee Co.	Murder
May 15	Unnamed Negro	Louisville, Winston Co.	Insulting white woman.
June 28	Unnamed Negro	Cedar Bluffs, Clay Co.	Attempted rape.
July 11	Unnamed Negro	DeKalb, Kemper Co.	Theft.
July 16	Mitchell, William	Sardis, Panola Co.	Murderous assault.
Oct. 11	Two unnamed Negroes	Clarksdale, Coahoma Co.	Murder
Oct. 30	Huyler, Joseph	Columbua, Lowndes Co.	Murder
Nov. 12	Taylor, John	Aberdeen, Monroe Co.	Murderous assault.

1916

Mar. 20	Brown, Jeff	West Point, Clay Co.	Attempted rape
Oct. 6	Nance, Allen	Greenwood, Leflore Co.	Murderous assault

1917

June 2	Haynes, Van	Columbia, Marion Co.	Murder
June 2	Hempton, Pratt	Columbia, Marion Co.	Murder

1918

Jan. 17	Edwards, Semuel	Hazelhurst, Copiah Co.	Murder
Apr. 18	Singleton, Claude	Poplarville, Pearl River	Murder
Dec. 20	Clarke, Major	Shubuta ~~County~~ Clarke Co.	Murder
Dec. 20	Clarke, Andrew	Shutuba, Clark County	Murder
Dec. 20	House, Maggie	Shutuba, Clarke Co.	Murder
Dec. 20	House, Alma	Shutuba, Clarke Co.	Murder

1919

Mar. 2	Greene, Eugene	Belzoria, Humpreys Co.	Killing law officer
May 5	Unnamed man	Pickens, Holmes Co.	Writing improper note.
May 15	Clay, Loyd	Vicksburg, Warren Co.	Attempted rape.
May 21	Moore, Wm.	McHenry, Stone Co.	Murder.
May 28	Unnamed man	Mineral Wells, DeSoto Co.	Attempted rape.
June 26	Hartfield, James	Ellisville, Jones Co.	Rape

1919 (cont'd.)

July 2	Unnamed man	Richton, Perry Co.	For discussing lynching of Jones
July 15	Truett, Robert	Louise, Humphreys Co.	Insulting women.
Sep. 10	Reid, D. B.	Clarksdale, Coahoma	Keeping company with white woman.
Nov. 17	Motley, Robert	Lambert, Quitman Co.	Killing landlord in altercation
Nov. 28	Fosworth, Newville	Foxworth, Marion Co.	Rape

1920

July 4	Spencer, James	Enterprise, Clarke Co.	Cutting man in fight.
Aug. 28	Higgins, Blucher	Corinth, Alcorn Co.	Knocking down guard and escaping convict camp.
Aug. 28	Calicut, Daniel	Corinth, Alcorn Co.	Same charge.
Sep. 12	Echols, Wm.	Quitman, Clarke Co.	Murder.
Nov. 5	Jacobs, Benjamin	Tylertown, Walthall Co.	Rape
Nov. 23	Jacobs, Horsy	Tylertown, Walthall Co.	Rape
Dec. 23	Brown, Coleman	Purvis, Lamar Co.	Murder

1921

Jan. 4	Louis, Robert	Meridian, Lauderdale Co.	Murder
Feb. 4	Unnamed Man	Vicksburg, Warren Co.	Crime not reported.
Mar. 19	Ross, Adolphus	Waterville, Yalobusha Co.	Rape
Mar. 20	Jennings, Arthur	Hattiesburg, Forest Co.	Murder
Apr. 4	Thompson, Sandy	Langford, Rankin Co.	Murder
Apr. 4	Moore, Rachael	Rankin County	Inciting racial trouble
Apr. 14	Marshall, George	Lauderdale, Lauderdale Co.	Threats to kill.
Apr. 26	Unnamed man	Carrier, Pearl River Co.	Rape
June 20	Wimberly, Louis	Rankin County	Rape
June 29	Brown, Clarence	Madison County	No special charge.
June 30	Bellows, Wm.	Canton, Madison Co.	Murderous assault.
July 23	Jones, Casey	Hattiesburg, Forest Co.	Murder.
July 24	Dickson, James	Yazoo City, Yazoo County	Attempted rape.
Sep. 19	McDowell, Edward	McComb, Pike County	No motive reported.

1922

Jan. 29	Bell, William	Pontotoc, Pontotoc Co.	Attempted rape.
Jan. 29	Unnamed Negro	" "	Mistaken identity
Feb. 2	Thrasher, William	Copiah County	Attempted rape.
Mar. 8	Baker, William	Aberdeen, Monroe Co.	Rape.
Mar. 18	Unnamed Negro	Crawford, Lowndes Co.	Rape
Mar. 22	Smith, Alexander	Gulfport, Harrison Co.	Operating house of ill fame from which two white girls were taken.
June 20	Collins, Robert	Summit, Pike Co.	Rape
Aug. 22	Banks, Parks	Yazoo City, Yazoo Co.	No special charge except had been warned to leave neighborhood.
Aug. 22	Barrow, L.	Near Lambert, Quitman Co.	attacking wife of planter.

1923

Jan. 3	Webster, Benjamin	Near Waynesboro, Wayne Co.	Murder.
June 11	Unnamed Negro	Ashland, Benton Co.	Murder
July 29	Minnifield, William	Yazoo City, Yazoo Co.	Attacking and severely wounding woman with ax
Aug. 5	Flotow, Howard	Sardis, Panola Co.	Rape.
Sep. 18	Gray, John	Near Richton, Perry Co.	Shooting and wounding man.
Sep. 29	Unnamed Girl (Negro)	Pickens, Holmes Co.	No charge except was in house which mob attacked in effort to get a Negro boy charged with threatening to strike a white man in a dispute over the interest on 50¢. For details concerning this event see Memphis Commercial Appeal, Oct. 7, 1923.
Oct. 6	Ransberry, A. W.	Leflore County	Charged with beating white man in altercation over debt.
Nov. 19	Hardy, Edward	Tunica, Tunica Co.	Robbery & murder.

1924

July 20	Shelton, Harry	Scooba, Kemper Co.	Attempted rape.
Sep. 20	Taylor, Herbert	Jonestown, Coahoma Co.	Rape.

1925

Feb. 17	Winters, Hal	Sidon, Leflore Co.	Murder
Feb. 17	Simons, John	Sidon, Leflore Co.	Murder
Apr. 21	Buckley, William	Tylertown, Walthall Co.	Attempted rape
Aug. 12	Towns, Sidney	Scobey, Yalobusha Co.	Murder
Sep. 20	Ivey, J. P.	New Albany, Union Co.	Rape
Dec. 19	Coleman, Lindsay	Clarksdale, Coahoma Co.	Murder

1926

Mar. 22	Scott, Jacob	DeSoto County	Making improper proposals to woman.
Apr. 22	Mackson, Harold	Picayune, Pearl River Co.	Murder
May 22	Jefferson, James	Vaughan, Yazoo Co.	Entering house and frightening woman.
July 17	Chambers, Frederick	Goodman, Holmes Co.	Shooting officer of the law.

1927

April	Unnamed Negro	Macon, Noxubee Co.	Murder
April	Unnamed Negro	Macon, Noxubee Co.	Murder
May 20	Anderson, Daniel	Cliftonville, Noxubee Co.	Murder
May 25	Raspberry, Bernie	Leakesville, Greene Co.	Improper conduct with white woman.
June 13	Fox, James	Louisville, Winston Co.	Murder.
June 13	Fox, Mark	Louisville, Winston Co.	Murder.
July 6	Smith, Joseph	Midway, Yazoo Co.	Attempted rape.

Lynchings in
Miss. (cont'd.)

1928

June 29	Bearden, James	Brookhaven, Lincoln Co.	Wounding two white men.
June 29	Bearden, Stanley	Brookhaven, Lincoln Co.	Wounding two white men.
July 2	McElwee, Shug	Summit, Pike County	Rape.
Dec. 26	McCallum, Emanuel	Hattiesburg, Forrest Co.	Striking & wounding man.
Dec. 31	Sheppard, Charles	Parchman, Sunflower Co.	Murder & rape.

1929

May 11	Jenkins, Steve	Macon, Noxubee Co.	Murder

1930

Apr. 23	Harris, David	Rosedale, Bolivar Co.	Murder
Aug. 15	Robinson, George	Raymond, Hinds Co.	Resisting officer of law.
Sep. 10	Lockett, Pig	Scooba, Kemper Co.	Robbing two tourists.
Sep. 10	White, Holly	" "	" " "

1931

Mar. 22	Wiley, Steve (Negro)	Inverness, Sunflower Co.	Attempted rape.
Mar. 29	Johnson, Elijah "	Vicksburg, Warren County	Attempted rape.
Nov. 7	Franks, Coleman "	Columbus, Lo ndes County	Wounding white man.

1932

1933

Apr.	~~McGou~~ Micou, Reuben (Negro)	- Louisville, Winston Co.	Slapping youth.
July 22	Unnamed Negro man	Caledonia, Lowndes Co.	Insulting white woman.
Sep. 18	Roscoe, Richard (Negro)	Minter City, Leflore Co.	Wounding man.

1934

June 8	Stewart, Bill (Negro)	- Alligator, Bolivar Co.	Attempted rape. Taken from officers of law.
June 8	Ward, Snow (Negro)	" "	Attempted rape. Taken from officers of law.
July 16	Sanders, James (Negro)	Bolton, Hinds Co.	Writing insulting letter. Taken from armed citizens.
July 25	Beford, Henry (Negro)	Pelahatchee Brandon, Rankin Co.	Talking disrespectfully. Did not come into hands of law.
Aug. 13	Houey, Smith (Negro)	Michigan City, Benton Co.	Murder. Taken from Office
Aug. 13	Wilkerson, James "	" " " "	" " " "

Isadore Isaac Thomas

Lynchings in
Miss. - (cont'd.)

1935

Mar. 12	Young, Ab (Negro)	Near Holly Spgs., Marshall Co.	Murder
Mar. 29	Allen, Rev. T.A. (N.)	Hernando, DeSoto Co.	Sharecropper activity.
June 22	McGee, R. D.	Wiggins, Stone Co.	Rape.
July 15	Bert Moore	Columbus, Lowndes Co.	Alleged attempted rape.
July 15	Morton, Dooley	" " "	" " "
Aug. 5	Bates, Bodie	Pittsboro, Calhoun Co.	Attempted rape.
Sep. 17	Higginbotham, Elwood	- Oxford, Lafayette, Co.	Murder.

1937

April 13	Roosevelt Towns : Bootjack McDaniels:	Duck Hill, Montgomery Co.	Murder

1938

July 6	Tom McGehee	Rolling Fork, Sharkey Co.	Murder
Nov. 21	Wilder McGowan	Wiggins, Stone Co.	Criminal assault
July 27	Claude Brooks	Canton, Madison Co.	No crime

1939

May 8	Joe Rogers	Canton, Madison Co.	difficulty with white employer

1942

Oct. 12	Charles Lang (14) Earnest Green "	Quitman, Clarke Co.	attempted rape of 13 yr. old white girl.
Oct. 17	Howard Nash	Laurel, Jones Co.	murder

1944

Mar. 26	Rev. Isaac Simmons	Liberty, Amite Co.	whites wanted to take some land away from Simmons and he got a lawyer to defend property

LYNCHINGS IN NORTH CAROLINA

1900-1934

1900

DATE	NAME	PLACE	ACCUSATION
Mar. 4	Ratcliffe, George	Clyde, Haywood County	Rape
Mar. 22	Ritter, George	Carthage, Moore County	Informer
Sept. 1	Unknown Negro	Forest City, Rutherford Co.	Murder
A			

1901

Aug. 21	Hough, Luke	Wadesborough, Anson County	Murder

1902

Mar. 25	Walker, James	Washington, Beaufort County	Murder
June 11	Gillespie, Harrison	Salisbury, Rowan County	Murder
Aug. 25	Jones, Thomas	Seven Springs, Wayne Co.	Rape

1903

July 3	Osborne, John	Charlotte, Mecklenburg Co.	Assaulting white woman

1904

May 19	Unknown	Seaboard, Northampton Co.	Rape

1905

Aug. 27	Moore, John	Clark, Craven County	Murderous assault

1906

May 28	Johnson, J. V.	Wadesboro, Anson County	Murder
Aug. 6	Gillespie, John	Salisbury, Rowan County	Murder
Aug. 6	Dillingham, Jack	Salisbury, Rowan County	Murder
Nov. 15	Harris, William	Near Ashville, Buncombe Co.	Murder

1907

1908

Jan. 12	Unknown Negro	Pine Level, Johnston Co.	For giving poor entertainment. Lynched by Negroes.

Lynchings in North Carolina
(Continued)

1909

1910

May 26	Negro	Charlotte, Mecklenburg Co.	Rape
Oct. 8	Negro	Pelham, Casewell Co.	Robbery

1911

1912

June 25	Beston, Ann	Pinehurst, Moore County	Murder

1913

Aug. 26	McNeely, Joseph	Charlotte, Mecklenburg Co.	Murder

1914

Jan. 27	Wilson, James	Wendall, Wake County	Murder

1915

1916

Jan. 12	Richards, John	Goldsboro, Wayne County	Murder
Apr. 5	Black Joseph	Kingston, Lenoir County	Assisting son to escape.

1917

1918

Mar. 23	Basemore, Peter	Lewiston, Bertie County	Attack on white woman
Nov. 5	Taylor, Georgia	Rolesville, Wake Co.	Rape

1919

Feb. 6	Daniels, John	Jacksonville, Onslow Co.	Murder
Feb. 6	Pettaway, Daniel	Jacksonville, Onslow Co.	Murder
Aug. 21	Tyler, Walter	Near Louisburg, Franklinburg County	Rape
Dec. 27	Greene, Powell	Franklinton, Franklin Co.	Murder

Lynchings in North Carolina

(Continued)

1920

July 7	Roach, Edward	Roxboro, Person County	Attempted rape
Aug. 25	Jeffrees, John	Graham, Alamance County	Rape
Oct.	Artis, Norman	Freemont, Wayne Co.	Peeping through window at woman.

1921

Jan. 24	Williams, Alfred	Warrentown, Warren Co.	Leader in race clash
Jan. 24	Bullock, Plummer	Warrenton, Warren Co.	Leader in race clash
Aug. 3	Whitfield, Jerome	Kingston, Lenoir Co.	Rape
Sept. 18	Daniel, Erma St	Pittsboro, Chatham Co.	Found in room of young white woman

1922

1923

1924

1925

1926

1927

1928

1929

1930

Aug. 19	Moore, Oliver	Tarboro, Edgecombe County	Rape

1931

1932

1933

Aug. 27	Rogers, Dock (Negro)	Burgaw, Pender County	Wounding white persons.

1934

1935

Aug. 3	Govan Ward	Louisburg, Franklin Co.	Chopped off head of w. man

LYNCHINGS IN OKLAHOMA

1900-1934

1900

1901

DATE	NAME	PLACE	ACCUSATION
May 10	Chandler, J. L.		Suspected killing cattle
May 25	Campbell, William	Pond Creek, Grant Co.	Murder

1902

1903

1904

1905

1906

May 25	Unknown man	Choctaw Nation, Oklahoma Co.	Murder
July 2	Unknown	Chickasha, Grady Co.	Rape

1907

Mar. 31	William, James	Colbert, Bryan Co.	Attempted rape
Dec. 24	Garden, Jas.	Muskogee, Muskogee Co.	Murder

1908

1909

Apr. 19	Miller, J. B.	Ada, Pontotoc Co.	Murder
Apr. 19	Burrell, D. B.	Ada, Pontotoc, Co.	Complicity in murder
Apr. 19	Allen, Jos.	Ada, Pontotoc Co.	Complicity in murder
Apr. 19	West, Jesse	Ada, Pontotoc Co.	Complicity in murder
June 26	Shennien, Sylvester	Wilburton, Latimer Co.	Murder

1910

Aug. 15	Buckley, Jos.	Weleetka, Okfuskee Co.	Murder
Nov. 15	Unnamed Negro	Mannford, Creek Co.	Murder

Lynchings in Oklahoma

(Continued)

1911

May 25	Laura Nelson and son	Okemah, Okfuskee Co.	Murder
Aug. 24	Carter, Peter	Purcell, McClain Co.	Rape
Oct. 22	Suddeth, Edward	Corneta	Murder
Dec. 6	Walker, Bud	Mannford, Creek Co.	Murder

1912

Jan. 1	Turner, Sam	Muldrow, Sequoyah Co.	Murder

1913

June 13	Simmons, Dennis	Anadarko, Caddo Co.	Murder
Aug. 14	Franklin, Senders	Addmore, Carter Co.	Murder
Aug. 14	Ralston, Harry	Ardmore, Carter Co.	Murder
Nov. 4	Gudjo, John	Wewoka, Seminole Co.	Murder

1914

Jan. 27	Dickerson, Benjamin	Purcell, McClain Co.	Murder
Mar. 31	Scott, Marie	Wagoner Co.	Murder
Aug. 1	Williams, Crockett	Eufaula, McIntosh Co.	Murder

1915

May 9	Ward, Dr. E. B.	Norman, Cleveland Co.	Murder
Aug. 6	Berry, Edward	Shenee, Pottowatamie Co.	Rape
Sept. 4	Washington, Anderson	Wagoner, Wagoner Co.	Attempted rape

1916

Apr. 3	Martin, Oscar	Idabel, McCurtain Co.	Rape
Apr. 9	Dudley, Carl	Lawton, Comanche Co.	Murder
Sept. 29	Foreman, John	Nowata, Nowata Co.	Accessory to murder
Sept. 29	Powell	Nowata, Nowata Co.	Accessory to murder

1917

June 16	Conly, Henry	Holdenville, Hughes Co.	Rape

1918

June 29	McGill, Lougious	Madill, Marshall Co.	Attempted rape

Lynchings in Oklahoma

(Concluded)

1919

1920

Aug. 28	Owens, Thomas M.	Tulsa, Tulsa Co.	Murder
Aug. 29	Chandler, Claude	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Co.	Alleged murder
Dec. 5	Unnamed Negro	Holdenville, Hughes Co.	Rape

1921

1922

Jan. 17	Brooks, Jacob	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Co.	Strike breaker

1923

Nov. 5	Dowell, Dallas	Eufaula, McIntosh Co.	Rape

1924

1925

1926

1927

1928

1929

1930

May 31	Argo, Henry	Chickasha, Grady Co.	Attempted rape

LYNCHINGS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

1900-1934

1900

DATE	NAME	PLACE	ACCUSATION
Jan. 11	Salter, Rufus	West Springs, Union Co.	Suspected of arson
Feb. 17	Burts, William	Basket Mills,	Threats to kill

2

1901

Jan. 16	Robinson, Charles	Elke, Barnwell Co.	Rape
July 14	Haines	Thickety, Union Co.	Murder
July 21	Cornish, William	Port Royal, Beaufort Co.	Murder
Oct. 21	Unknown Negro	Hampton, Hampton Co.	Burglary
Nov. 24	Ladison, John	Anderson, Anderson	Murder

5

1902

June 5	Black, Jas.	Ravenals, Charleston Co.	Murder
Dec. 27	Wideman, Oliver	Troy, Greenwood Co.	Murder
Dec. 27	Wideman, Mrs.	Troy, Greenwood Co.	Murder

3

1903

July 1	Evans, Charles	Norway, Orangeburg Co.	Suspected of murder
July 1	Twobunknown Negroes	Norway, Orangeburg, Co.	Suspected of murder
July 1	Elrod, Rubb	Piedmont, Greenville Co.	Race prejudice
July 20	Butler, Jesse	Aiken, Aiken Co.	Mistaken identity
Nov. 24	Nelson, Charles	Jefferson, Chesterfield Co.	Rape
Nov. 28	Fagler, John	Ross Station	Attempted rape

6

1904

Jan. 15	Lee, "Gen"	Dorchester County	Attempted rape
June 30	Williams, Cairo	Scranton, Florence Co.	Murder
July 5	Taylor, John	Chesterfield Co.	Attempted rape
Sept. 24	Unknown	Waterloo, Laurens Co.	Rape
Oct. 1	Morrison, John	Kershaw, Kershaw Co.	Murder

5

1905

Sept. 20	Pendleton, Allen	Abbeville, Abbeville Co.	Murder
Dec. 20	Da Loach, Frank	Barnwell, Barnwell Co.	Murder

Lynchings in South Carolina
(Continued)

1905

(Cont'd.)

Dec. 20	Da Loach, John	Barnwell, Barnwell Co.	Murder	3

1906

June 14	Hughes, Moses	Union, Union Co.	Alleged arson	
Aug. 20	Davis, Robert	Greenwood, Greenwood Co.	Rape	
Aug. 20	Ethridge, Robt.	Mont Willing	Attempted rape	
Nov. 15	Davis, Mark	Near Newberry, Newberry Co.	Murderous assault	4

1907

May 7	Unknown	Marion County	Rape	
June 2	Hudson, George	Trenton, Edgefield Co.	Attempted rape and murder	2

1908

Nov. 23	Gilmore, Jim	Luray, Hampton Co.	Attempted assault	1

1909

Jan. 6	Unnamed Negro	Lexington, Lexington Co.	Rape	
Jan. 6	Davis, Arthur	Florence, Florence Co.	Dispute with white men	
June 11	Samuels, Frank	Branchville, Orangeburg Co.	Murder	3

1910

Nov. 26	Clark, Flute	Little Mountain, Newberry Co.	Murder	1

1911

Oct. 10	Jackson, Willis	Near Greenville, Greenville County	Rape	1

1912

Mar. 15	Dublin, Alfred	Olar, Bamberg County	Arson	
Mar. 13	Dublin, Richard	Olar, Bamberg County	Arson	
Mar. 13	Rivers, Peter	Olar, Bamberg Co.	Arson	
Mar. 29	Whisonant, Fred	Blacksburg, Cherokee Co.	Murder and assault	

Lynchings in South Carolina
(Continued)

1912

(Cont'd.)

Mar. 29	Bronson, Joe	Blacksburg, Cherokee Co.	Murder and assault
Nov. 23	Thomas, William	Newberry, Newberry Co.	Murder
Dec. 21	Fitts, Henry	Norway, Orangeburg Co.	Refusal to pay a note.

7

1913

Jan. 23-	Unnamed Negro boy	Manning, Clarendon Co.	Assault and battery
Aug. 11	Puckett, Richard	Laurens, Laurens Co.	Rape

2

1914

July 12	Carson, Rose	Elloree, Orangeburg Co.	Murder
Nov. 24	Wilson, Dillard	Shiloh, Sumter Co.	Suspected murder
Dec. 4	Greene, William	Coward, Florence Co.	Frightening women
Dec. 16	Seymour, Allen	Hampton, Hampton Co.	Rape

4

1915

June 14	Smith, Jules	Winnsboro, Fairfield Co.	Rape

1

1916

Jan. 2	Sims,	Anderson, Anderson Co.	Insulting a white girl
Oct. 21	Crawford, Anthony	Abbeville, Abbeville Co.	For striking white in altercation

2

1917

Aug. 23	Sims, W. D.	York, York Co.	Seditious utterance

1

1918

Feb. 25	Best, Walter	Fairfax, Barnwell Co.	Murder

1

1919

June 21	Smith, Mark	Abbeville, Abbeville Co.	Shooting a deputy sheriff

1

Lynchings in South Carolina
(Continued)

1920

Apr. 1	Robertson, George	Laurens, Laurens Co.	Altercation with white boys	1

1921

June 19	Quarles, Herbert	McCormick, McCormick Co.	Rape	
Aug. 24	Allen, William	Chapin, Lexington Co.	Murder	
Sept. 8	Butler, Mansfield	Aiken County	Murderous attack on a woman	
Sept. 8	Thompson, Charles	Aiken County	Murderous attack on a woman	
Oct. 24	Kirkland, Edward	Appleton, Allendale Co.	Killing white farmer in altercation over rent	5

1922

Jan. 3	Unnamed man	Williamsburg County	Intimate with white woman	1

1923 0

1924

April 21	Adams, Luke	Near Norway, Orangeburg Co.	Rape	1

1925 0

1926

Oct. 6	Lowman, Bertha, Clarence and Demmond	Aiken, Aiken County	Killing officer of the law	1

1927

1928

1929

Lynchings in South Carolina

(Concluded)

1930

April 24	Greene, Allen	Walhalla, Oconee County	Attempted rape
June 21	Jenkins, Daniel	Union, Union County	Rape

2

1931

1932

1933

Feb. 19	Jeter, George (Negro)	Aiken, Aiken County	Stealing liquor
July 5	Beady, Norris (Negro)	Clinton, Laurens Co.	Striking white man
Oct. 9	Thompson, Benjamin "	Ninety-Six, Greenwood Co.	Arguing with white men
Nov. 17	Greene, George (Negro)	Taylors, Greenville Co.	Cause unknown

4

1941

Feb 20	Tisdale, Bruce (Negro)	Andrews, Georgetown Co.	No reason given

1947

	Earle, Willie (Negro)	Greenville, Greenville Co.	attempted murder of taxi driver

LYNCHINGS IN TENNESSEE

1900-1934

1900

DATE	NAME	PLACE	ACCUSATION
Jan. 9	Giveney, Henry	Ripley, Lauderdale Co.	Murder
Jan.9	Giveney, Roger	Ripley, Lauderdale Co.	Murder
Jan. 16	Ganse, Anderson	Henning, Lauderdale Co.	Aiding in excape of murderer
Mar. 23	Rice, Lewis	Ripley, Lauderdale Co.	Testifying for one of his own race
Sept. 10	Reams, Logan	Duplex, Williamson	Attempted rape
Sept. 26	Unknown Negro	Near South Pittsburg, Marion County	Rape
Oct. 3	Williams,	Tiptonville, Lake Co.	Robbery

— 8

1901

Feb. 18	King, Fred	Dyersburg, Dyer Co.	Attempted rape
Mar. 16	Crutchfield, Ballie	Rome, Smith Co.	Alleged theft
Mar. 17	Fitzgerald, Isaac	Tiptonville, Lake Co.	Rape
Apr. 29	Mallory, Wyatt	Springfield, Robertson Co.	Murder
Apr. 2	Davis, Charles	Smithville, De Kalb Co.	Rape
Apr. 25	Moles, Henry	Near Winchester, Franklin County	Murder
Oct. 4	McClennon, Walter	Huntington, Carroll Co.	Assaulting white man
Oct. 7	Four Negroes	Caney Springs, Marshall Co.	Murder

Fe

— 8

1902

Feb. 6	Whitaker, Enless	Lynchburg, Moore Co.	Murder
May 12	Underwood, Jas.	Decatur, Meigs Co.	Making threats
Oct. 8	Burley, Garfield	Newburn, Dyer Co.	Murder
Oct. 8	Brown, Curtis	Newburn, Dyer Co.	Murder
Nov. 15	Davis, John	Lewisburg, Marshall Co.	Murder

— 5 —

1903

June 24	Jones, Charles	Elk Valley, Campbell Co.	Rape
Aug. 5	Unknown Negro	Lewisburg, Marshall Co.	Unknown offense
Aug. 5	Unknown Negro	Lewisburg, Marshall Co.	Unknown offense
Sept.	Small, Allen	Lynchburg, Moore Co.	Attempted rape
Dec. 10	Brale, Joseph	Ripley, Lauderdale Co.	Murder

— 5 —

Lynchings in Tennessee
(Continued)

1904

Jan. 5	Alexander, Robert	Ripley, Lauderdale Co.	Race prejudice
Apr. 29	Seacey, Thomas	Haywood County	Rape

— 2

1905

Mar. 8	Gwyn, Renee	Tullahoma, Coffee Co.	Theft
Oct. 10	Billings, Luther	Brunswick, Shelby Co.	Attempted rape

— 2

1906

Mar. 19	Johnson, Ed	Chattanooga, Hamilton Co.	Murder
Oct. 29	Estes, George	Heles Point, Lauderdale Co.	Murder

— 2

1907

2 July 22	Two Negroes	Lake Co.	Fighting white man

— 1

1908

Jan. 21	Cole, Walter	Morgan County	Murder
May 8	Garvard, Elmo	Pulaski, Giles Co.	Attempted rape
July 14	Jones, Hugh	Middleton, Hardman Co.	Attempted rape
Aug. 28	Johnson, George	Murfreesboro, Rutherford Co.	Attempted rape
Oct. 19	Taylor, R. E.	Walnut Log, ?	By night riders
Oct. 19	Rankin, Quinten	Walnut Log, ?	By night riders
Nov. 24	Stineback, Marshall	Tiptonville, Lake Co.	Murder
Nov. 24	Stineback, Edward	Tiptonville, Lake Co.	Murder
Nov. 24	Stineback, Tennis	Tiptonville, Lake Co.	Murder

— 9

1909

— 0

1910

Sept. 13	Sharp, William	Tiptonville, Lake Co.	Attempted rape
Sept. 13	Bruce, Robert	Tiptonville, Lake Co.	Attempted rape

— 2

1911

May 25	Sweet, James	Gallatin, Sumner Co.	Murder
June 1	Crumpt, Patrick	White Haven, Shelby Co.	Attempted rape
June 8	Winston, John	Lafayette, Macon Co.	Murder
Dec. 6	Unnamed Negro	Near Clifton, Wayne Co.	Race prejudice

— 4

Lynchings in Tennessee
(Continued)

1912

Feb. 13	Unnamed Negro	Memphis, Shelby Co.	Rape
Feb. 19	Grer, Walter	Shelbyville, Bedford Co.	Murder
Feb. 19	Neal, David	Shelbyville, Bedford Co.	Murder
Feb. 19	Boman, Green	Shelbyville, Bedford Co.	Murder
May 27	Samuels, Jacob	Robertson County	Rape

-5-

1913

Nov. 7	Talley, John	Dyersburg, Dyer Co.	Attempted rape

-1

1914

July 27	Varner, Lew	Clarksville, Montgomery County	Rape

-1

1915

Apr. 28	Brooks, Thomas	Summerville, Fayette Co.	Killing officer of the law
Sept. 4	Wilson, Mallie	Dresden, Weakley Co.	Entering bedroom of white woman

-2

1916

Mar. 6	Whitley, Will	Lebanon, Wilson Co.	Killing officer of the law
Sept. 28	Todme, Wiley	Hohenwals, Lewis Co.	Murder
Sept. 28	Carter, Manual	Hohenwald, Lewis Co.	Murder

-3

1917

Mar. 19	Thomas, William	Halls, Lauderdale Co.	Killing officer of the law
May 22	Persons, Eli	Near Memphis, Shelby Co.	Rape and murder
Dec. 2	Scott, Ligon	Dyersburg, Dyer Co.	Rape

-3

1918

Feb. 10	Lynch, G. W.	Near Estell Springs, Franklin Co.	Killing two men
Feb. 10	McIlherron, James	Near Estell Springs, Franklin Co.	Killing two men

Lynchings in Tennessee
(Continued)

1918

(Concluded)

Apr. 22	Noyes, Berry	Lexington, Henderson Co.	Killing officer of the law
May 19	Devert, Thomas	Erwin, Union Co.	Attempted rape

-4

1919

Oct. 26	Booth, Henry	Humboldt, Gibson Co.	Attempted rape

-9

1920

-0

1921

May 7	Bolling, Berry	Huntsville, Scott Co.	Murdering a woman

-1

1922

Oct. 20	Hartley, Edmond	Camden, Benton Co.	Complicity in murder
Oct. 20	Hartley, George	Camden, Benton Co.	Complicity in murder

-2

1923

-0

1924

Dec. 15	Smith, Samuel	Nashville, Davidson Co.	Murder and attempted robbery

-1

1925

-0

1926

Oct. 8	Bell, Herbert	Dover, Stewart Co.	Murder

-1

1927

Sept. 28	Williams, Tommie	Barrettsville, Shelby Co.	Attempted rape
Nov. 11	Choate, Henry	Columbia, Maury Co.	Attempted rape

-2

Lynchings in Tennessee
(Concluded)

1928 — 0

1929

May 29	Boxley, Joseph	Alamo, Crockett Co.	Rape

— 1

1930 — 0

1931

Apr. 17	Smith, George	Union City, Obion Co.	Attempted rape

— 1

1932 — 0

1933

June 8	Boyette, Jerome (white)	Huntsville, Scott Co.	Murder
June 8	Winchester, Harvey (white)	Huntsville, Scott Co.	Murder
Dec. 15	Cheek, Cord,	Columbia, Maury Co.	Attempted rape

— 3

1934

June 24	Wilkerson, James (Richard)	Manchester, Coffe Co.	Striking man. Did not come into the hands of the law

— 1

1935

Nov. 4	Baxter Bell	White Bluff, Dickson Col	Striking w. woman

— 1

1937

Aug. 17	Albert Gooden	Covington, Tipton Co.	Slaying officer

1940

June 22	Elbert Williams	Brownsville, Haywood Co.	Attempting to qualify to vote

1944

Nov 23	James T. Scales (17)	Pikesville Bledso Co.	ax & knife murder of white woman!

LYNCHINGS IN TEXAS

1900-1934

DATE	NAME	PLACE	ACCUSATION
		1900	
Feb. 11	Sweeny, James	Port Arthur, Jefferson Co.	Murder
Nov. 15	Three Negroes	Jefferson, Marion Co.	Attempted murder
		1901	
Feb. 11	Carter, George	Paris, Lamar County	Rape
Mar. 15	Henderson, John	Corsicana, Navarro Co.	Rape
Aug. 1	Unknown Negro	Mobile, Tyler County	Insulting white woman
Aug. 20	Wilder, Abe	Dexter, Cooke County	Murder
Aug. 25	Martinez, Felix	Kenedy, Karnes County	Unknown
Oct. 3	Five Negroes	Harrison,	Quarrel over profit sharing
Oct. 25	Gordon, Galnor	Quitman, Wood County	Murder
Dec. 25	McClinton, J. H.	Paris, Lamar Co.	Unknown offense
		1902	
Mar. 11	Bird, Nathan	Luling, Caldwell County	Unknown offense
Mar. 11	Son of Bird	Luling, Caldwell County	Unknown offense
May 22	Morgan, Dudley	Long View, Gregg County	Criminal assault
Sept. 4	Walker, Jesse	Hempstead, Waller Co.	Rape
Oct. 4	Duncan, Utt	Columbus, Colorado Co.	Attempted rape
Oct. 21	Wesley, Jos.	Hempstead, Waller County	Rape
Oct. 21	Barton, Reddish	Hempstead, Waller County	Rape
		1903	
Jan. 14	O'Neal, Ransom	Angleton, Brazoria Co.	Murder
Jan. 14	Tunstall, Charles	Angleton, Brazoria Co.	Murder
Apr. 26	Johnson, Hensley	Carthage, Panola Co.	Attempted rape
May 27	Unknown	Kemp, Kaufman Co.	Rape
July 23	Allen, Moony	Beaumont, Jefferson Co.	Murder
July 31	Unknown	Near Alto, Cherokee Co.	Assault
Oct. 1	Davis, Walker	Marshall, Harrison Co.	Murder
		1904	
July 30	Larremore, John	Lockhart, Caldwell Co.	Race prejudice by white caps
Aug. 31	Turner, Oscar	Weimar, Colorado Co.	Attempted rape

Lynchings in Texas
(Continued)

1904
(Cont'd.)

[illegible]. 1	Tucker, Oscar	Weimar, Colorado Co.	Rape

1905

Feb. 16	Munes, Carlos	Near Dale, Caldwell Co.	Rape
Feb. 17	Johnson, William	Smithville, Bastrop Co.	Rape
June 20	Simon, Ford	Riverside, Walker Co.	Rape
July 14	Mason, Frank	Golinda, Goliad Co.	Rape
July 29	Unknown Negro	Avery, Bowie Co. Red River	Rape
Aug. 8	Majors, Sank	Waco, McLennan Co.	Rape
Aug. 11	Williams, Thomas	Sulphur Springs, Hopkins Co.	Attempted rape
Aug. 14	Williams, Thomas	Sulphur Springs, Hopkins Co.	Attempted rape
Sept. 7	Davis, Stephen	Italy, Ellis County	Rape
Nov. 11	Reese, John	Henderson, Rusk County	Murder
Nov. 11	Askew, Robert	Henderson, Rusk County	Murder

1906

Jan. 10	Harris, Benjamin	Moscow, Polk County	Murder
Apr. 24	Negro	Groesbeck, Limestone Co.	Rape
Apr. 25	Negro	Oakwood, Leon County	Rape
Sept. 15	Frazier, Mitchell	Rosebud, Falls County	Murderous assault
Oct. 26	Pitts, "Slab"	Toyah, Reeves County	Marrying a white woman

1907

July 14	Wilson, Fred	Del Rio, Valverde Co.	Murder
Aug. 6	Hall, Thomas	Goliad, Goliad County	Attempted rape
Nov. 4	Johnson, Alex	Cameron, Milam County	Attempted rape
Dec. 26	Callaway, Anderson	Marquez, Leon County	Attempted rape

1908

Feb. 28	Scott, Clem	Conroe, Montgomery Co.	Attempted rape
Mar. 10	Campbell, John	Navasota, Grimes County	Murderous assault
Mar. 24	Unnamed Negro	Conroe, Montgomery Co.	Attempted rape
Mar. 24	Two unnamed Negroes	Magnolia, Montgomery Co.	Attempted rape
Apr. 9	Fields, Albert	Long View, Gregg Co.	Rape
Apr. 19	Douglas, Jasper	Atlanta, Cass Co.	Rape
May 7	Williams, John	Naples, Morris Co.	Murder
June 22	Evans, Jerry	Hemphill, Sabine Co.	Murder
June 22	Johnson, William	Hemphill, Sabine Co.	Murder

Lynchings in Texas
(Continued)

1908

(Cont'd.)

June 22	Manuel, William	Hemphill, Sabine Co.	Murder
June 22	McCoy, "Rabbit Bill"	Hemphill, Sabine Co.	Murder
June 22	Spellman, Moses	Hemphill, Sabine Co.	Murder
June 22	William Frank	Hemphill, Sabine Co.	Murder
June 22	Williams, Cleveland	Hemphill, Sabine Co.	Murder
July 15	Unnamed Negro	Beaumont, Jefferson Co.	Mistaken identity
July 28	Smith, Tad	Greensboro, Bayou - Harrison	Rape
Sept. 13	Newton, Daniel	Brodeshire Shakire Hallow	Murder

1909

Mar. 7	Ellis, Anderson	Rockwall, Rockwall Co.	Rape
Apr. 27	Hodges, James	Marshall, Harrison Co.	Rape
Apr. 30	"Creole" Mose	Marshall, Harrison Co.	Murder
Apr. 30	Hill, "Pie"	Marshall, Harrison Co.	Murder
Apr. 30	Chase, Matthew	Marshall, Harrison Co.	Murder
May 28	Burnett, Thomas	Abilene, Taylor Co.	Murder
Sept. 13	Unnamed Negro	Bellamy Mead McLennan	Murder
Sept. 13	Unnamed Negroes (2)	Sandy Point, Brazoria Co.	Murder
Dec. 20	Mills, Cope	Rosebud, Falls Co.	Murder

1910

Feb. 2	Unknown Negro	Beaumont, Jefferson Co.	Rape
Mar. 3	Brooks, Holland	Dallas, Dallas Co.	Rape
Apr. 5	Bates, Frank	Centerville, Leon Co.	Murder
June 26	Johnson, Leonard	Rusk, Cherokee Co.	Murder
July 5	Unnamed Negro	Rodney, Navarro Co.	Attempted rape
July 12	Gentry, Henry	Bolton, Bell Co.	Murder and alleged rape

1911

June 20	Mexican Bay	Thorndale, Milan Co.	Murder
Aug. 12	Jones, "Commodore"	Farmersville, Collin Co.	Insulting woman
Oct. 29	Unnamed Negro	Marshall, Harrison Co.	Attempted rape
Nov. 8	Johnson, Riley	Clarksville, Red River Co.	Attempted rape

1912

Feb. 15	Saunders, George	Marshall, Harrison Co.	Complicity in murder
Feb. 15	Jackson, Mary	Marshall, Harrison Co.	Complicity in murder

Lynchings in Texas
(Continued)

1912

(Cont'd.)

May 25	Davis, Dan	Tyler, Smith Co.	Rape

1913

Jan. 17	Monson, Henry	Paris, Lamar County	Murder
Jan. 23	Stanley, Richard	Fullb right, Red River Co.	Rape
Feb. 25	Perry, Robert	Karnach, Harrison Co.	Horse stealing
June 5	Galloway, Richard	Newton County	Race trouble
Sept. 21	Davis, William	Franklin, Robertson Co.	Murder

1914

Jan. 8	Lee, David	Jefferson, Marion Co.	Murderous assault
Mar. 13	Williams, William	Hearne, Robertson Co.	Murder
June 7	Robertson, William	Navasto, Grimes Co.	Murder
Oct. 17	Durfee, Joseph	Angleton, Brazoria Co.	Murder

1915

May 9	Unidentified Negro	Big Sandy, Upshur Co.	Murder
July 29	Munz, Adolf	Brownsville, Cameron Co.	Murder
Aug. 24	Slovak, John	Shiner, Lavaca Co.	Wife beating
Aug. 29	Richmond, King	Sulphur Springs, Hopkins Co.	Murder
Sept. 14	Six Mexicans	San Bonite and Edenburg Co.	Banditry

1916

Jan. 24	Maxfield, W. J.	Boston, Bowie Co.	Murder
May 5	Dixon, Thomas	Hempstead, Waller Co.	Rape
May 15	Jess, Washington	Waco, McLennan Co.	Rape and murder
June 20	Lorna, Jeronimo	Brownsville, Cameron Co.	Murderous assault
Aug. 7	Brown, Stephen	Seymour, Baylor Co.	Murder
Aug. 19	Lang, Edward	Rice, Navarro Co.	Murder
Oct. 5	Spencer, William	Graceton, Upshur Co.	Alleged murder
Nov. 5	Johnson, Joseph	Bay City, Matagorda	Murder
Nov. 29	Thomas, Buck	Clarksville, Red River Co.	Murderous assault

1917

June 22	Harper, Benjamin	Courtney, Grimes County	Murder
June 25	Sawyer, Charles	Galveston, Galveston Co.	Rape
June 29	Jefferson, Robt.	Temple, Bell Co.	No cause
July 3	Guirdy, Gilbert	Orgage, Orange Co.	Attempted rape

Lynchings in Texas
(Continued)

1917

(Cont'd.)

Aug. 22	Jones, Charles	Near Marshall, Harrison Co.	Attempted rape
Sept. 21	Smith, Bert	Goose Creek, Harris Co.	Attempted rape

1918

May 27	Goolsee, Kirby	Woodville, Tyler Co.	Attempted rape
June 1	Cabiness, Mrs. Sarah	Dodge, Walker Co.	Alleged threats to kill
June 1	Cabiness, Bessie	Dodge, Walker Co.	Alleged threats to kill
June 1	Cabiness, Peter	Dodge, Walker Co.	Alleged threats to kill
June 1	Cabiness, Cute	Dodge, Walker Co.	Alleged threats to kill
June 1	Cabiness, Temple	Dodge, Walker Co.	Alleged threats to kill
June 1	Cabiness, Thomas	Dodge, Walker Co.	Alleged threats to kill
June 4	Valentino, Edward	Sanderson, Terrell Co.	Murder
July 27	Brown, James	Ben Hur, Limestone Co.	Attempted rape
Nov. 14	Shipman, Chas.	Fort Bend County	Killing landlord in altercation

1919

Jan. 20	William, Bragg	Hillsboro, Hill Co.	Murder
June 17	Walters, Lemuel	Longview, Gregg Co.	No charge reported
July 24	Jennings, Chilton	Gilmer, Upshur Co.	Attempted rape
Oct. 27	Unnamed boy	Crosby, Harris Co.	Charge not reported

1920

May 8	Aliane, Charles	Woodville, Tyler Co.	Threat to kill
June 29	Giles, Washington	Damon Mound, Brazoria Co.	Killing law officer
June 29	Giles, Ezra	Damon Mound, Brazoria Co.	Killing law officer
June 30	Gorder, Jodie	Damon Mound, Brazoria Co.	Assisted Giles
June 30	Anderson, Elijah	Damon Mound, Brazoria Co.	Assisted Giles's brothers to escape
July 6	Arthur, Herman	Paris, Lamar Co.	Murder
July 6	Arthur, Irving	Paris, Lamar Co.	Murder
Aug. 3	Daniels, Elijah	Center, Shelby Co.	Rape

Lynchings in Texas

(Continued)

1920
(Cont'd.)

Sept. 18	Beasley, Oscar	Angleton, Brazoria Co.	Killing law officer
Dec. 22	Vickeroy, Thomas W.	Fort Worth, Tarrent Co.	Killing law officer

1921

Aug. 15	Winn, Alexander	Datura, Limestone Co.	Rape
Oct. 10	McNealy, Wylee	Leesburg, Camp Co.	Attempted rape
Nov. 27	Cade, Henry	Sour Lake, Hardin Co.	Rape
Nov. 30	Murtare, Robert	Ballinger, Runnels Co.	Rape
Dec. 11	Rouse, Fred	Forth Worth, Tarrent Co.	Wounding man
Dec. 12	Newsome, Alonzo	Gladewater, Gray Co.	No charge reported
Dec. 15	Hackney, Curly	Waco, McLennan Co.	Rape

1922

Feb. 5	Durate, Manuel	Cameron County	No charge reported
Feb. 11	Norman, N. P.	Texarkana, Bowie County	Intimidating officer of law
May 6	Curry, Snap	Kirvin, Freestone Co.	Murder and rape
May 6	Jones, Moses	Kirvin, Freestone Co.	Murder and rape
May 6	Cornish, John	Kirvin, Freestone Co.	Murder and rape
May 7	Greene, Shadrick	Kirvin, Freestone Co.	Complicity in murder of girl for which Curry Jones and Cornish were put to death
May 18	Early, Thomas	Plantersville, Grimes Co.	Attempted rape
May 20	Winters, Joseph	Conroe, Montgomery Co.	Rape
May 20	Bozier, Moses	Columbia, Brazoria Co.	Rape
May 23	Wilbon, Gilbert	Bryon, Brazos Co.	Stealing cattle
May 26	Thomas, Jesse	Waco, McLennon Co.	Murder and rape
June 23	Lewis, Warren	New Dawus, Montgomery Co.	Attempted rape
Sept. 7	Johnson, O. J.	Newton, Newton Co.	Murder
Nov.	Unnamed Mexican	Hidalgo County	Had been arrested for some small offense
Nov. 11	Zarate, Elias Villa-real	Weslaco, Hidalgo Co.	Striking man
Dec. 11	Gay, George	Streetman, Freestone Co.	Attempted rape
Dec. 14	Unnamed Negro	Pilot Point, Denton Co.	Horse stealing
Dec. 14	Unnamed Negro	Pilot Point, Denton Co.	Horse stealing

1923

Feb.	Smith, J. G.	Bishop, Nueces Co.	"Trying to act like white man and not knowing his place"

Lynching in Texas
(Continued)

1923
(Cont'd.)

July 5	Bullock, Jesse	Schulenburg, Fayette Co.	Rape
Nov.	Unnamed Mexican	Brazos Co.	Charge not reported
Nov.	Unnamed Negro	Gregg Co.	Charge not reported
Nov.	Unnamed white man	Gregg Co.	Charge not reported

1924

June 7	Smith, Wm. B.	Crockett, Houston Co.	Rape

1925

1926

Mar. 15	Johnson, Frank	Trinity County	Murder
Sept. 7	Nunez, Thomas	Raymondville, Willacy Co.	Charge not reported
Sept. 7	Two sons of Thomas Nunez	Raymondville, Willacy Co.	Charge not reported
Nov. 10	Evans, Scott	Harris County	Complicity in murder
Nov. 10	Brown, Robert	Harris County	Complicity in murder
Nov. 10	Brown, Sylvia (Mrs.)	Harris County	Complicity in murder

1927

Feb. 2	Payne, Tom	Willis, Montgomery Co.	Attempted murder

1928

May 21	Evans, Buddy	Center, Shelby Co.	Murder
June 20	Powell, Robert	Houston, Harris County	Murder

1929

Sept. 1	Williams, Cleveland	Calvert, Robertson Co.	Writing insulting note to white girl
Sept. 1	Unnamed Negro	Calvert, Robertson Co.	Writing insulting note to white girl
Nov. 19	Ratliff, Marshall	Eastland, Eastland Co.	Attempting to break jail and wounding Deputy Sheriff, who later died.

Lynchings in Texas
(Concluded)

1930

May 9	Hughes, George	Sherman, Grayson Co.	Rape
May 16	Johnson, George	Honey Grove, Fannin Co.	Murder
June 17	Roane, William	Bryan, Brazos Co.	Attempted rape

1931

1932

Apr. 1	Tillis, Dave (Negro)	Crockett, Houston Co.	Attempted rape

1933

May 23	Lovell, W. G. (Negro)	Carthage, Panola Co.	Rape
Dec. 7	Gregory, David (Negro)	Kountze, Hardin Co.	Murder

1934

June 23	Griggs, Sonny (Negro)	Newton, Newton Co.	Associating with white woman. Taken from officers of law

1935

Nov. 11	Ernest Collins: Benny Mitchell:	Columbus, Colorado Co.	Criminal assault & murder

1942

July 13	Willy Vinson	Texarkana, Bowie Co.	Suspected rape

Lynchings in Virginia

1900-1954

1900

DATE	NAME	PLACE	ACCUSATION
Mar. 24	Colton, Walter	Emporia, Greensville Co.	Murder
Mar. 24	O'Grady, Brandt	Emporia, Greensville Co	Murder
Apr. 5	Unknown Negro	Southampton County	Arson
Apr. 22	Peters, John	Tazewell, Tazewell Co.	Rape
Sept. 19	Unknown Negro	Arrington, Nelson Co.	Rape
Dec. 8	Long, Daniel	Wythe Co.	Rape

1901

Mar. 22	Unknown Negro	Halifax County	Arson
July 1	Walker,	Lawrenceville, Brunswick County	Rape

1902

Apr. 5	Carter, James	Amherst, Amherst Co	Murderous assault
June 6	Gam, Wiley	Toms Brook, Shenandoah Co.	Attempted rape
June 11	Unknown Negro	Near Newport News, Warwick Co.	Unknown offense
~~July 31~~	~~Craven, Chas.~~	~~Leesburg~~	
July 31	Craven, Chas.	Leesburg, Loudown Co.	Murder

1903

1904

Jan. 14	Moseley, Elmer	Sussex County	Murder
May 19	Whitehead,	Unknown	Rape
Aug. 4	Dudley, Andrew	Greenfield, Nelson Co.	Attempted rape

1905

Feb. 20	Henderson, Henry	Ingram, Halifax Co.	Race prejudice

1906

Lynchings in Virginia
(Continued)

1907

1908

1909

Dec. 28	Remington, Henry	Manley,	Murder

1910

Nov. 30	Neal, Mack	Warren, Albermarle Co. ✓	Murder

1911

1912

Aug. 8	Unnamed	Richmond, Henrico Co. ✓	Rape

1913

1914

1915

1916

1917

Aug. 17	Page, William	Lillian, Northumberland Co. ✓	Attempted rape

1918

Nov. 24	Thompson, Allie	Culpeper County ✓	Assaulting white woman

1919

Lynchings in Virginia
(Continued)

1920

Nov. 14	Hunt, David	Wise, Wise County	Attempted rape

1921

Aug. 3	Johnson, Lemuel	Lawrenceville, Brunswick County	Murder

1922

Oct. 12	Carter, Horace	King and Queen Court House, King and Queen Court House Co.	Attempted rape

1924

1925

Mar. 20	Unnamed man	Waverly, Sussex Co.	Rape

1926

Aug. 15	Bird, Raymond	Wytheville, Wythe Co.	Rape

1927

Nov. 30	Wood, Leonard	Wise County	Murder

1928

1929

1930

1931

1932

Sept. 15	Thompson, Shadrick	Warrenton, Fauquier Co.	Rape

1933

1934

VIRGINIA - 4

Rape	2
Attempted rape . .	1
Murder	1

Counties involved:

Sussex	1
Wythe	1
Wise	1
King and Queen House . .	1

3 lynchings involved white women and children

1 lynching involved conflict between men.

LYNCHING RECORD FOR PAST TEN YEARS

1920-1930

ALABAMA - 6

Alledged criminal assault	1
Insulting white woman	2
Frightening children	1
Murder	1✓
Complicity in murder	1✓

4 lynchings involved white women and children;

2 lynchings resulted from conflicts between men.

Counties involved - one lynching each in Barbour, Crenshaw, Lowndes, Jefferson, Montgomery, Sumter.

ARKANSAS - 13

Alledged rape	1
Attempted rape	2
Insulting white women	2
Attacking white woman	1
Murder	4✓
Burglary and murder	1✓
Striking white man	1
Railroad strike breaker	1

6 lynchings involved white women and children;

7 lynchings resulted from conflicts between men.

Counties involved - one lynching in each of the following: Ashley, Boone, Conway, Garland, Hempstead, Hot Springs, Lafayette, Miller, Mississippi, Ouachita, Phillips, Pulaski, Union.

FLORIDA - 37

Rape	4
Attempted rape	4
Insulting or frightening women	3
Attempting to extort alledged debt at pistol point from woman	1
Attack on woman	1
Attacking child	1
Murder	7✓
Complicity in murder	1✓
Shooting officer of the law	2✓
Attacking forest ranger	2✓
Resisting possee	1✓
Cattle stealing	1
Alledged burglaries	1
Wrong man	1
Bombing house	1
No charge (1 woman)	6

14 lynchings resulted from conflicts with women and children

22 lynchings resulted from conflicts between men.

1 woman was lynched.

Counties having lynchings:

Alachua	2
Brevard	1
Calhoun	2
Columbia	1
Dade	1
Duval	2
Gadsden	1
Hamilton	1
Hernando	3
Hillsborough	1
Indian River	2
Lake	2
Lafayette	1
Lee	3
Levy	4 (1 woman)
Marion	1
Orange	2
Palm Beach	2
Pinellas	1
Santa Rosa	1
Seminole	1
Taylor	2

GEORGIA - 26

Rape	8
Attempted rape	3
Murder	7
Attempted murder	3
Attempted burglary and assault	1
Complicity in murder	1
No charge	2

11 lynchings involving women

14 conflicts between men

Counties involved:

Baldwin	1	Liberty	2
Barron	1	Miller	1
Bartow	1	Meriwether	1
Bleckley	1	Monroe	1
Coffee	1	Montgomery	1
Colquitt	1	McIntosh	1
Columbia	1	Schley	1
Crisp	1	Screven	1
Hancock	2	Thomas	2
Houston	1	Washington	2
Irwin	1	Wayne	1

KENTUCKY - 4

Murder	3
Wounding officer	1

4 conflicts between men

Counties involved:

Breathitt	1	Litcher	1
Floyd	1	Todd	1

LOUISIANA - 10

Rape	1
Attempted rape	1
Trying to associate with white woman	1
Shooting two women	1
Murder	2
No charge	4

Parishes involved:

Bossier	3
Caddo	1
Calcasieu	1
Caliborne	1
Franklin	1
Placquémines	1
Rapides	2

4 lynchings involved women and children

6 lynchings involved conflicts between men.

MISSISSIPPI - 49

Rape	8
Attempted rape	5
Alleged attack on women	2
Operating house of ill fame from which 2 white girls were taken	1
Improper conduct with woman	1
Attacking wife of planter	1
Wounding woman with ax	1
Making improper proposal to woman	1
Entering house and frightening woman	1
Robbing two tourists - man and wife	2
Murder	15
Wounding man	5
Resisting officer of law	2
Beating white man	1
No charge	2
Mistaken identity	1

Counties involved:

Benton	1	Perry	1
Bolivar	1	Pikev	2
Coahoma	2	Pontotoc	2
Copiah	1	Quitman	1
DeSoto	1	Sunflower	2
Forrest	1	Tunica	1
Greene	1	Union	1
Harrison	1	Walthall	1
Hinds	2	Wayne	1
Holmes	2	Winston	2
Kemper	3	Yalobusha	1
LeFlore	3	Yazoo	4
Lincoln	2		
Lowndes	2		
Monroe	1		
Noxuber	4		
Panola	1		
Pearl River	1		

23 lynchings involved women and children

26 lynchings involved conflicts between men

NORTH CAROLINA - 1

Rape . . . . . 1 - Edgecombe County

OKLAHOMA - 3

Rape 1
Attempted rape . . . 1
Strike breaker . . . 1

Counties involved:

Grady — 2 lynchings involving women
McIntosh
Oklahoma — 1 involving conflict between men

SOUTH CAROLINA - 4

Rape 2
Attempted rape . . . 1
Intimate with white woman 1
Killing officer of law (1 woman) . . .3

Counties involved:

Aiken . . . 3 — 4 lynchings involving women
Oconee . . .1
Orangeburg .1 — 3 involving conflict between men.
Union . . . 1
Williamsburg 1

TENNESSEE - 8

Rape 1
Attempted rape . . . 3
Murder . . . . . 2✓
Complicity in murder 2✓

Counties involved:

Benton . . . 2
Crockett . . 1
Davidson . . 1
Maury 1
Shelby . . .2
Stewart . . 1

TEXAS - 40

Rape 8
Attempted rape 4
Complicity in murder and rape 1
Writing insulting note to girl 1
Companion of one writing insulting note . . . 1
Murder . . . . . 5✓
Complicity in murder (1 woman) . . . .3✓
Attempted murder 1
Breaking jail, killing sheriff 1
Intimidating officer of law 1
Striking man 2
Stealing cattle 1
Minor offense 1
Horse thieves 2
Trying to act like white man 1
No charge 7

Counties involved:

Brazoria . . .1 — 15 lynchings involved women and children
Brazos 3
Bowie 1
Cameron . . . 1 — 25 involved conflicts between men
Denton 2
Eastland . . .1
Fannin 1
Fayette . . . 1
Freestone . . 4
Grayson . . . 1
Gregg 2
Grimes 1
Harris . . . .4 (1 woman)
Houston 1
Hidalgo 3
Montgomery . . 3
McLennan . . . 1
Newton 1
Nueces 1
Robertson . . .2
Shelby 1
Trinity 1
Willacy 3

THERE IS SO MUCH SOUTH IN THE NORTH OF US AND SO MUCH NORTH IN THE SOUTH OF US, UNTILL IT BEHOOVES NEITHER OF US TO UPBRAID THE OTHER OF US..

OATH OF EVERY AFRO-AMERICAN YOUTH

I will ever and anon fight with America for the emanc[illegible] the enslaved peoples of Europe, Asia, Africa, and [illegible] of the United States of America. The Negro has no [illegible] crasies, altho he is first in war, last in peace, and lea[illegible] of his countrymen. He is law abiding from Alpha to [illegible] rebels not against the Government; he does not plot day [illegible] out to upturn the present or future reigning power, w[illegible] ficial or detrimental to his cause. Some are wont to say [illegible] Negro will refuse because the South is in the saddle at [illegible] Whether or not the Chief Executive be a Democrat or [illegible] Republican or Rap-publican, Prohibitionist or Anti[illegible] Negro admirer, hater or traitor, he is ever constant in [illegible] to his country.

He throws no bombs; he assassinates no Presidents; he [illegible] into plots of intrigue; he is now, henceforth and for[illegible] ready to serve the country of his adoption and ad[illegible] Negro's patriotism is next to his highest virtue (his hig[illegible] is his God). The strains of the Star Spangled Banner [illegible] souls of the black folks like the effulgent rays of the [illegible] the sensetize plates in photography. That the Negro is [illegible] trust and faithful to his trustees is generally conc[illegible] Kranchskoff has said, "To be a patriot to a country that de[illegible] to love a people that despies, is divine." Of such divine [illegible] is the patriotism of the Negro. To be absented of patri[illegible] and fervor during these trying times of our home and [illegible] seems inhuman and illogical. America is the only place of wh[illegible] Negro has any recollection. He has no endearing and [illegible] ties which bind him to any other country save America. [illegible] followed him across the ocean but a stream of his own bl[illegible] such ghastly sights naturally are wont to be forgotten.

We hope when the terror of sea is banished, when the [illegible] cannon cease; when the smoke of battlefield is cleared [illegible] Czardom, Kaiserdom and Serfdom have been effaced [illegible] from the earth, that the whole human family will be [illegible] liberty and not liberties. We hope that the good the Ne[illegible] done and is doing and will continue to do shall not hal[illegible] mark time, but will march onward and upward until the [illegible] the perfect day.

We hope all the deeds will be taken into account [illegible] wards will be distributed in equable quotas. If this fail[illegible] shall have been fought in vain; Democracy will be [illegible] its foundation built on rottenness and corruption.

What the Chief Executive said to the world the Ne[illegible]

America. Not a line nor scarcely a word can be omitted without [illegible] impairing the analogy; his words are these:

"[illegible] no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no [illegible] We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material com-[illegible] for the sacrifices we shall freely make.

"[illegible] We are but the champions of the rights of mankind. [illegible] shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and freedom of the nation can make them.

CHRISTIANITY.

While reading the Post, Monday, March 4th, 1918, I noticed an article headed: "Race War Next Feared."

About midway I found these words, "The safety of the white man lies in two things: First, the Allies must hurry up and win this war and see to it that a permanent place is made before the Caucasian race has shot itself all to pieces." Secondly, the white man must Christianize the other races as quickly and as effectually as possible."

My contention is that had the white man himself been Christianized and humanized the veneer of civilization would not have so easily cracked.

The white way of Christianizing uncivilized people is largely responsible for the present great conflict. The war is a boomerang thrown out hundreds of years ago and is now returning from whence it came.

The white man goes to Africa with the Christian Bible in one hand and a rum bottle in the other, and before the poor, ignorant heathen can become Christianized he is paralized.

If the Rev. Martin wishes this process to continue, I doubt if it will ever save civilization.

According to Webster's definition of Christianity, I solemnly believe that if we all practice humanity towards each other, that we will not have missed the real import or meaning.

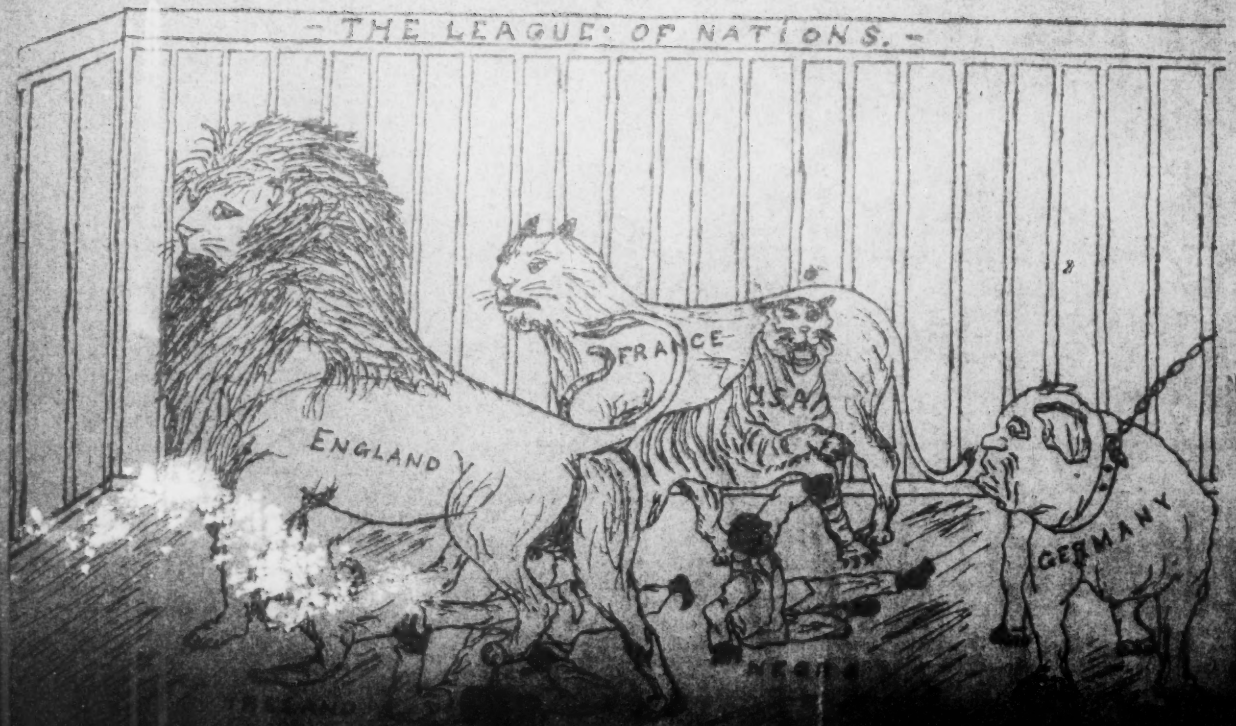
DO YOU KNOW THAT—

While the white race is on its way to the grave the Japanese look on with sinister silence and acquiescent guilt.

The United States Government has no constitutional right to interfere with the lynching of a citizen of the United States but reserves the right to interfere with the mistreatment of foreigners.

I read once where a Frenchman asked an American if it were true that they once burned a man alive in the United States, and [illegible] answered cowardly, "Yes, they did burn one."

A Negro was given three years in penitentiary for the theft of a bicycle and that a white man was given three months for the theft


THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.
FRANCE
U.S.A.
ENGLAND
GERMANY

[illegible] possible in the same place and by the same judge. SOME

[illegible] statement accounts for the overwhelming majority [illegible] convicts in the prisons of the United States.

[illegible] are numbers of white men in Texas living openly with [illegible] women.

There are numbers of colored men in Boston, Mass. married to white women.

There are over fifty thousand Negroes in the white race.

We have had over a dozen civilizations and that the founders and followers of each by their inquitous living have been relegated to the dust and moth of oblivion.

When a Negro stands up for his God given rights white men will invariably say he is bumptious, arrogant and conceited.

Four years of war made the whole world chagrin.

The Negro is so true to T—his country and so loyal to T—his flag that he is a non-entity and an ice-olated mass and out of the pale of consideration in the United States.

If it were possible to shift all the evils, vices and ills of humanity upon the Negro, the major part of the white race would be willing to do it, but as nature has decreed done shall be it not, so shall it be done not.

As nature has decreed that certain things shall be done not, so decreed she that certain things shall be done, namely one—that the Negro shall in the sun have a place

I overheard a conversation the other day, and it went in this wise, "The Negro so far as this war is concerned, is a dead issue." Well, thought I, he may be a dead issue, but if he proves to be, the white race will become putrid from the resultant decomposition of the surcharged atmosphere.

Not a treasonous nor a traitorous deed was ever recorded against a Negro.

The greatest hindrance to suffrage in the District of Columbia is the Negro.

In the midst of a mighty war for world democracy there is wholesale discrimination at Washington, D. C.

There are two colored Generals and a number of Colonels, Captains and myriads of Lieutenants and officers of lower rank in the French Army.

That over forty per cent of the draftees of the District of Columbia was colored. I wonder why don't they get forty per [illegible] of everything else?

President Wilson told the N. A. A. C. P. that he had not heard [illegible] concerning the burning of Jim McIlleron at Dyersburg, [illegible] He asked for a review of the facts after which he expressed

the opinion that he could hardly believe that such
happened.

Every race, nation, creed and cult have been
the spoils after the war, except the Negro.

The Allies have wrestled every inch of
Africa from the Germans. I wonder to whom

The white man's civilization is responsible for the
ditions of Russia.

Races and Nations, like individuals, have an allotted
years to live, after which they lose their usefulness.

The United States government, so far as lynching is
extends no further than Washington, D. C.

I wonder why the President don't act on lynching?

I wonder if he thinks he won't be heard or he will be

A modest young white lady, met me the other day and
of me alms to aid the Belgian babies. I gave her a
said, "I must give the bigger bit to aid the East St. Lo
She said, "May God bless them." I said, "Yes, but
like the Belgian babies, they need some earthly help

Of all the unspeakable atrocities attributed to the
have not read of the burning of a human being.

The force of law will eventually overcome the law of

If somebody don't stand up square shouldered for
that the Negro will stand up square shouldered for his

There'll be no South, if segregation, jim-crowism and
continue much longer.

It is said that the war has put civilization back a hun
I contend that the war has put civilization up a hun
the man farthest down has advanced more in three ye
than he would have in a hundred years of peace.

It is said that civilization has broken down, yet
aware of the fact that civilization has not broken up.

Where there is life there is hope. Cheer up, sad h

Civilization is a torch handed down from generation
tion and should gain in brilliancy as it goes, but
has burned down, but thank God she will never burn up

Where there is a spark left some favorable wind will
a flame.

Out of this chaos and confusion there will ultimately
peace and prosperity to all mankind.

The contagious disease better known as discrimination
Washington, D. C. and spreads abroad.

I have noticed this placard (to make the world
to live in), and I often wonder if that includes little

I can sit at my window in the War Department and

across the street, where a government building is in operation, which runs in this wise:

Lavatory. White. Colored.

Remember, (make the world a decent place to live in).

Whenever a Negro commits a crime against society the daily papers print it in serial form, that is, each day we get a bit of it, from the time it happens until the unfortunate victim is either lynched or jailed or acquitted.

By this diabolical method it practically becomes a continuous performance, as soon as the public mind has been virulently embittered and another mite of prejudice added, then anew comes fresh news of another crime which makes it a never ending serial, designated to manufacture prejudice.

Whenever a white man commits a crime against society, we read it today and forget it tomorrow.

I am a full blooded American; every time I hear a band play a national air my blood steams up to the boiling point and I feel as much buoyed up as any one else, but when it is all over and I begin to meditate and reflect, cold chills creep over me.

God hasten the day when I will feel at home in America.

"We call our fathers fools so wise we grow,
No doubt our older sons will call us so."

The above is a well known and well worn axiom that should run in this wise:

We call our fathers wise such fools we grow,
No doubt our older sons will call us so.

Can you imagine our fathers coming up out of their graves and peering at this hell on earth? What would they say? And is this the fruits of all our labors? Ye gods, ye thankless children.

All the Negro needs is a background of an establishment against which to silhouette himself and then and there he will show his worth and weight.

The world is round, and for that reason, everything you do, be it for weal or woe, acts as a boomerang, goes around the world and to you it eventually returns, be you a nation or individual. *BELGIUM REMEMBER.*

The world was made in harmony and the atoms marched in tune.

What this world needs is more harmony and a better understanding, a better white race, a better black race, a better constitution, a better you and a better me.

The White race says:
Remember Belgium.
The black race says:
Belgium remember.

The real reason why Russia did not pay heed to the United States was that they were well aware of the treatment of the [illegible]-letariat or common people of America. They had been [illegible] East St. Louis affair on the eve of the entering of the [illegible] sion into the United States. And they also knew of the [illegible] and burnings of human beings in our Democratic Repub[illegible] heard the voice of Jacob but assured themselves that [illegible] the hand of Esau.

Enver Pasha Bey, the Turkish envoy from a heathen land [illegible] an official of the United States Government, after being questioned concerning the atrocities of Turks upon Christians: "You [illegible] take the beam out of your own eye and then you could see [illegible] to take the mote out of your brother's eye."

Twenty years ago the Japanese government sent a [illegible] this country and all they received were cat calls and hiss[illegible] entered the United States in disgust and left in despair.

One year ago the Japanese government sent a mi[illegible] United States and they were received hospitably, entertained [illegible] ly and departed peacefully.

Why so different in twenty years?

"WAR IS HELL."

While watching a parade of soldiers in New York, I no[illegible] that they marched cautiously and were as silent as tombs. [illegible] were going to war.

I noticed the great throngs of onlookers, they were as no[illegible] a bunch of drunken sailors. They were going to stay at home.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

Ten millions of leaderless souls are groping in the darkness and in this vaste waste howling wilderness and know not whither or thither to go. Just yesterday they were more than proud of [illegible] unswerving, radical, stand-pat champion of Race Rights in Ame[illegible]

Today they are disgusted, disheartened and brimful of de[illegible] It seems as tho the leaders of the Negro race gradually [illegible] leave us in the night of misery, like the gloom which blots out the stars, one by one from the face of the Heaven and leaves us [illegible] out a ray of comfort or a sign of light to guide our faltering [illegible] steps thru the viscissitudes of this ever-changing life.

Has he sold his own and the birthright of millions for a [illegible] pottage? In reading the last issue of the Crisis, if you will [illegible] carefully, you will find that spokesman of the race toned down [illegible] a minimum.

Before I would have TONED THE CRISIS DOWN I WOULD HAVE TORN IT UP.

In perusing the last issue of the Crisis you can read [illegible]

CHAPTER ONE

THE MIND OF THE LYNCHER

IN FLORIDA some years ago several lynchings and the burning of the Negro section of the town followed the attempt of a Negro pharmacist to vote in a national election. One morning shortly afterwards I walked along the road which led from the beautiful little town to the spot where five Negroes had been burned. Three shining-eyed, healthy, cleanly children, headed for school, approached me. As I neared them, the eldest, a ruddy-cheeked girl of nine or ten, asked if I was going to the place where "the niggers" had been killed. I told her I might stop and see the spot. Animatedly, almost as joyously as though the memory were of Christmas morning or the circus, she told me, her slightly younger companions interjecting a word here and there or nodding vigorous assent, of "the fun we had burning the niggers."

One need not be a sentimentalist to feel that such warping of the minds of Southern children is by far the worst aspect of lynching. All parents appreciate the difficulty of avoiding in home and in school the inculcation of tendencies towards falsehood, deception, and dishonesty in the minds of their children. A careless

word of approbation or reproof may find root in the mind of a child, wholly without the knowledge or intent of mother or father or teacher, and bear unwholesome fruit many years later. Psychologists have established that from birth the human mind passes through all racial experience—from savagery through barbarism and upwards to what we term civilization precisely as the human body from conception to birth passes through the reptile, fish, and animal stages.

Imagine, then, the mind of a normal child in a Southern community. Its parents throw about him all the protection and give to him all the guidance and tender care which parents are accustomed to give. A crime is committed or it is alleged that one has been committed. In law-abiding communities it is bad enough to have the crime and the trial of the accused discussed in homes and in the press, worse if there is added the effect of an execution. But in a community where a lynching or perhaps a burning occurs, where thousands of participants and spectators include mothers and children of tender age among them, where there is morbid scrambling for charred bones or links of the chain which held the victim to his funeral pyre, where leaders of the mob are exalted as men of courage and action—the effect upon young minds is almost too appalling to be contemplated. It is entirely within the range of possibilities that such experiences may result in arrestation. In the unconscious of these immature minds are thus

sown the seeds of lynching as a panacea which will correct all ills and especially those emanating from Negro sources. Primitive impulses to vengeance of violent character upon those whom the possessors of such minds do not like are thus nourished and form one step to further mob murder. Lynchings justified and extolled, lynchers exalted as men of bravery and forthrightness, efforts at punishment of the lynchers blocked and derided—such frequently repeated acts cannot fail to shape young minds in moulds which seem destined later to demand more victims.

Nearly a century of lynching and nearly five thousand mob murders within less than half a century have done an incalculable harm to American minds and particularly in those states where lynchings have been most frequent. Some of the effect can be seen in the frequency with which the phrase is heard—often from the lips of normal, law-abiding people even in the North and West—"he ought to be strung up to a tree."

Pavlov, the Russian psychologist, found that each succeeding generation of the rats he was observing went with fewer lessons at the sound of a bell to a fixed feeding place. Culturally, something of the same reaction to the use of mobbism affects certain Americans as, genetically, affected Pavlov's rats. Approximately similar conditioned responses actuate the human beings and the animals—the bell acted as an excitant for the

joy in causing pain, disease, poverty—these are but a few of the items which lynching has caused to those who practised them. The description of the effect of slavery which Winwood Reade used in *The Martyrdom of Man* applies with equal force to the effect of oppression as represented by mob-law—"the Fathers of the country ate sour grapes, and the children's teeth were set on edge."

Certain factors which have been largely contributory to the low mental estate of the parts of the country where lynching has flourished are treated in later chapters. These include the influence of evangelical religions, the use by unscrupulous politicians of mythical fear of "Negro domination," the important role of sex, and the strenuous efforts to keep the Negro ignorant and intimidated that he may the more easily be exploited. The present chapter is devoted to an attempt to point out some of the factors which have created and are perpetuating the psychology of the lyncher, actual or potential.

Obviously, the lynching states have suffered most from derelict officials. Until very recent times, and in most of the South, even today, no lyncher has ever needed to feel the slightest apprehension regarding punishment or even the annoyance of an investigation. Even in the few instances where there were arrests and trials, the accused usually had friends on the jury, if not fellow lynchers; in others he knew that jurors and court officials

were in sympathy with him or else dared not press the case too vigorously.

Some years ago I reported for a New York newspaper a trial in Alabama of a number of men charged with the lynching of two Negroes. Several court officials freely admitted the guilt of the defendants, but accurately foretold early acquittals. "Nobody around here is ever going to vote for convicting a white man for killing a nigger," one of them told me. "Why go to the expense, then, of holding a trial?" I asked, and received the reply: "What with all the talk up North about lynching, we've got to make some show—we're expecting a lot of money to be invested in business down here when they finish the Muscle Shoals dam."

A second ingredient in lynching-psychology is the human love of excitement. Sinclair Lewis and countless of his imitators have painted in leaden colours the Gopher Prairies of the West, but most of these towns are highly diverting when compared with the average small town in the South. The endless routine of drab working-hours and more drab home life, dominated by a relentlessly vitriolic and ignorant ministry, has little of excitement in it. There is much more than levity in the statement of H. L. Mencken that lynching often takes the place of the merry-go-round, the theatre, the symphony orchestra, and other diversions common to large communities. It is not at all unlikely that, whatever their other shortcomings, the radio and the cheap motor car

appearing in the *Press* of January 27, 1921, bore the head: "KILL NEGRO BY INCHES." Here is what Roddy saw and wrote:

. . . More than 500 persons stood by and looked on while the Negro was slowly burned to a crisp. A few women were scattered among the crowd of Arkansas planters, who directed the grewsome work of avenging the death of O. T. Craig and his daughter, Mrs. C. P. Williamson.

Not once did the slayer beg for mercy despite the fact that he suffered one of the most horrible deaths imaginable. With the Negro chained to a log, members of the mob placed a small pile of leaves around his feet. Gasoline was then poured on the leaves, and the carrying out of the death sentence was under way.

Inch by inch the Negro was fairly cooked to death. Every few minutes fresh leaves were tossed on the funeral pyre until the blaze had passed the Negro's waist. . . . Even after the flesh had dropped away from his legs and the flames were leaping toward his face, Lowry retained consciousness. Not once did he whimper or beg for mercy. Once or twice he attempted to pick up the hot ashes in his hands and thrust them in his mouth in order to hasten death.

Each time the ashes were kicked out of his reach by a member of the mob. . . .

As the flames were eating away his abdomen, a member of the mob stepped forward and saturated the body with gasoline. It was then only a few minutes until the Negro had been reduced to ashes. . . .

William Pickens, in the *Nation* of March 23, 1921, told of one additional note of consideration shown Lowry by his murderers: " . . . the Negro said never a word

except when the mob brought his wife and little daughter to see him burning." Despite the fact that the plans for the execution had been widely published hours before the actual burning, not only was no attempt made to prevent the lynching, but Sheriff Dwight H. Blackwood of Mississippi County, in which Nodena is located, was quoted by the *Press* to the effect that "Nearly every man, woman and child in our county wanted the Negro lynched. When public sentiment is that way, there isn't much chance left for the officers. . . ."

Mississippi

"She was not sure, but thought he looked like the one who had attacked her," the Memphis *News-Scimitar* said of the attempted identification by a white girl in hospital when J. P. Ivy, a Negro, was shown to her in September 1925. That slender connexion was sufficient for a mob of Mississippians who, on Sunday, September 20, thus disported themselves. J. L. Roulhac, a reporter for the *News-Scimitar*, tells the story:

> I watched a Negro burned at the stake at Rocky Ford, Miss., Sunday afternoon. I watched an angry mob chain him to an iron stake. I watched them pile wood around his helpless body. I watched them pour gasoline on this wood. And I watched three men set this wood on fire.
>
> I stood in a crowd of 600 people as the flames gradually crept nearer and nearer to the helpless Negro. I watched the blaze climb higher and higher encircling him without mercy.

I heard his cry of agony as the flames reached him and set his clothing on fire.

"Oh, God; Oh, God!" he shouted. "I didn't do it! Have mercy!" The blaze leaped higher. The Negro struggled. He kicked the chain loose from his ankles but it held his waist and neck against the iron post that was becoming red with the intense heat.

"Have mercy, I didn't do it! I didn't do it!" he shouted again.

. . . Nowhere was there a sign of mercy among the members of the mob, nor did they seem to regret the horrible thing they had done. The Negro had supposedly sinned against their race, and he died a death of torture.

Soon he became quiet. There was no doubt that he was dead. The flames jumped and leaped above his head. An odour of burning flesh reached my nostrils. Through the leaping blaze I could see the Negro sagging and supported by the chains. . . . .

. . . The mob walked away. In the vanguard of the mob I noticed a woman. She seemed to be rather young, yet it is hard to tell about women of her type; strong and healthy, apparently a woman of the country. She walked with a firm, even stride. She was beautiful in a way. . . .

"I'm hungry," someone complained. "Let's get something to eat." . . .

In the same issue of the *News-Scimitar* was printed another story which reveals the truth of Walter Hines Page's warning of three decades before the burning:

"Gov. Whitfield won't have a lick of luck with any investigation of the burning of Jim Ivy." So declared William N. Bradshaw, of Union County, Mississippi, admittedly a mem-

ber of the mob that for forty-eight hours sought the Negro accused of criminally assaulting a white girl near Rocky Ford, Miss., Friday morning in a statement to the *News-Scimitar* this morning. "And furthermore," he continued, "not an officer in Union County or any of the neighboring counties will point out any member of the crowd. Why, if he did, the best thing for him to do would be to jump into an airplane headed for Germany—quick. Sure the officers know who were there. Everybody down there knows everything else. We're all neighbors and neighbors' neighbors." . . .

Appropriately enough, Bradshaw's statement is captioned: "MOB MEMBER LAUGHS AT PROBE."

Had the Governor of Mississippi or any other officials wanted really to take action against the perpetrators of this horrible affair, they need not have depended upon the officers of whom Bradshaw spoke. The *News-Scimitar* published three "exclusive" photographs of the lynching, in which the faces of at least a hundred members of the mob are easily distinguishable. Yet the coroner's jury returned the expected verdict that Ivy had come to his death "at the hands of a mob, the members of which are unknown."

Georgia

"Southern chivalry" draws no line of sex. An unscrupulous farmer in south Georgia refused to pay a Negro hand wages due him. A few days later the farmer was shot and killed. Not finding the Negro suspected of the murder, mobs began to kill every Negro who could even

remotely be connected with the victim and the alleged slayer. One of these was a man named Hayes Turner, whose offence was that he knew the alleged slayer, a not altogether remarkable circumstance, since both men worked for the dead farmer. To Turner's wife, within one month of accouchement, was brought the news of her husband's death. She cried out in her sorrow, pouring maledictions upon the heads of those who had thrust widowhood upon her so abruptly and cruelly.

Word of her threat to swear out warrants for the arrest of her husband's murderers came to them. "We'll teach the damn' nigger wench some sense," was their answer, as they began to seek her. Fearful, her friends secreted the sorrowing woman on an obscure farm, miles away. Sunday morning, with a hot May sun beating down, they found her. Securely they bound her ankles together and, by them, hanged her to a tree. Gasoline and motor oil were thrown upon her dangling clothes; a match wrapped her in sudden flames. Mocking, ribald laughter from her tormentors answered the helpless woman's screams of pain and terror. "Mister, you ought to've heard the nigger wench howl!" a member of the mob boasted to me a few days later as we stood at the place of Mary Turner's death.

The clothes burned from her crisply toasted body, in which, unfortunately, life still lingered, a man stepped towards the woman and, with his knife, ripped open the abdomen in a crude Cæsarean operation. Out tum-

bled the prematurely born child. Two feeble cries it gave—and received for answer the heel of a stalwart man, as life was ground out of the tiny form. Under the tree of death was scooped a shallow hole. The rope about Mary Turner's charred ankles was cut, and swiftly her body tumbled into its grave. Not without a sense of humour or of appropriateness was some member of the mob. An empty whisky-bottle, quart size, was given for headstone. Into its neck was stuck a half-smoked cigar—which had saved the delicate nostrils of one member of the mob from the stench of burning human flesh.

South Carolina

On a spring morning of 1925 a sheriff and three deputies set forth from Aiken, South Carolina, to arrest a Negro thirteen miles from town who was suspected of selling whisky. The four reached the house and found Sam Lowman away at the mill having corn ground into meal. Bertha Lowman, his twenty-seven-year-old daughter, and her mother, seeing the white men approach, started to enter the house. Coloured women in the South never feel at ease when white men prowl about their homes. The four white men, dressed in plain clothes and wearing no insignia of their official positions, ran to surround the house. The sheriff struck Bertha Lowman in the mouth with his fist. Her mother started to her daughter's rescue—and was shot through the heart by

nineteenth century, when, almost imperceptibly, the number of deaths with torture became increasingly frequent, there was little concern expressed at this sinister change. Public indifference grew until such barbarities were received with but momentary comment—barbarities which would have aroused far greater condemnation had they occurred, not in the United States, but in Mexico, Soviet Russia, or China.

The roots of this sadism were long since planted in American life. James Elbert Cutler in his *Lynch-Law* cites only three burnings between 1830 and 1840. During the tense years between 1850 and 1860 there were nine burnings, one of them of a woman accused of poisoning her master. The number gradually increased after the Civil War, though the number recorded during the Reconstruction Period was not high in proportion to the number of victims. Cutler found burnings as follows during the last two decades of the nineteenth century and the first few years of the twentieth: 1884, Texas, one; 1891, Texas and Louisiana, one each; 1892, Arkansas, one; 1893, Texas, one; 1894, Kentucky, one; 1895, Texas, one; 1897, North Carolina, one; 1899, Georgia, Mississippi, and Kentucky, one each; 1901, Kansas, one; 1902, Mississippi, three, and Arkansas, Texas, and Colorado, one each; 1903, Illinois and Delaware, one each; 1904, Georgia and Mississippi, two each.

One of the last-named cases reveals the increasing sadism which began to manifest itself more frequently

about that time. The New York *Tribune* of February 8, 1904 tells of a double burning in Mississippi:

Luther Holbert, a Doddsville Negro, and his wife were burned at the stake for the murder of James Eastland, a white planter, and John Carr, a Negro. The planter was killed in a quarrel. . . . Holbert and his wife left the plantation but were brought back and burned at the stake in the presence of a thousand people. Two innocent Negroes had been shot previous to this by a posse looking for Holbert . . . . There is nothing in the story to indicate that Holbert's wife had any part in the crime.

Benjamin Brawley, in *A Social History of the American Negro,* quotes the Vicksburg, Mississippi, *Evening Post*—which, obviously, can be relied upon not to add anything to the account of what actually happened—as to a new refinement introduced into the killing of Holbert and his wife—the use of corkscrews. This is the story:

When the two Negroes were captured, they were tied to trees and while the funeral pyres were being prepared they were forced to suffer the most fiendish tortures. The blacks were forced to hold out their hands while one finger at a time was chopped off. The fingers were distributed as souvenirs. The ears of the murderers were cut off. Holbert was beaten severely, his skull was fractured, and one of his eyes, knocked out with a stick, hung by a shred from the socket. . . . The most excruciating form of punishment consisted in the use of a large corkscrew in the hands of some of the mob. This instrument was bored into the flesh of the man and woman, in the arms, legs and body, and then pulled out, the

spirals tearing out big pieces of raw, quivering flesh every time it was withdrawn."

One may well imagine that death, even in the form of burning at the stake, must have been welcomed gladly by the man and woman as relief from such bestiality. This is what Mississippians did, not only to Holbert, who, at most, was guilty of killing his opponent in a quarrel, but to Mrs. Holbert, who was innocent of any connexion with the murder.

Georgia staged a double burning in the same year, which aroused widespread discussion at the time. Paul Reed and Will Cato, charged with the brutal murder of a white family, had been duly tried, convicted, and sentenced to death when the mob broke into the court room, seized the prisoners, and burned them.

Here and there such episodes were repeated, mobs apparently vying with each other in devising more fiendish methods of torture. By the end of the first decade of the new century such orgies spread even as far north as Pennsylvania. At Coatesville in that state in 1911 Zach Walker, a Negro, killed a constable in a fight in which he also was severely wounded. Chained to a bed in a hospital, Walker was taken out by a mob, bed and all. Albert Jay Nock, in the *American Magazine* for February 1913, told how the bedstead broke; how Walker, wounded and helpless, chained to the lower half of the hospital cot, was thrown on a pile of wood,

drenched with oil, and burned alive. "When Walker with superhuman strength," wrote Nock, "broke his bonds and tried to escape, they drove him back with pitchforks and fence rails and held him there until his body was burnt to ashes." And when a grand jury refused to indict the members of the mob, the lynchers were given an ovation.

During the same year a successful Negro farmer in Tennessee, who had by his prosperity aroused the jealousy and enmity of poor whites, was ambushed as he drove to town with his daughters to sell a load of cotton. The three were killed, the two girls by hanging and the father by shooting; the wagon was driven under the tree on which the girls' bodies hung, and fire was set to it, burning the bodies to a crisp.

Texas followed in 1912 with another burning. Dan Davis, a Negro charged with rape, was thus executed at Tyler. The St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* told how Davis calmly asked the mob: "I wish some of you gentlemen would be Christian enough to cut my throat." His request was in vain. Instead there was bitter disappointment, first because those entrusted with the task of starting the fire were deemed too slow, and second because not enough fuel had been provided. A few who dashed away to fetch more wood were rewarded with front-row positions.

Louisiana in December 1914 lynched three Negroes,

many others in the same condition saw that as long as there was Negro slavery, so long could whites too poor to own slaves be shunted off into poverty, ignorance, disease, and death.

The Emancipation Proclamation changed all this and placed master and poor white upon the same economic level. From that state came unification of a far more vicious sort—union in a common hatred and fear of the Negro. Belying their boasted racial superiority, both classes, panic-stricken, rushed into movements like the Klan, the White Camelias, and others organized for the same purpose—to "put the Negro in his place." Gone was the old dissent. Douglas Freeman, editor of the Richmond *News-Leader*, speaking of the present South, says: "Forced to think alike politically, many ceased to think at all." His statement might apply as well to every other phase of post-Civil-War life in the South, for there was a common complex against the Negro which coloured all thought and gave birth to bitter passions that fed the flame of mobbism and led to victims by the hundreds of rope and faggot.

The allegations for which Negroes were lynched rapidly widened in scope. Not only were they murdered by mobs on charges of murder and rape, but for miscegenation, "incendiary language," jilting a girl, unpopularity, refusing to turn State's evidence, being too prosperous for a Negro, "introducing smallpox," to prevent evidence, for testifying against a white man,

talking back to a white man, and for every sort of petty offence.

The overthrow of the Negro governments and the removal of federal troops in no wise changed this order of things, but instead intensified the bitterness. Practically every Southern state passed labour and vagrancy laws; "the former masters, working through state legislatures, restored a kind of servitude by means of apprentice, vagrancy, and poor laws." Other discriminatory laws aimed at the Negro and his suppression appeared as the years passed—disfranchisement laws, "Jim Crow" car laws, statutes to prohibit common assemblage in school and even in church. As the forerunner of such efforts to humiliate, oppress, and re-enslave the freedmen, the lyncher's rope and torch appeared.

Other economic forces at work outside of the South contributed to the success of these efforts. There had been far from a united North against slavery and for the war between North and South, as the draft riots in New York showed. The war over, the North was well content to leave the Negro to his fate at the hands of his former masters and the poor whites. The notorious failure of the Freedman's Savings Bank, through which Negroes were robbed of some three million dollars, is an excellent example of indifference in the North to the Negro's future.

This indifference was only in part due to hostility to

from the victim. Confessions so obtained would not stand up in any other court. In many cases where the prisoner has been taken from jails or courts, after he has either been found guilty or confessed to his crime, the mob will torture him to extract another confession. Raymond Gunn had confessed to the County Attorney, and the confession had been published in whole or in part in the Missouri newspapers, where it was read by all literate mob members. Yet, before Gunn was burned, he was compelled to confess his hideous crime at the scene. The average mob, however, does not need a confession, convinced as it usually is that the victim is guilty, that it has the right man.

Torture used to extort a confession and torture practised as punishment to fit the crime differ not at all. Hanging and lowering just before death, a favorite Mississippi practice, is used in both instances. Gouging of eyes, cutting off of ears and nose are choice bits of mob mayhem, which may be protracted by cutting off the fingers and toes joint by joint. While the victim is still in the hands of the lynchers, members of the spectator mob often invade the sacred circle and use their pocket knives to stab and cut. Corkscrews have been used to tear the flesh from the body and, in 1930, at Ocilla, Georgia, a mob tried to make its victim swallow a sharpened pole. Wire-pliers are used

to extract teeth, and gasoline blow-torches, in 1937, were introduced to peel the skin from the bodies of the mob's two victims.

Death often mercifully intercedes during the protracted tortures, but even death does not stop the bestiality. In the case of Claude Neal the mob exhausted its collective energies in torturing its victim, and was at last compelled to put him to death. It managed to summon sufficient energy to fasten the dead body to the rear of a car and drag it to the scene of the original crime, where it was turned over to other mobs for further mutilation and indignities.

Burning with torture has long been reserved as an especial death for Negroes. As early as 1708, it was recorded that a Negro named Sam, accused of murdering the family of his white master, was burned at the stake at Jamaica, now a part of New York City, and put to all possible torments as a terror to others. Water was given him from a horn fastened to a pole to allay his thirst and so prolong the suffering.

Lynching by burning is the vengeance of a savage past and survives today only in the United States. Even the savage did not devise any death so horrible, even to the spectator, as slow burning. Fire is started at the victim's feet and he is literally burned to death by inches, sometimes remaining conscious until the lower limbs are already in ashes. In the larger lynch-

carnivals, especially when the victim is a Negro charged with rape upon a white woman, burning is used because it is more spectacular and because through the shrieks and writhings of the victim the spectator mob is brought into a closer relation to the criminal lynch mob.

Part of the ritual of a well-conducted lynching is the unsexing of the victim. George Hughes was unsexed after death in the presence of women and children. The symbolism is simple: the mob-desire to destroy the symbol of creation. In cases of burning, the victim is unsexed before lynching, and in shooting and hanging, after death. In the case of Wesley Everest the unsexing was an act of purest sadism. There is a ritual followed in this perversion, and, at a certain moment, one of the mob leaders steps forward and performs the operation. In certain cases he may be the father or husband of the original victim.

White women who have been lynched were not degraded before or after death. Negro women who attract the attention of lynchers are, regardless of age, invariably mob-raped before being executed.

Chapter Five

THE JURISDICTION OF JUDGE LYNCH

LYNCHING today is as American as apple pie. The practice does not prevail in Canada or in Mexico. Lynching, hand in hand with the Constitution, follows the flag, and follows it across the mountains and the seas. Canada could not stand as a bar against its introduction into Alaska, and neither the Atlantic nor the Pacific Oceans were wide enough or deep enough to stop the Hanging Judge. In Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines Judge Lynch set up his kangaroo court and brought in his single decision almost from the minute of American occupation. Even peaceful Hawaii has known the violence of Judge Lynch.[1]

Though Judge Lynch today finds most of his cases in the southern states and the great majority of his victims are Negroes, the Judge is ready at all times and in all sections to bring in his grisly verdict. From Aroostook County, in northern Maine, along the Canadian border to the Pacific Coast, down to the Rio Grande, no section of the country is without the blood-stained marks of lynch-executions. Only four

The Gem of the South has had, since 1882, thirty double and ten triple lynchings. In her record of multiple lynchings Georgia mobs have twice had four victims, and on four occasions they have had five. In December, 1894, a Brooks County mob lynched seven Negroes; in June, 1905, the citizens of Oconee County achieved what they believed to be an all-time high of eight victims, seven of whom were charged with murder and one with rape. In 1918, Brooks County was again drenched with blood, and Georgia's record for mass-lynchings was established with eleven black victims. With this ignominious total she shares second place with Louisiana; Arkansas still holds the unenviable record of having lynched the greatest number at a single *ridotto*.

The scenes of Georgia's lynch-executions are well-distributed over the state; no one locality, save the ill-famed county of Lowndes, can lay claim to distinction for any numerical score, nor can the state centers of culture and commerce dodge the accusation that, at some time within the last fifty years, their citizens have on occasion pushed aside the legally constituted judiciary and summoned the rump court of old Judge Lynch.

Only in Mississippi and Arkansas do mobs equal Georgian barbarity and savagery in lynch-executions. In April, 1899, Samuel Hose, a Negro farm worker,

had a quarrel with his employer over wages due. The farmer was killed and Sam Hose escaped. The mob that sought him lacked, in the minds of the leaders, the required ginger, and the man-hunt was pepped up with the added charge that Hose had raped his employer's widow. When he was captured, the Negro confessed to the murder but refused, even under torture, to confess to the second crime.

"In the presence of nearly two thousand people, who sent aloft yells of defiance and shouts of joy, Sam Hose (a Negro who had committed two of the basest acts known to crime) was burned at the stake in a public road. . . . Before the torch was applied to the pyre, the Negro was deprived of his ears, fingers and other portions of his body with surprising fortitude. Before the body was cool, it was cut to pieces, the bones were crushed into small bits and even the tree upon which the wretch met his fate was torn up and disposed of as souvenirs.

"The Negro's heart was cut in several pieces as was also his liver. Those unable to obtain the ghastly relics directly, paid more fortunate possessors extravagant sums for them." [8]

Georgian vengeance is long, and it will go to any lengths to achieve its grisly ends. On more than one occasion Judge Lynch has proved his court to be the

[8] New York *Tribune*, April 24, 1899.

dominant court of that realm, reversing the highest courts and setting aside decisions and sentences that were not in accord with his own limited views. Judge Lynch's court is unlike the legal courts of appeal in that he does not wait until cases are brought to him for a rehearing; in Georgia he has on occasion gone right into the courts of justice and snatched his victims from under the nose of the presiding judge.

In 1904, two Negroes, Paul Reed and Will Cato, were on trial in Statesboro, Bulloch County, for the atrocious murder of the Hodges, a white family. They had already been convicted and were before the bench for sentence when the mob broke into the courtroom and carried them off. In spite of the plea of the brother of the murdered man that the law be allowed to take its course, the two Negroes were burned to death in the presence of a large crowd. That was April 16. The day following was given over to rioting in which many citizens were beaten because their skins were black, and Albert Roger and his son were lynched for no other reason. Miles away, in the same Bulloch County but in the town of Portal, Sebastian McBride, a respectable Negro, was beaten, kicked, and shot to death for trying to defend his wife, who was confined with a three days' old baby, from a whipping at the hands of a white mob.

In 1908, Statesboro again gave way to its tradi-

tional jitters, and on February 17 lynched an unknown Negro on a charge of rape and, a week later, another Negro, Gilbert Thompson, on the same charge. Later, far too late for the two Negroes, they were proved innocent.

Sidney Johnson was a Negro peon whose fine of thirty dollars had been paid by a white farmer. Smith had the reputation of ill-treating his Negro employees, and Johnson rebelled. After having suffered beatings and abuse, the Negro shot and killed his employer as he sat in his window at home; he also shot and wounded Smith's wife.

For this crime a mob of Georgia whites scoured the surrounding country for more than a week, engaged in a hunt for the guilty man. Failing to find him, they began to kill every Negro who could even remotely be identified with either the victim or his slayer. Will Head, Will Thompson, Chime Riley, Eugene Rice, Simon Shuman, Hayes Turner, and three unidentified Negroes helped expiate Johnson's crime. Mary Turner, who was within a month of confinement, loudly proclaimed the innocence of her husband, crying out maledictions on the mob and threatening to swear out warrants for their arrest. She was herself taken out and lynched: hanged head downward while gasoline and motor oil were thrown on her clothing and set afire. Life still lingered in the dead body, and

a member of the mob stepped forward and with his pocket knife opened the abdomen. The prematurely born child fell to the ground, and the cruel surgeon then crushed its head with his heel. Before the mob dispersed, further pleasure was derived from using the mother's body as a target for pistol practice.

The murderer, Sidney Johnson, was at length discovered in a house in Valdosta. The house was surrounded by a posse headed by the chief of police, and Johnson elected to shoot it out. Before his ammunition was exhausted, the fugitive had wounded the chief. When the house was entered, he was found dead. His body was mutilated.

When the courts of Georgia are not dominated by mobs, as in the Leo Frank case, or overruled by mob law as in the Bulloch County case related above, they sometimes co-operate with the mob. In 1911, Thomas Allen, a Negro, was in jail on a charge of attempted rape and Foster Watts was being held on a charge of "loitering in a suspicious manner." The Judge ordered Allen brought to Monroe for trial and, though the Judge knew that citizens had organized a mob to lynch the prisoner, refused to accept the troops offered him by the Governor. Allen was sent to Monroe in the charge of two officers; the train was stopped and the prisoner hanged beside the tracks. The mob then proceeded to Monroe and snatched Watts from

the jail and hanged and shot him. Judge Brand on a previous occasion had refused proffered troops with the statement that he "would not imperil the life of one man to save the lives of a hundred Negroes."[4]

It is not necessary to commit a crime nor to be suspected of one to be lynched in Georgia. As recently as 1933, in the town of Newton, the body of T. J. Thomas, a middle-aged Negro, was found hanging to a tree. No reason for the lynching could be given, no clues to the slayers could be found, and no arrests were made. Three days later, at the same place, was found hanging the body of Richard Marshall, a middle-aged Negro. No reasons for the lynching could be given, no clues to the slayers were found, and no arrests were made.

These incidents may explain the resolution adopted on November 29, 1937, by the Georgia House of Representatives and sent at once to the Senate. It charged that the Anti-Lynching bill, then pending in Congress, was "manifestly unjust, unfair and would work an oppressive burden upon the entire South."

No comment.

Texas

Recorded lynchings in the Lone Star State are a little confused. The totals do not resolve themselves

[4] *The Crisis*, August, 1911.

a white woman by a Negro, Val Bages. Mitchell Curry, a white farmer, hearing that someone was in his cornfield, took two Negroes with him to drive away the intruder. He proved to be a large Negro, and Curry, becoming convinced that he was Bages, gave chase and finally treed him. The man was ordered to remain in the tree while one of his pursuers went for a rope to hang him, but he slid down and was shot to death. Examination showed that his clothing was that worn at the State Insane Asylum at Jackson, and investigation proved that he was an inmate who had escaped a few days before. Wandering at large, he had suffered death for a crime that he had not committed.

In 1914, at Sylvester Station, three Negroes were lynched for the murder of the postmaster. One, an old man, bore an excellent reputation in the neighborhood; there was no evidence against him and, under duress, he refused to confess to the crime. He was burned at the stake in the presence of a large crowd.

The Houston (Texas) *Post*, commenting editorially on the lynching, said:

"The conviction is irresistible that the old man who was burned to death had nothing whatever to do with the crime. If he had been guilty, the torture to which he was subjected would have forced a confession, and the wonder is that he did not confess any-

how, in the agony of his roasting flesh, as many innocent victims have done in the vain hope of escaping torture. In all probability the guilty murderers of the village postmaster are at large, while the blood of innocents rests upon the hands of those who took it upon themselves to discharge the functions of the law." [8]

In 1897, William Gordon, of Jefferson, was lynched for disobeying ferry regulations, and, in 1910, Laura Porter, Negress of Monroe, was lynched for keeping a disreputable house.

Lynching offenses in Louisiana include miscegenation, slapping a child, making threats, insulting a lady, vagrancy, and bringing suit against a white man.

Louisiana can boast one of the few lynchings conducted by Negroes. On August 3, 1934, at Caddo Parish, Grafton Page, a thirty-four-year old Negro, was beaten to death by members of his own race because of an alleged insult by Page to a colored girl who had gone out riding with him.

Alabama

Alabama sits pleasantly in the deep center of the Lynch belt and, through the use of the radio and the automobile, her mob-minded citizens can participate in and have participated in lynchings in Georgia,

[8] *Thirty Years of Lynching in the United States.*

Mississippi, Tennessee, and Florida. The Cotton State has an unenviable record of her own: 375 victims, of whom fifty-five were whites and eight were colored women. Forty-one were unknown in the communities where their bodies were found, but only four suffered death for offenses unknown, and two through mistaken identity. Alabama mobs have had fourteen double and twelve triple lynchings. Lynch-carnivals have claimed four victims four times and five victims twice. In 1891 the citizens of Choctaw County got together and lynched seven white men for outlawry, and therewith established the state's record.

Since the Armistice was signed there have been forty-two persons lynched, of whom twenty-six were shot, three hanged, three beaten to death, one cut to pieces, and one burned. Eight came to their deaths by means unknown to the investigators. Lynching scenes are evenly distributed throughout the state, and such important centers as Montgomery and Birmingham have had seven and four lynchings respectively. Alabama mobs seldom descend to the bestiality exhibited by her sister states of the Lynch belt, and only once in recent years has one run hog-wild; when the smoke cleared away there were four dead Negroes and two dead white men.

Clarence Boyd, filling station operator at Geiger,

seven miles from Emelle, picked a bad time to try to collect three dollars and a half that Esau Robinson, Negro, owed him for a second-hand battery. It was July 4, 1930, and a large number of Negroes had gathered at an Emelle Negro church for a picnic. Clarence Boyd happened to be there, and he demanded payment for the battery; when it was refused, he lifted the battery from the Robinson car and placed it in a store at Emelle, refusing to let Esau have it until he had paid for it. Esau left to get the money.

At four that afternoon Esau returned, accompanied by his father, Tom, two brothers, Ollis and King, and a cousin also named Robinson. The Negroes were armed and were drinking. They searched the stores of Emelle until they found Clarence Boyd. Motioning him outside the store, Esau hit him over the head with a bottle. Boyd called to his uncle Grover for help, and as the latter approached, old Tom hit him with a heavy stick. Grover ran to his car for his pistol and began firing at Tom who, though wounded, made his escape. While Boyd was still firing at Tom, either King or Ollis Robinson came up behind him, took aim, and fired. Grover Boyd fell dying, and another member of the Robinson family fired several shots into him. With the exception of Esau, all the Robin-

sons made their escape. A white merchant held on to Esau and tied him to a post to await the coming of the sheriff.

When the sheriff arrived, he was told that Esau was not the man who had killed Grover Boyd. Leaving the Negro tied to the post, he went in pursuit of the fleeing Robinsons. Some time before midnight Esau was released from the post and shot to death by a mob of less than fifty persons.

The armed man-hunters converged on the home of farmer-preacher John Newton Robinson, brother of Tom and uncle of Esau. John would not give up his gun nor would he permit his house to be searched. In the resulting quarrel he was shot to death and a white overseer, a member of the posse, was killed, probably unintentionally, by a member of the mob. The sheriff, believing that the fugitive Robinsons were hiding in the house, ordered it fired. There were no Robinsons within, and the mob went on with its hunt. On the night of the fifth, Winston Jones, Negro, received a fatal shot at Narkeeta, Mississippi, just across the state line, for failing to stop when ordered. Later in the night a Negro woman, Viola Dial, who was in a car with her husband and three other men, was shot when the driver refused to stop the car at the order of the man-hunters.

For weeks the search for the fugitives went on, but

the mob-minded had deserted and the search was brought to an end by State Enforcement Officers. Tom Robinson and his sons, Ollis and King, were taken to Kilby Prison at Montgomery. Others of the Robinson family, including women and children, were confined in Kilby for safekeeping and as witnesses.

Certain Negroes, familiar with the Emelle community, reported that the altercation over the battery was the immediate but not the real cause of the outbreak. According to them, the trouble grew out of the insistence of certain white men upon "running with" the Robinson and other Negro women.

The persistence of Alabama mobs and their high standing in their communities is best shown by the recent ill-smelling Scottsboro cases. Seven colored boys were sentenced to death on the testimony of two disreputable women, neither of whom knew the meaning of the phrase "sexual intercourse" but only of the usual gutter term. Even when one of the girls recanted her story, only a nationwide clamor could obtain new trials for the defendants.

Arkansas

Although Arkansas has achieved the distinction of having been the scene of the largest lynching carnival in the history of the industry, her lynch-executions

never for the killing of two fellow humans in what, in this America of ours, must always be called self-defense. But Lowry's skin was black, and for years to come the shadow will darken the state of Arkansas.

(*D*) *The Law Never Had a Chance*—Claude Neal

Marianna is a city in Jackson County, in the northwestern part of Florida, on the Alabama border. It is a shabby, down-at-the-heels sort of place and inhabited by shabby people. It is a tourist stopover, and only travelers in the shabbier cars stop even for a night. It has an imposing hotel and some stores, and a few of the tradesmen have built new homes for their families. Saturday is Marianna's big day, when the rural folk come to trade and do their week's shopping, and for that day there is a degree of activity that has its attractiveness. The balance of the week it is, at best, a very dull town.

Marianna itself has been the scene of several lynchings, and Jackson County has many others, two of them double lynchings, to its credit. All the lynched have been Negroes. Wages are low in Marianna, and morals do not achieve an altogether high in Jackson County. White men openly run with colored women, and white women, not openly at all, are known to have colored lovers. The Negroes of Jackson County know this and deplore the practice, and when it is

mentioned shake their heads and shuffle out of earshot. The whites deny it and, should the investigator pursue the matter, he is answered with vituperation and threatened with physical violence. It is a lynch country.

It was that way with Lola Cannidy and Claude Neal. Lola was a white girl and Claude a Negro. "For some months," says the white investigator for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, "and possibly for a period of years, Claude Neal and Lola Cannidy had been having intimate relations with each other. The nature of their relationship was common knowledge in the Negro community."

Neal's friends had advised him of the danger of the relationship and had urged him to discontinue it.

On the afternoon of October 18, 1934, Lola disappeared from her home. It is alleged that she told her parents, Mr. and Mrs. George Cannidy, that she was going to water the pigs and to attend to some other chores that were part of her tasks about the farm. The family took no particular notice of her absence when she failed to return in the late afternoon. Her brother, who had been working in a nearby field, reported that he had seen her talking to someone. When she still failed to return that night, a search was begun for her in the vicinity of her home. Early the next

morning her body, fully clothed, was found by an uncle, John King, a short distance from her home, badly mutilated about the head and arms and partially covered with brushwood and pine logs. A watch, a ring, a piece of clothing, and a hammer were among the articles discovered near the place where she came to her death.

Several boys testified that they had seen Claude Neal near the scene of the crime that afternoon, and that he had some wounds on his hands that he said he had received while repairing a fence. The first home visited by the sheriff was that of Annie Smith, mother of Claude, just across the road from the Cannidy home. The officers claimed to have found some bloody garments in the house.

A search for Claude Neal was started and he was arrested on a nearby peanut farm. He confessed and implicated another man, Herbert Smith. Smith was arrested and with Neal was taken, as is the custom in the lynch country, to a nearby woods and questioned. It was understood that Neal had had a fight with Smith and Herbert had beaten him. Neal finally admitted that Smith had nothing to do with the crime and that he alone was involved. Smith was subsequently released by the officers.

What Neal told the officers in the woods was not revealed. Later he told a friend that Miss Cannidy had

informed him that she wanted to break off their affair, that she did not want him to speak to her again, that if he did so she would tell the whites in the community on him. Neal is reported to have said:

"When she said she didn't want me to speak to her and then told me that she'd tell the white men on me, I just got mad and killed her."

With Neal were arrested his mother, Annie Smith, and his aunt, Sallie Smith. Sheriff W. F. Chambliss, sensing the awakening lynch-spirit, wisely ordered that the prisoners be taken to the jail at Chipley for safekeeping.

Lola Cannidy was murdered Thursday, Neal was arrested Friday, and the big day in Marianna's week became the second biggest day in the city's history and the beginning of a week of shameless mob ferocity. The county men drove their women to Marianna as usual and the women did their shopping as usual. The men resolved themselves into little groups in which the common topic was how to "get the nigger." From that moment a bloodthirsty mob relentlessly pursued Claude Neal. And it must be credited to the Jackson County sheriff that he made every effort within his power to circumvent the mobs. The angry mob at Chipley caused the sheriff to remove Neal to Panama City and the two women to Fort Barrancas at Pensacola. Later Neal was removed

by boat to Pensacola, and when a mob threatened that jail, he was moved across the line into Brewton, Alabama, two hundred and ten miles from Marianna.

On October 23 the Marianna *Daily Times Courier* said:

"In a determined effort to locate the three Negroes held for the murder of Lola Cannidy near Greenwood last Thursday, a relentless mob continued to search the jails of West Florida."

George Cannidy, father of the slain girl, stated to a representative of the same paper:

"The bunch have promised me that they will give me first chance at him when they bring him back and I'm ready. We'll put those two logs on him and ease him off by degrees. . . . When I get my hands on that nigger, there isn't any telling what I'll do."

On the morning of October 26, a mob of a hundred armed men stormed the Escambia County jail, at Brewton, Alabama, and snatched Claude Neal after jailer Mike Shanholster had unlocked his cell. "We'll tear your jail up and let all the prisoners out, if you don't turn him over to us," the mob leaders had threatened. They also told Shanholster that they were going to turn Neal "over to the girl's father and let him do what he wants with him." The mob came in thirty cars all bearing Florida plates, and the prisoner

was placed in the first car for the return trip. No attempt was made by officers to follow the mob.

Within an hour of the snatching, the people of Marianna, more than 200 miles away, knew that Claude Neal was in the hands of the mob, and newspapers all over the country were able to print advance announcements of the forthcoming lynching. Word was passed all over northern Florida and southern Alabama that there was to be a "lynching party to which all the white people are invited." Others got their jubilee invitation through the Dothan, Alabama, radio station, which scored another "first" for the radio. The lynching was to take place in front of the Cannidy home.

How many people responded to the invitation is not known. Marianna has a population of about 3,500 and Jackson County has 30,000 all told. But there were cars from eleven states, and the Chipola Hotel and the rooming houses had a hard time finding room for all the guests. To say that 10,000 attended Marianna's lynch-carnival would be stating it conservatively.

While the mob still held the murderer, it was encouraged by word from the law. Deputy Sheriff S. Paul Greene, of Jackson County, stated, "In my opinion the mob will not be bothered, either before

or after the lynching." Editorially the *Jackson County Floridian* feebly said:

"Although many have strongly favored the court of Judge Lynch for the brutal slaying of a Jackson County girl this week, local officers have spared no effort to uphold their oath of office and to protect their prisoner. In many instances this action has been contrary to the wishes of citizens, but the consensus of opinion is that one crime in a week is enough."

The lynch mob, the original group of a hundred that had snatched Neal from the Brewton jail, felt that the secondary or sight-seeing mob was too large for safety, and that it would be better if they attended to the lynching themselves. From the time they had brought him back to Jackson County they had been submitting their victim to various sadistic indignities and finally took him to the woods about four miles from Greenwood.

From time to time during the torture a rope would be tied around Neal's neck and he was pulled up over a limb and held there until he almost choked to death; then he would be let down and the torture would begin all over again. After several hours of this unspeakable torture, "they decided just to kill him."

After death the body was tied to a rope from the rear of an automobile and dragged over the highway

to the Cannidy house. Here the sight-seeing mob, estimated at between 7,000 and 10,000, took over. The rope was cut adrift from the car. A woman came out of the Cannidy house and drove a butcher knife into the dead man's heart. Then the crowd passed in review; some kicked the body and others drove their cars over it. Little children, neighbors of the Cannidys, waited with sharpened sticks for the return of the body and, when it was rolled into the road that night, these children drove their weapons deep into the dead flesh.

The sight-seeing mob felt cheated; it had been promised participation in the actual lynching and all it got was the sight of the already lynched body. The explanation given them by one of the lynchers was that they were fearful that someone would be injured in the melee if they brought the prisoner to the waiting crowd. A Cannidy kinsman stated, "the nigger was too low for anyone to be hurt on his account." The secondary mob, to be appeased, burned the home of Neal's mother, Annie Smith, to the ground.

The horribly mutilated body was next taken to Marianna, a distance of ten or twelve miles, and at three o'clock in the morning it was hanged to a tree in the courthouse square. Scores of citizens viewed the body, which was nude until early morning, when

someone had the decency to hang a burlap sack over the middle of the body. It was not cut down until about eight-thirty Saturday morning.

As soon as the body was cut down, the members of the mob quickly dispersed. There were not so many Negroes in Marianna that Saturday. The entire week had been one of terror, and all Negroes who could stayed away from the city. Those who were compelled to remain kept to themselves.

Before noon, a white man and a Negro had a scuffle, and the sight of a Negro resisting a white man threw the crowd of loungers into a fury. The black finally tore himself away and took refuge in the courthouse, where he was given protection by a friendly group of white men. The mob clamored for their victim, but were held at bay by a machine gun. The frustrated mob began a systematic attempt to drive all Negroes from the town. It attacked men, women, and children, and several blind persons were ruthlessly beaten. The Negroes started from the town in droves, some running, some crying, all frightened. After emptying the streets, stores, and places of business of Negroes, the mob started for the residential district to drive out the colored maids. One man, whose wife shielded her maid from the mob, said, "Saturday was a day of terror and madness, never to be forgotten by anyone."

The mob also drove the policemen of Marianna from their posts, and during the rioting the town was without police protection. Members of the mob threatened to beat up any member of the force they found. The Mayor tried to deputize some special officers, but was unable to find anyone who would serve. Then the Mayor called the Governor in Tallahassee. In response to his request, a detachment of guardsmen was ordered from Apalachicola, but a rainstorm saved Marianna. At eleven a downpour so dampened the spirits of the mob that it probably prevented further rioting and terrorism. The guardsmen arrived at four-thirty and quickly dispersed the remnants of the mob.

(*E*) *The Five Thousandth*—Raymond Gunn

A Texas mob, incited by a woman in a red dress, burned down a courthouse to lynch its victim, and a Missouri mob, led by a man in a red lumberjacket, used a school to make a funeral pyre for Raymond Gunn, who became Judge Lynch's five thousandth recorded victim. Red is a color that irks bulls; it seems to be an appropriate color for the garb of mob leaders.

Raymond Gunn was guilty and he made no effort to conceal it. His crime, that of murder, was committed in a county that had never before had a lynching, had never been laid open to contempt by a mob

U50

The Changing Character of Lynching

acy. The need to hang together in the present days in order to keep from hanging separately later on will hold in abeyance any widespread outbreak of racial violence, but this need, or at least the recognition of it, will pass with the passing of war.

Decrees and edicts by the President protecting the status of Negroes will be honored in the breach unless the white people of the South come to realize that the future of the South and of the Nation depends upon the extending of certain inalienable rights to the Negro race. If the South is saved from a post-war era of violence, bloodshed, lynching, and torture, it will be because sane white Southerners begin now to work for, as well as talk for, the principles of Democracy. But the task is not alone that of the white South. As there are arrogant and unruly white people, so are there arrogant, unruly, and embittered Negroes. The responsibility of Southern Negroes for the kind of South they will live in is as great as is that of the white people, in the same direction and toward the same end.

JESSIE DANIEL AMES.

July, 1942.

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THE CHANGING CHARACTER OF LYNCHING

PART I

THE MOB CHANGES ITS FEATURES

For four years lynchings had been decreasing in number —from the thirty recorded in 1926 to sixteen in 1927; still lower to eleven in 1928; down to ten in 1929. Prosperity had come and lynchings were going. When the first lynching of 1930 at Ocilla, Georgia, was reported on the first day of February, it did not disturb the public's complacency, though the mob was said to have indulged in acts of excessive brutality. By April, few people even remembered the lynching on February 1. That month of April started well, but ended with three more lynchings, all within less than a week. From spring to October, each month the lynching madness raged. So often the mob struck and so barbarous were the tortures inflicted on the victims that men and women were not able to forget them, even in the tragedies of the first year of the great depression. Prosperity had gone, lynchings were back.

Stirred by the unexpected resurgence of this crime, the Board of Directors of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation planned for the investigation of every lynching occurring that year. To direct this investigation it created a special committee, the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching—the purpose of which was outlined by the chairman George Fort Milton in the introduction to the "Tragedy of Lynching." "The quest for a preventive can be undertaken only after we have an understanding of what it is that is to be prevented. This necessary analysis of the lynching, its background, circumstances, and meaning, introduces many baffling elements. Is lynching a group response to general factors? Is there a sufficient common pattern to crimes committed a thousand miles apart to enable us to isolate definite contributory causes? What parts do poverty, ignorance, racial emotions play in these mob deaths? What is the social pathology, the emotional history of a lynching mob? Could these things be learned, or any moiety of them, a real beginning toward diagnosis would be made and prescription would swiftly follow."[1]

[1]This was the first scientific study ever made of lynchings, case by case, in the effort to discover the underlying causes and, if possible, to formulate an effective preventive program. It was directed by a group of Southern men composed of George Fort Milton, Editor, *Chattanooga News*, Chairman; Dr. Howard W. Odum, University of North Carolina; Julian Harris, News Editor, Atlanta *Constitution;* Alex W. Spence, attorney-at-law, Dallas, Texas; Dr. W. P. King, Book Editor, Methodist Episcopal Church, South, Nashville; Dr. W. J. McGlothlin, President of Furman University, Greenvile, S. C.; Dr. R. R. Moton, President of Tuskegee Institute; Dr. John Hope, President of Atlanta University; Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University, Nashville, and Dr. B. F. Hubert, President, Georgia State College, Savannah.

However, it was not only the number of lynchings in 1930 that marked that year as one of the worst in the last couple of decades. It was the bestial excesses which characterized the mobs. Long and exciting man hunts with frequent use of bloodhounds preceded the capture of the victims; barbarous tortures of living men were inflicted; mutilation of the bodies was indulged in. Women and children were frequently present, not as onlookers but as active participants. So alike was the pattern throughout 1930 that many thought that lynching could be described as a contagious malady, with newspapers acting as carriers of the germ. Then, as though satiated by its very excesses, the mob spirit subsided.

For two years something of a rest period ensued, in which the combined number of lynchings just equalled that of 1930. But in 1933 the number rose sharply to the highest point since 1926. The hopeful note sounded in the introduction to "The Tragedy of Lynching," which declared that once the causes were known "prescription would quickly follow," was lost in the thunder of facts. Lynchings still continued. When in 1936 lynchings again dropped sharply, it was considered merely an accident to which no importance could be attached. But, as each succeeding year brought fewer and fewer lynchings, hope that lynchings were disappearing was renewed.

Lynching Concentrates In the Southeast

With the passage of five years in which this progression downward continued (Graph I) other changes than the decrease in numbers of lynchings were noticed. The first change was the gradual reduction in the number of states involved. Between 1930 and 1935, twenty-one had had one or more lynchings, but between 1936 and 1941 this was lowered to nine,[1] while in the last part of the decade only six states had lynched. In 1940 Mississippi dropped out of the regular lynching states, leaving only Georgia and Florida as "regulars."[1]

Then those whose minds were continuously concerned about lynchings noticed that there was a change in mobs and in their methods. A review of the record shows that this change became marked in 1936, when mobs began generally to be more orderly and to commit fewer lynchings within the definition set out in Federal antilynching bills. Fewer prisoners were taken from officers or jails; fewer victims of mobs were accused of criminal offenses. In 1938, the last man hunt[2] was reported, as were also the last lynchings in which mobs resorted to torture and the burning of the bodies of their victims.[3]

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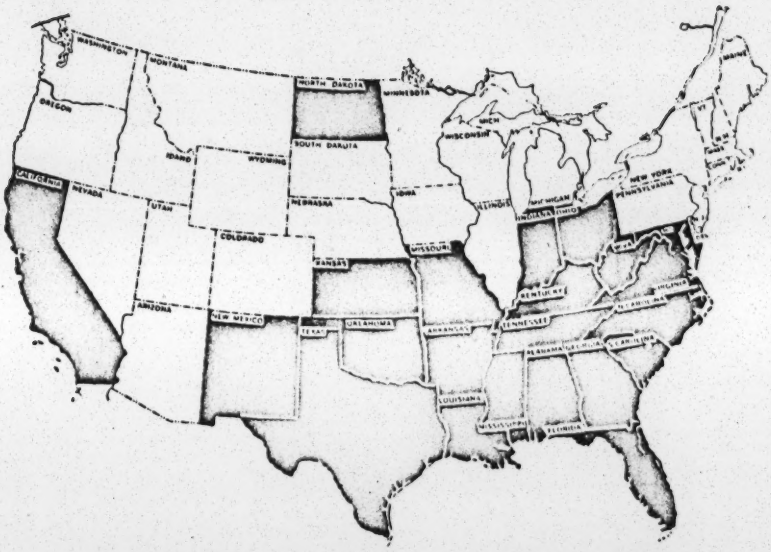
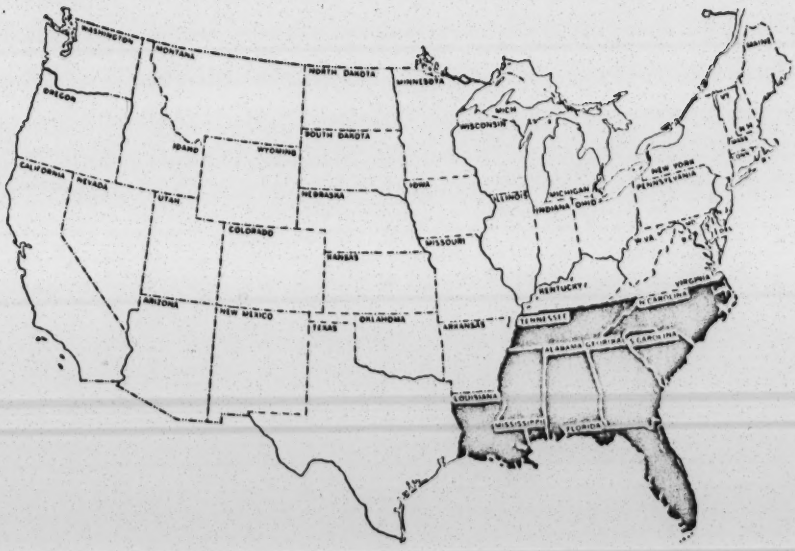
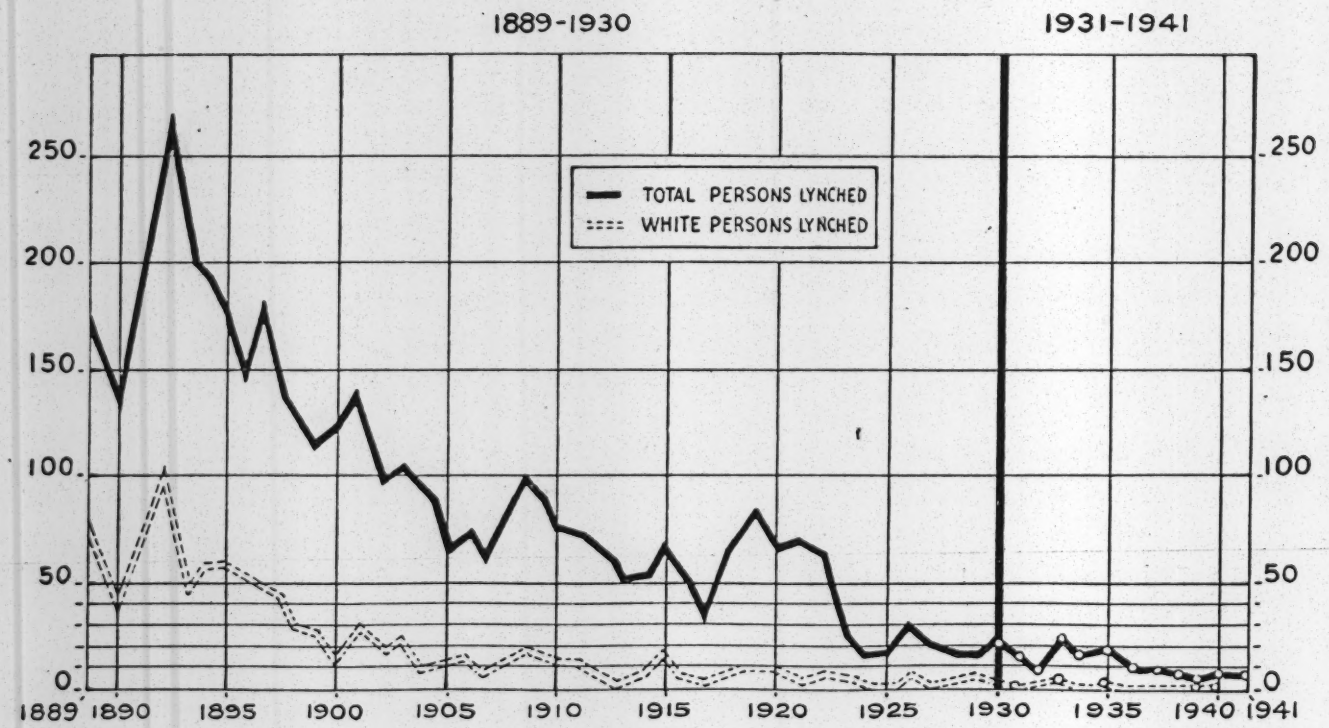
[1]See maps, page 3.
[2]Ruston, Louisiana.
[3]Sikeston, Missouri, 1942, shows that this sadism is not gone.



Lynchings were not confined to the South in 1930-1935.



Only the Deep South Lynched in 1936-1941.



Graph I
The Lynch Line Drops

Mobs Grow Smaller

With the decline of the man hunt and of sadism went the decline in the size of the mob. Increasingly, reports indicated that a mob of three, four, fewer than fifteen, "several cars," or "of unknown size" had committed a lynching. With the elimination of spectacular acts, lynchings gradually began to lose their news value, certainly their value to the Associated Press, until by 1939 the charge was made that lynchings had "gone underground" and that the white press was deliberately suppressing stories of lynchings. It is more reasonable to conclude that the change in the type of mob violence and in the character and size of mobs had reduced the news value of most lynchings to that of local murders with only local interest.

Mobs Drop Claims of Chivalry

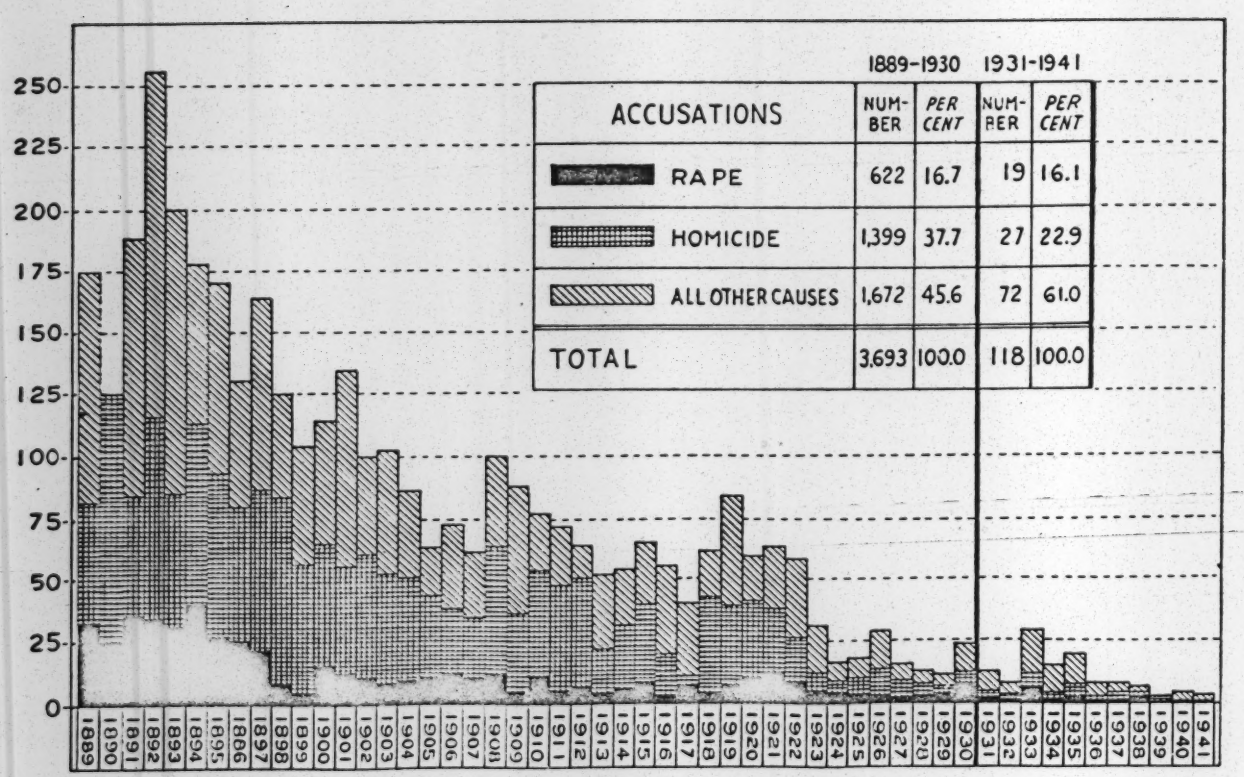
As mobs changed in their methods, they also changed the claims for their motivation. Less frequently were lynchers saying that protection of white women was involved. So frequently had it been asserted in the past that chivalry inspired lynchings that the nation had come to accept this as the real cause of the majority of lynchings. Newspapers editorially supported this belief; yet, though the percentage of lynchings committed allegedly for the protection of Southern white women has changed little in the past decade, as early as 1936 practically all Southern daily papers had stopped editorially covering lynchers with this cloak of high purpose. Lynchers, themselves, less frequently resorted to this claim.

However, the apologists for lynchers substituted another claim equally as effective. They charged that failure of the courts to convict and punish Negroes who committed capital offenses, especially that of rape, necessitated citizens' taking the law into their own hands. Striking evidence that the public never wholly accepted this as a genuine reason is the long list of lynchings which have been prevented when the accusations were homicide or rape. But after 1936 this excuse also disappeared. Whatever it may signify, the fact is that in 1939, 1940, and 1941 there was not one victim of a lynching who was accused of a capital crime.

Lynchings for Minor Offenses Increase

By 1936 public opinion toward lynching had changed. Neither the protection of Southern women nor leniency of Southern courts was accepted as justification for the acts of lynchers. With this change it became increasingly apparent that minor infractions of the law or of the white man's social code accounted for the majority of lynchings. (Graph II).

With the claim of chivalry and the indictment of the



ACCUSATIONS	1889-1930 NUMBER	1889-1930 PER CENT	1931-1941 NUMBER	1931-1941 PER CENT
RAPE	622	16.7	19	16.1
HOMICIDE	1,399	37.7	27	22.9
ALL OTHER CAUSES	1,672	45.6	72	61.0
TOTAL	3,693	100.0	118	100.0

Graph II
Accusations Against Persons Lynched

courts for negligence dropped as excuses for lynching for capital crimes, the logical result was an increase in the number of lynchings for minor reasons. However, it is worthy of special note that in the last three years, 1939-1941, there have been no lynchings except for minor causes. If this situation remains relatively the same in the future, these three years may mark the beginning of an undirected, unorganized but effective program of systematic suppression of all minority groups. To be prepared for such a development, the South must give more study than in the past to all minor offenses for which Negroes are lynched and to the sections of the South in which they are committed. Already it is known that almost all of them occur in small towns, rural communities, and the open country—areas in which legal control is most difficult to exercise; the power of outside public opinion is weakest; minds and emotions are more generally abnormal. It is here that the most destructive and barbarous interracial conflicts will develop when peace comes.

Adverse public opinion against lynching for any cause must become so widespread as to reach into all Southern communities. That it has penetrated slightly into these isolated and thinly populated districts is evidenced by the changed attitude of local citizens toward giving publicity to a lynching. Formerly, a community not only made no effort to hide the criminal conduct of either the respectable or the hoodlum element of its population, but actually boasted of it if the conduct was held to be necessary to the preservation of the white race or to the maintenance of racial superiority. But communities nowadays that permit a lynching for no reason other than a "service to tradition and race" sees to it that no local correspondent of the nearby metropolitan daily rushes the story out. This small gain, if it be one, may be maintained and increased by continuing to investigate every lynching and every ruthless murder of a Negro by citizens, officers, or posses, and to give the facts to the people of the state and county where the act is committed. For however valid it may be to assume that public opinion elsewhere has effected this change in local attitudes, investigation of some of the lynchings for minor offenses offers no tenable conclusion that it has affected the rigid determination of white citizens to maintain and protect at any cost their absolute social control over the Negro.

* * *

Minor offenses for which the largest number of lynchings was committed in this decade, according to the claims of the lynchers,[1] involved conduct toward Southern white women. As the Association of Southern Women for the

[1]Investigations were made in forty-six lynchings in which the news stories gave indications of suppressed facts. In compiling statistics, however, the accusation made by the lynchers is used, even when investigation has revealed other causes or circumstances that indicated justifiable homicide rather than murder.

Prevention of Lynching had at its initial meeting repudiated lynching as necessary to the protection of white women, it seemed well to investigate these claims, to find out to what extent the stories fitted the facts. These investigations showed that white men, determined to get rid of a certain Negro, would accuse him of an attempted sex crime. They knew that officers would approve without question their action for this offense. Local public opinion, controlled by the state of mind of both white men and women excited by an accusation involving implications of sex, would brook no interference from peace officers or state officials. One such case was that of a Negro lynched because he had "winked" at a white woman. In fact, the Negro was afflicted with a tic on one side of his face. In three cases of lynching for alleged attempted rape, the lynched Negroes were guilty of house breaking. One victim was lynched for alleged rape after a Grand Jury failed to indict him for lack of evidence. In another case, the landlord wanted his Negro tenant's Government checks and cotton crop. While in some instances the weight of evidence supported the charge of attempted rape, investigations of many lynchings indicated so strongly that white women, frequently members of lynchers' families, were merely a front for lynchers that no report of a lynching for the protection of a white woman could be accepted as true until it was verified.

The next commonest cause for lynching grew out of difficulties arising between Negro and white men. Ten Negroes were lynched for fighting; ten others, for "being disrespectful to" or "disputing with" white men; six, against whom the lynchers entered no charges; one, for alleged activities in labor organizations; one, by two white men, for a fatal traffic accident; one, in jail for murder pending a new trial ordered by the United States Supreme Court, was lynched in his cell; one, for attempting to qualify to vote; one, tried for murder, was lynched while the jury was deliberating its verdict.

* * *

Of the eleven white persons lynched, five were accused of murder and one of rape; two were active in labor organizations; one was charged with robbery; one, with dynamiting a store; one, with cruelty to his wife. In this last instance, the lynched victim was flogged and left to die of exposure. Though it is generally believed he was the victim of the Ku Klux Klan, this has not been proved.

Lynchings Are Not What They Seem

With the change in the size of the mob, the disappearance of the man hunt, the absence of sadistic torture, and elimination of major crimes as an excuse for lynching, the pattern of lynching had undergone so marked a change by

1936 as to raise doubts of the validity of designating as lynchings certain types of murder. Governor Frank M. Dixon, of Alabama, insisted that the two lynchings in his State in 1940 were not lynchings. State officials of North Carolina and prominent citizens, including Jonathan Daniels, Editor of the Raleigh *News and Observer*, took the same position on the alleged lynching in 1941 in Gaston County.[1]

Some murders are so shrouded in mystery that their classification as lynching is purely arbitrary, apparently depending upon the personal attitude of the classifier. If the murdered man is a Negro, it is taken as prima facie evidence that his murderers were white men.

A man is out fishing. He discovers a body on the banks of a creek. It is clearly evident that the man was murdered. Maybe his body is riddled with bullets—his feet wired together, his hands tied behind him, his head bashed in. There have been no reports of any trouble in the county. Was he lynched or was he murdered?

A man has given offense to his neighbor. Maybe his cow or his hog has repeatedly broken through the division fence and destroyed the crop. One morning the offending person is reported missing. Weeks pass and still he is missing. No one has seen him for several months. No body is found. Has he been lynched, murdered, or did he leave town?

Another man has an altercation with his employer over a lost tool, or the amount of wages due him, or failure to carry out orders. His body is found one day. It is evident from its condition that the man was put to death. Did he meet his death at the hands of three or more persons? Was he suspected or accused of a crime? Were the officers of the law forewarned of his danger and did they act in collusion with the killers?

The charge, increasingly made against the South, that countless lynchings about which the public knows nothing are committed each year is based upon the known deaths of Negroes in one or more of the briefly outlined instances. They argue that, in the light of the history of the South's treatment of Negroes and in view of the fact that only by accident were the deaths of these Negroes discovered, there are others which never have come to light. However, there is no evidence that countless unknown lynchings take place each year; there is no evidence that they do not take place.

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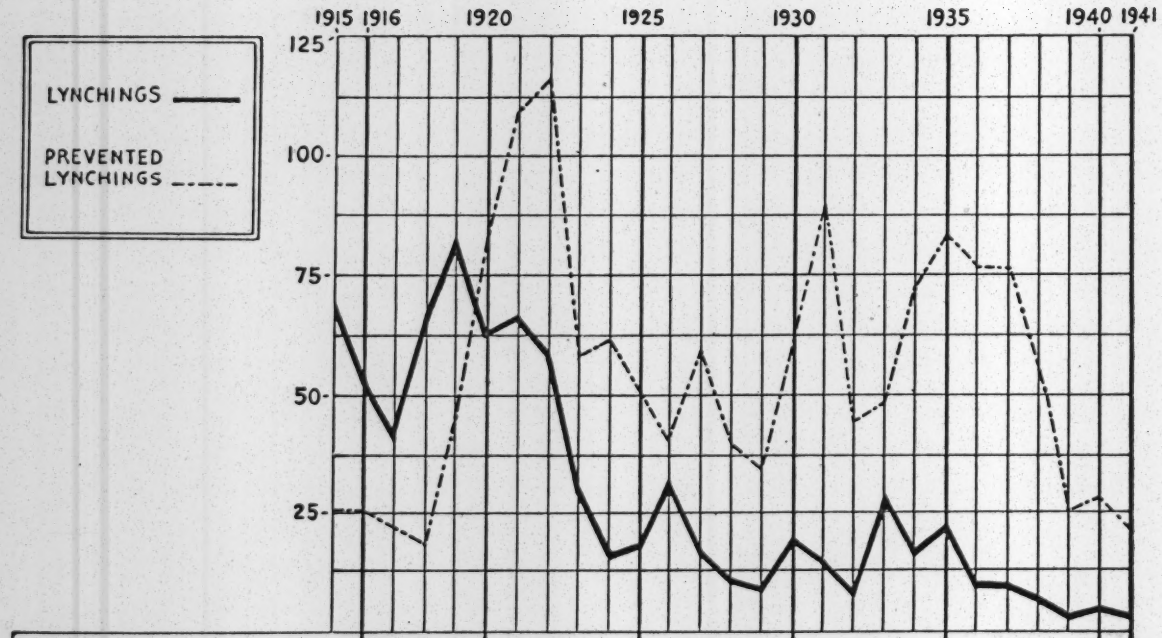
[1]The Gaston County lynching was contested by the North Carolina press on the ground that it was the act of "four hoodlums" who went "on a rampage in which they killed a Negro. He was merely the victim of a bunch of drunks." The North Carolina courts acted with speed. Within ten days four men were tried and sentenced to terms from fourteen to twenty-five years. In this respect North Carolina set another record for other Southern states to equal.

THE MOB SPIRIT SUBSIDES

No discussion of lynching is complete without a word or two on prevented lynchings. Officers are freely condemned, and rightly so, when they are suspected of being less than diligent in preventing a lynching, yet the long roll of those who have outthought and outmaneuvered mobs is too frequently ignored. For years the number of lynchings have grown fewer, as have also the number unsuccessfully attempted. (Graphs II, III.)



LYNCHINGS	67	300	189	88	84	30	4
PREVENTED LYNCHINGS	25	194	392	242	340	262	21

Graph III
Mob Spirit Subsides

This phenomenon may indicate that there is a real subsidence in the mob spirit. Busy people have less opportunity to congregate and discuss their grievances and to look for an outlet for their frustrated emotions. They work off their energies in gainful employment and their leisure time is spent in satisfying activities. Back of all mob outbursts are psychological factors which are not responsive to reason.

In 1914 the Department of Records and Research of Tuskegee Institute enlarged its program on lynching statistics to include the number of lynchings prevented. From 1914 through 1919 lynchings committed exceeded the number of lynchings prevented two to one, with the peak of the difference reached in 1918 when for every lynching prevented 3.37 lynchings were committed. Not until 1920 were more lynchings prevented than were committed.[1]

Not enough emphasis has been placed on this phase of mob violence. Counties do not punish leaders of attempted lynchings; officers are grateful if they can circumvent the mob without offending the individuals in the mob. Usually if this can be done by "spiriting the prisoner to an unknown jail" for safekeeping, mobs disperse of their own accord. However, if the leaders refuse to believe the officers, they are permitted to go through the jail and look for the prisoner. Later, when the mob spirit has died out and it is safe to do so, the prisoner is brought back for trial. This is not the only form of appeasement the officers extend to mob-minded citizens. Investigations have disclosed that in more than one prevented lynching a bargain was entered into between officers and would-be lynchers before the trial began in which the death penalty was promised as the price of the mob's dispersal. With the decreasing number of

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[1]Tuskegee Year Book, Ninth Edition.

[2]Lynchings and prevented lynchings have almost no unexpected or inexplicable variation from the pattern developed in the past fifty years. Yet such a variation appeared in June, 1941, in a "planned" lynching in Georgia. The lynchers, themselves, changed their minds and returned their victim to the Dodge County Jail from which they had abducted him. The mob, seven hundred strong, drove their victim out of town at the head of a procession of 100 cars, then beat him up in an effort to make him confess to an attempted assault on a sixty-five-year-old white woman. After failing to get a confession, they returned him to jail "for want of evidence." Later a jury at Macon acquitted the Negro. Still later, in January, 1942, "Eddie Lee Spivey, only man ever returned alive by a lynch mob," sued the Dodge County sheriff for $5,000 for failure to perform his duties. . . . "Spivey claims the sheriff voluntarily turned jail keys over to the mob . . . so they could come and get him." The suit was settled out of court.

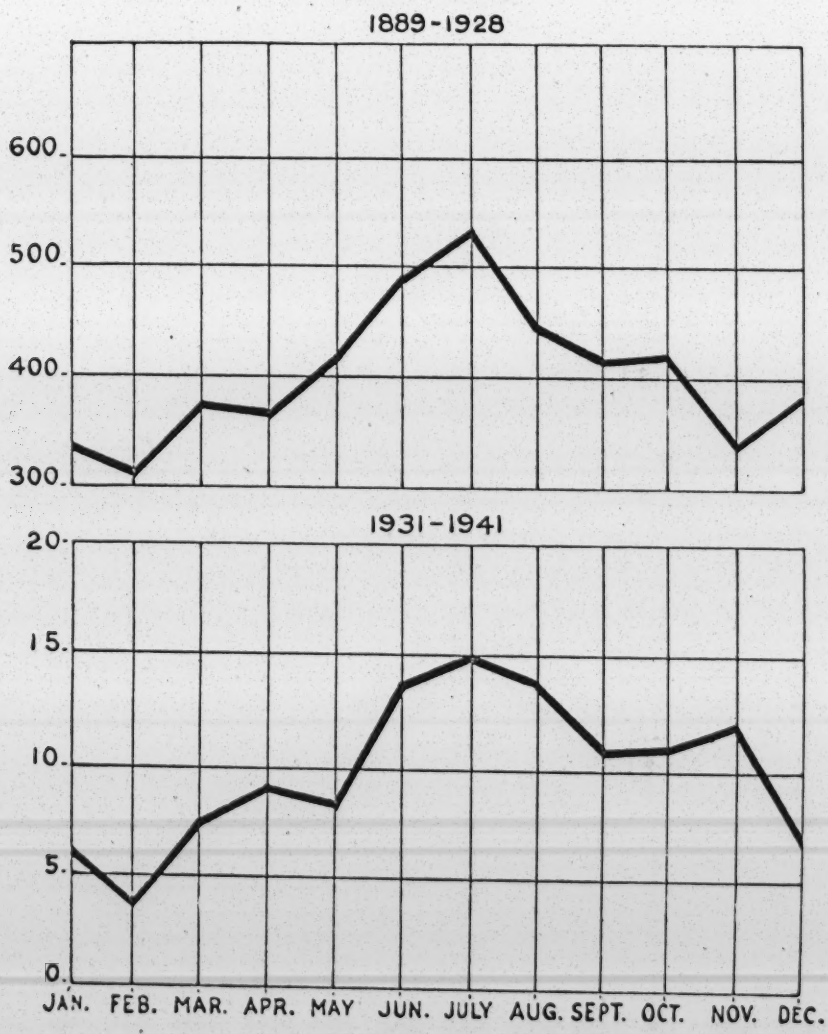
Another variant of the usual in prevented lynchings appears in that at Roxboro, North Carolina. On August 15, 1941, a mob of two hundred stormed the county jail bent on lynching a Negro charged with rape of a white woman. The mob was dispersed. But ten of the leaders were arrested and later indicted for "unlawful assembly and inciting a riot." At the April, 1942, term of court, five were convicted of unlawful assembly and sentenced to the chaingang—two for eighteen months; three for twelve months.

One prevented lynching of no outstanding features has an unusual end. In 1935 in Leake County, Mississippi, a prevented lynching was reported. A Negro, Willie Lewis, was accused of assault with intent to rape. He was removed to the jail for safekeeping. He was convicted and given "life." In May, 1942, Lewis was paroled after serving seven years of a life sentence for a crime of which he was "not guilty." The Governor is expected to give Lewis a full pardon in the near future.

attempted lynchings and with the change in mobs and mob violence itself, no suspicious prevented lynchings have been reported in the last three years.[2]

FORCES, NEW AND OLD, CHECK MOB VIOLENCE

It is easier to discuss the decrease in lynchings as a statistical fact than it is to account for this decrease. The immediate causes of lynchings may be the commission of a grand or petty crime; or some offense to an individual for which revenge is taken; or some defiance of local custom controlling the proper attitude of Negroes toward white people. The remote and hidden causes are more difficult to determine. The Southern Commission on the Study of



Graph IV
Lynching By Months

Lynching supported the belief that the weather was one probable factor (Graph IV), as the majority of lynchings were committed during the three midsummer months, but that "midsummer unemployment, landlord-tenant relations in summer, and other factors greatly modify any all-weather explanation."[1] Other conditions, which the study revealed as characteristic of summer months, modifying the weather factor were idleness following cultivation of crops, two-thirds of the farm workers being wage hands or tenants. "During the slack work summer months, there is a great deal of visiting, loafing, gambling, and general 'carousing about' and inevitably an unusually large amount of crime."[1]

The report pointed out, in developing the landlord-tenant relation as a conditioning factor to the rise of lynchings in summer, that in winter the tenant tends to behave himself in order to get or keep his place, but by summer he has gotten about all he can out of the landlord; his equity in the crop is used up; his industry is lessened as a result. On the other hand, the landlord has still to get his cash returns, for which he is compelled to exercise the closest supervision over the tenant. "Thus in summer, tenants are likely to be more hopeless and antagonistic and the landlords and their overseers more domineering than at other periods of the year."[1]

Other conditions which have contributed to the causes of lynching are crime, for which the rates are highest for Negroes and white people at the lowest economic level, and inadequate police protection for Negro communities which "virtually breeds crime."[2]

On the factor of racial attitudes as one to be reckoned with in listing the remote and hidden causes of lynching, the Southern Commission says: "The public's low estimate of his (the Negro's) worth and consequent indifference to his fate, the ready assumption of his guilt, his ignorance of court procedure, his lack of money and friends and political influence, all make his arrest and conviction easier than that of the white man. In a large measure these are the same factors that produce lynchings."[2]

This is the picture as of 1930. In the next five years, 1931-1935, fall 71 per cent of all lynchings committed in the eleven years from 1931 through 1941. In 1936, the number dropped to eight, above which it has not risen. Had anything happened that could account for this sudden drop —anything that could have changed all other factors in lynching except the weather?

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[1]"Lynchings and What They Mean," page 12. This pamphlet is an abridged edition of "The Tragedy of Lynching," the 500-page volume giving a detailed report of the findings of the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching.

[2]Idem. 18.

The Southern Press Takes a Stand

Editorially a few of the largest daily papers[1] of the South had for years waged a vigorous battle against lynching, but with certain reservations. So long as a certain crime was committed by Negroes, lynchings would continue. This reservation was part of the mechanism which helped to fix in the public mind that lynchings for some causes were justified. Smaller daily papers and weekly papers supported this point of view.[2] During the first five years of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, warnings were issued to Southern women that for their own protection they should abandon their movement against lynching for any cause. Ridicule and sarcasm were used to dissuade them. This was not, however, an unanimous procedure, for certain daily papers supported the women with praise and encouragement. After 1936 there were few daily newspapers which did not condemn any lynching regardless of the alleged crime of the victim.

With the best editorial intentions to blot out lynchings, the press still supported the mob in its news columns.[3] This contradiction in policy in the news columns equalized, if it did not actually nullify, the effect of the editorial column. In these later years, few lynchings make the front pages; even fewer are given banner headlines. Probably no other public-opinion-forming agency has done more to change the public's attitude toward lynching than has the Southern press.

The New Deal Reaches Lynchers

In 1934-1935, when the New Deal created its numerous alphabet agencies to raise the depressed areas above substandard existence, it could have thought of lynching as an evil which would be affected, but such farsightedness is not claimed for it. Nevertheless without regard to intention, a by-product of the program of several of its agencies has been effective in helping to remove some of the causes that the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching had asserted were factors in lynching. One of these, the Civilian Conservation Corps Camps, took the idle, unemployed, and illiterate or near illiterate youth of both races out of their communities and gave them work under supervision; paid them and their families cash money for this work; taught them reading, writing and a vocation; built up healthy minds in well bodies. The Civilian Conservation Corps removed these actual and potential lynchers[4] from the environment which favored mob violence.

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[1]See "The Tragedy of Lynching" for the names of some of these papers.

[2]See Appendix II.

[3]See Appendix III.

[4]"Tragedy of Lynching," pages 266-324, points out that in mobs of 1930 'teen age boys were conspicuously present.

The Works Progress Administration did for adults much the same service that the Civilian Conservation Corps did for the boys. Men and women of both races, farm workers thrown into complete idleness and destitution by the Government's crop reduction program, were given jobs—possibly nonessential jobs, such as raking leaves, for which they were paid cash money—more cash money than they had ever had as wage hands on farms. They were thus removed from complete dependency on landlords. The Works Progress Administration was effective in breaking down the landlord-tenant relation to the benefit of Southern society and the tenant, and in a degree to the landlord.

In 1935, another agency, the Resettlement Administration, which later became the Farm Security Administration, was created. Through its service to farmers without regard to race, reputable farm tenants who had been small landowners and wage hands who were once tenants were restored to status; debt-ridden, bankrupt, and poverty-depressed families of both races were given a new lease on life. In 1935, Tuskegee Institute reported the number of lynchings as twenty. In 1936, lynchings had dropped 40 per cent, a drop which continued downward until in 1941 the record of lynchings had fallen 60 per cent.

State Patrols Curb Mobs

Since once before in 1932 the number of lynchings had been as low as eight, only to rise to a new high of twenty-eight the next year, no great importance was attached to this reduction as an evidence of a lasting change in lynching figures. But when 1937 ended and the record was still eight, the Association of Southern Women for the prevention of Lynching, not an organization of too great optimism, began to look for some new situation in the South which might be influencing the lynching spirit. This was found in the spread into Southern states of the national movement to establish state radio police patrols. A survey of state patrol systems early in 1938 disclosed some interesting and encouraging information. In six of the states which had perfected their systems, the state patrol had been called out to protect citizens, disperse mobs, prevent mob violence, and maintain order in tense situations. With increasing efficiency and additional equipment in these states, and with the extension of their duties to law enforcement in the other Southern states, state patrols were enabled to provide police protection, the inadequacy of which the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching had defined as a factor contributing to the incidence of mobs and lynchings. The organization of state patrols undoubtedly influenced not only the reduction in the number of lynchings, but also the decrease in the number of attempted lynchings.

Tuskegee Institute Sees Results of Its Work

The effect of the New Deal and state patrols on lynchings can be considered only incidental to the purposes for which they were established—something in the nature of an unexpected by-product which possibly would not have been precipitated in full strength had it not been for other movements, long at work, directed specifically to the elimination of lynchings. One of these, and the oldest, is Tuskegee Institute. An educational institution, in the limited meaning of education, it has followed a policy and a strategy throughout its sixty years which have been useful in awakening the South's consciousness to the prevalence of lynching within its borders. It makes no investigations of reported lynchings, nor does it question the truth or falsity of accusations against the victims. Subscribing to several clipping bureaus, the Department of Records and Research accepts the stories the newspapers print. Only when the story of an "underground" lynching is rumored does the Institute put forth efforts to secure confirmation. The Department of Records and Research keeps a permanent statistical record of all lynchings committed in the Nation dating from 1882—the names of the victims, their race and sex; the crimes with which they were charged; the localities, state and county, in which they were lynched; the size of the mob and the manner in which the victims met their death. Twice a year since 1913 the Department has issued to the press a report of bold, terse statistics, giving the number of lynchings for the current year.

How much attention the Southern white press gave to Tuskegee Institute's press service in the early years is not known, but during the last twenty years white newspapers of the South have come to accept its statistics as official; to carry the news releases and to use them editorially either to express relief if no lynching had occurred in their state, or regret that their state had been blackened by mob violence. Southern newspapers have used these reports as the occasion for some of the most scathing editorials against lynchers and lynching which have ever appeared in print.

Not until recent years have the reports been attacked by the South's white press. The basis of the attacks lies in the interpretation of what constitutes a lynching. The public mind throughout fifty years has been shaped to accept certain conditions as characteristic of lynchings—a huge mob of maddened citizens; a Negro criminal guilty of a capital offense; execution with rope and faggot. In these last years, especially the past three, few lynchings have had any of these characteristics. A quiet mob of three white men who flog a Negro to death for having failed to have proper respect for one of the three in the opinion of many white people ought not be classified as a lynching. But, in

spite of differences of opinion, the Southern white press will accept the reports from Tuskegee Institute as being as nearly official as a private agency can make them.

National Association For Advancement of Colored People Claims Credit

Next in point of age is the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, a biracial organization which, as its name implies, carries on a program of racial improvement on many fronts. Its membership is composed of white persons, almost all of whom live outside the South, and of Negroes within and without the South. The National Association relies upon the force of the law to advance the cause of the Negro race. Since 1921 it has sponsored Federal antilynching legislation as one point in its program of racial advancement. Sometimes it has concentrated its more spectacular activities on this and at other times seemingly has abandoned it.

From 1933 to 1939, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People directed the major part of its energies to the passage of a Federal antilynching bill. The times appeared to warrant the belief that at last, after more than a decade of intermittent effort, it would be victorious. The bill did not pass, but the N.A.A.C.P. believes that the reduction in the number of lynchings is directly due to the fear that its nearly successful legislative activities put in the hearts of Southern sheriffs and the South generally.

Commission on Interracial Cooperation Initiates Programs

The Commission on Interracial Cooperation, chronologically the next to deal specifically with lynching, has supplemented the activities of Tuskegee Institute with research, investigations of lynchings, and publication of material dealing with lynchings. The membership of the Commission, composed of Southern white people and Southern Negroes, has followed throughout the policy of education and persuasion. Its methods have included conferences with leading religious, civic, and educational organizations and the preparation of literature for these organizations especially adapted to their machinery and program. Convinced that there was a need for more facts on lynching, the Commission authorized the creation and financing of a special committee of Southern men to make a study of each lynching of the year 1930.[1] In 1933, the results of the study were published by the University of North Carolina Press under

[1]See page 1—footnote.

the title "The Tragedy of Lynching" compiled and written by Dr. Arthur Raper, at that time Research Secretary of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation.[1]

Before the field work of the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching was begun, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation invited a group of leading church women to meet in Atlanta to discuss the causes of lynching. This was done in the belief that the excuse that lynchings were necessary for the protection of womanhood offered Southern white women an unusual opportunity to perform a genuine service to the South. Out of this meeting grew the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching,[2] sponsored and financed but not controlled by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation.

Southern White Women Deny Lyncher's Claims[3]

In general, the program of the Southern women has been directed to exposing the falsity of the claim that lynching is necessary to their protection and to emphasizing the real danger of lynching to all the values of the home and religion. Its methods have been in part those followed by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and in part those devised to meet the situations as women saw them. State Associations have been set up; methods to prevent lynchings developed and followed; investigations made of lynchings allegedly involving crimes against white women; public forums held in small towns and county seats; flyers, pamphlets, posters, one-act plays written, published, and distributed.

By 1940, having tried out and established its most effective methods of education, the Association, through its Central Council extended its program of education of public opinion against lynching to include a presentation of the effect of the white primary on white people.[4] This decision was reached as the result of a growing realization that Negroes as a voteless people in a Democracy were a helpless people, and that this condition of helplessness contributed to a belief in inherent racial superiority on the part of white people and encouraged disregard for the rights of minorities.

One danger that the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching foresaw, as lynching decreased, was that some lynchings, with little reader interest outside the localities where they were committed, would not come

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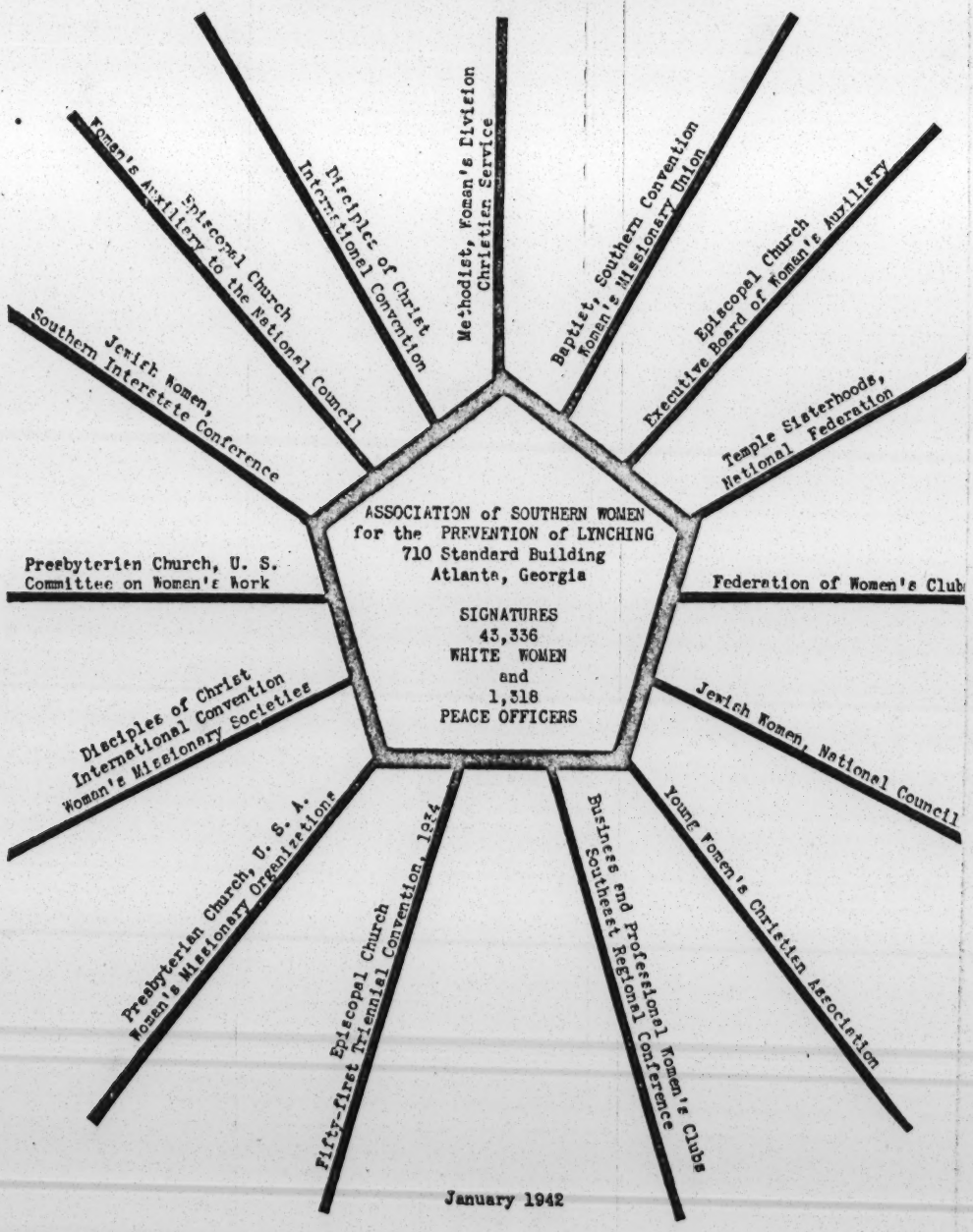
[1] Dr. Raper, chief of research and investigation, was ably assisted in the general field of investigation by Professor Walter R. Chivers, of the Sociology Department of Morehouse College, Atlanta. Others who assisted were R. B. Eleazer, N. C. Young, Dr. and Mrs. J. J. Rhyne, and Orland K. Armstrong.

[2] It is the only one of the four organizations which has had the eradication of lynching as its only purpose.

[3] "Laws and Lynchings." See Appendix V.

[4] "The White Primary—An Anachronism in the Year 1942," a flyer published by the ASWPL. See Appendix VI.

ORGANIZATIONS COMMITTED to a PROGRAM of EDUCATION to PREVENT LYNCHING



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to the attention of the general public. To meet this situation, the Association has organized its machinery to check on rumored lynchings and to give adequate publicity to the facts obtained.

The thoroughness with which the Association pursues this phase of its work is shown in the investigation of a reported lynching near Savannah, Georgia, in 1939. A local Negro paper had broadcast that a Negro, Charlie Williams, had been lynched. The minutest details of the lynching, even to the number of bullets fired, were given. In spite of this seemingly eye-witness account, the story did not ring true. The Savannah *Morning News*, August 4, 1939, tells the story of the investigation:

"Georgia's undeserved black mark for a 1939 lynching was erased yesterday afternoon when a city detective sergeant and a Methodist preacher located Charlie E. Williams, husky 33-year-old Negro, alive and hard at work at a fertilizer plant here.

" 'I heard I was lynched but didn't pay any attention to it 'cause I knew I was living.' That was the sage observation of the Negro who was listed as having been lynched by a group of white men at Woodcliffe, Georgia, in Screven County on Saturday night, March 11.

"Detective Sergeant E. A. Fitzgerald located Williams working with a gang of other Negroes on a salvage job at the plant of the Reliance Fertilizer Company on the Louisville Road about four o'clock. Along with Rev. J. O. J. Taylor, pastor of Grace Methodist Church, and several others, Sergeant Fitzgerald had been doggedly on the trail of the Negro for some weeks.

"Williams said when he first heard the report he knew his mother would be worried and wrote her a letter stating he was alive and working in Savannah.

"The Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching was responsible for the investigation."

Though the Commission on Interracial Cooperation in 1935 endorsed the principles of a Federal law, at no time has the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching endorsed or otherwise supported Federal anti-lynching legislation."

PART II

"DEFINITIONS ARE DANGEROUS"

The Congress Defines Lynching

The numerous anti-lynching bills introduced in the Congress over a period of two decades define lynching as the act of a mob of "three or more persons" committed against a person or persons which results in death. There have been wide differences in other details but, after years of seeming experimentation in working out these details so as to bring as many instances of mob action as possible under Federal control, the authors of anti-lynching legislation have accepted one definition more or less unanimously.

> Any assemblage of three or more persons which shall exercise or attempt to exercise by physical violence and without authority of law any power of correction or punishment over any citizen or citizens or other person or persons in the custody of any peace officer, or suspected of, charged with, or convicted of the commission of any offense, with the purpose or consequence of preventing the apprehension or trial or punishment by law of such citizen or citizens, person or persons, shall constitute a "mob" within the meaning of this Act. Any such violence by a mob which results in the death or maiming of the victim or victims thereof shall constitute "lynching" within the meaning of this Act: **Provided, however,** That "lynching" shall not be deemed to include violence occurring between members of groups of lawbreakers such as are commonly designated as gangsters or racketeers, nor violence occurring during the course of picketing or boycotting or any incident in connection with any "labor dispute" as that term is defined and used in the Act of March 23, 1932 (Sec. 2, 47 Stat. 70, H. R. 1507—Van Nuys).

This definition fits eighty of the one hundred and eighteen lynchings committed during the period 1931-1941, inclusive. In sixty-seven cases, all the conditions set forth in the definition were present: the mob consisted of "three or more persons;" it put to death "without the authority of law;" it seized "persons in the custody of peace officers," who were suspected of, charged with, or convicted of the commission of some offense;" it put to death the persons so seized and thus committed "lynchings." In the remaining thirteen of the eighty lynchings, the persons were not in the hands of the law, but all other conditions were present: the size of the mob, the accusation of a crime against the persons, the death of the victim.

The eighty lynchings are as follows:

State and Town	Race	Accusation	Number in Mob	
		1931		
Alabama				
Haynesville	Negro	Rape	Not stated	Taken from jail
Louisiana				
Pointe a La Hache	Negro	Attempted rape	Not stated	Taken from jail
Maryland				
Salisbury	Negro	Murder	Community	Taken from officers
Mississippi				
Columbus	Negro	Wounding white farmer	Not stated	Taken from convict cage
Inverness	Negro	Attempted rape	Not stated	Taken from officers
Vicksburg	Negro	Attempted rape	Not stated	Not in hands of law
Missouri				
Maryville	Negro	Rape and murder	Several thousand	Taken from officers
North Dakota				
Schafer	White	Murder of six	Eighty	Taken from jail
Tennessee				
Union City	Negro	Attempted rape	Several hundred	Taken from jail
West Virginia				
Lewisburg	Two Negroes	Murder	Not stated	Taken from jail
		1932		
Arkansas				
Crossett	Negro	Murder	Not stated	Taken from jail
Kansas				
Atwood	White	Rape and murder	Two hundred	Taken from jail
Kentucky				
Princeton	White	Dynamited store	Six cars	Taken from jail
Louisiana				
Wisner	Negro	Insulting white woman	Fifteen	Taken from officers
Texas				
Crockett	Negro	Entering white woman's room	Four men	Not in hands of law
		1933		
Alabama				
Tuscaloosa	Two Negroes	Suspected murder	Fifteen	Taken from officers
Tuscaloosa	Negro	Rape	Six	Out on bond
California				
San Jose	Two whites	Kidnapping and murder	Community	Taken from jail
Georgia				
Lumpkin	Negro	Assaulted an officer	Not stated	Taken from jail
Warrenton	Negro	Murder	Fifty	Taken from doctor's office

State and Town	*Race*	*Accusation*	*Number in Mob*	
Louisiana				
Labadieville	Negro	Murder	Not stated	Taken from jail
Opelousas	Negro	Rape	Not stated	Taken from officers
Ringgold	Negro	Rape and murder	Not stated	Taken from officers
Maryland				
Princess Anne	Negro	Rape	Community	Taken from jail
Missouri				
St. Joseph	Negro	Rape	Community	Taken from jail
South Carolina				
Clinton	Negro	Altercation with white man	Four	Taken from jail
Ninety-six	Negro	Drawing gun on white man	Four	Taken from jail
Tennessee				
Huntsville	Two whites	Murder	Several men	Taken from jail
		1934		
Alabama				
Birmingham	Negro	Attack on three white women	Not stated	Not in hands of law
Florida				
Marianna	Negro	Rape	Community	Taken from officers
Tampa	Negro	Suspected of rape	Not stated	Taken from officers
Kentucky				
Hazard	Negro	Struck white man	Not stated	Taken from jail
Louisiana				
Bastrop	Negro	Accused of attempt to rape	Community	Taken from jail
Mississippi				
Lambert	Two Negroes	Attempted rape	Not stated	Taken from officers
Michigan City	Two Negroes	Murder	Not stated	Taken from officers
Texas				
Newton	Negro	Associating with white girl	Not stated	Taken from officers
		1935		
California				
Yreka	One white	Robbery	Twenty-five to fifty	Taken from jail
Florida				
Fort Lauderdale	Negro	Rape and murder	One hundred	Taken from officers
Tampa	One white	Labor leader	Eight	Taken from jail
Georgia				
Vienna	Negro	Resisting arrest	Four cars	Taken from sheriff

State and Town	*Race*	*Accusation*	*Number in Mob*	
Louisiana				
Franklinton	Negro	Awaiting new trial ordered by U. S. Supreme Court	Six-eight	Shot to death in jail
Gretna	Negro	Attempted rape	Three	Shot to death in cell
Maringuoin	Negro	Whipped man	Not stated	Taken from jail
Mississippi				
Columbus	Two Negroes	Attempted rape	Thirty-five	Taken from officers
Oxford	Negro	Murder	Fifty	Taken from jail
Pittsboro	Negro	Attempted rape	Not stated	Taken from jail
Slayden	Negro	Murder	Fifty	Not in hands of law
Wiggins	Negro	Rape	Three hundred	Not in hands of law
North Carolina				
Louisburg	Negro	Murder	Community	Taken from sheriff
Tennessee				
White Bluff	Negro	Slapped white woman in drinking joint	Five	Taken from officers
Texas				
Columbus	Two Negroes	Rape and murder	Community	Taken from officers
		1936		
Arkansas				
Lepanto	Negro	Attempted rape	Not stated	Taken from officers
Florida				
Greenville	Negro	Rape	Not stated	Not in hands of law
Georgia				
Cusseta	Negro	Rape	Not stated	Taken from officers
Dalton	Negro	Attempted rape	One hundred and fifty	Taken from jail
Danielsville	Negro	Attempted rape	Forty	Taken from jail
Pavo	Negro	Murder	Two hundred	Taken from officers
		1937		
Alabama				
Abbeville	Negro	Rape	Twenty-five cars	Taken from jail
Florida				
Tallahassee	Two Negroes	Murder	Four	Taken from jail
Milton	Negro	Unnatural crime	Four	Taken from officers
Mississippi				
Duck Hill	Two Negroes	Murder	Community	Taken from officers
Tennessee				
Covington	Negro	Murder	Six	Taken from officers
		1938		
Florida				
Perry	Negro	Rape	Not stated	Taken from officers
Georgia				
Arabi	Negro	Murder	Community	Not in hands of law

State and Town	*Race*	*Accusation*	*Number in Mob*	
Louisiana				
Ruston	Negro	Murder and rape	Community	Not in hands of law
Mississippi				
Wiggins	Negro	Rape	Two hundred	Not in hands of law
		1939		
Florida				
Panama City	White	Murder	Four-five	Taken from jail
		1940		
Georgia				
LaGrange	Negro	Attempted rape	Six	Taken from jail
		1941		
Florida				
Quincy	Negro	Attempted rape	Six	In hands of law
Georgia				
Blakely	Negro	Stealing	Three	Not in hands of law

The Mob Kills "With Authority of Law"

The number of lynchings classified in this Division is small; all but one were committed in the years in which agitation for Federal legislation was renewed and pressed with increasing intensity and with greater expectation of its passage.

Five Negroes met death at the hands of posses and five Negroes were killed by officers of the law. One of these, the case of Claude Brooks, at Canton, Mississippi, 1938, is arbitrarily included as a lynching by Tuskegee Institute. In five of the ten lynchings, the victims were charged with no crime. In only two—Canton, Mississippi, and Fairfield, Alabama—was there protest on the part of citizens or officials against Tuskegee Institute's report. This may indicate that local public opinion does not, at the present time, accept excessive acts of posses as legal acts of duly sworn officials to the maintenance of law and order.

State laws provide that when, in the judgment of the sheriff or other official who is responsible for maintaining order and protecting society, it becomes necessary to increase his force in an emergency, he is authorized to swear in private citizens either individually as deputies or en masse as posses. Their acts, performed for the protection of society, thereupon become acts committed with the authority of the law.

Would the Federal definition apply to these instances in which officers or posses acted as the mob?

Would violation by a mob of the body of a victim killed by an officer or posse constitute a lynching?

Do sheriffs sometimes swear in a posse with the intention of legalizing a murder or lynching?

The following murders, committed "with authority of law" (1931-1941), are classified as lynchings:

State and Town	*Race*	*Accusation*	
		1932	
Florida			
Jasper	Negro	Robbery and murder	Killed by posse
		1933	
North Carolina			
Willard	Negro	Murder	Killed by posse
Texas			
Carthage	Negro	Attacking white woman	Killed by posse
Kountze	Negro	Assault and murder of white woman	Killed by officers
		1935	
Georgia			
Moultrie	Negro	Mistaken identity	Killed by posse
		1937	
Georgia			
Bainbridge	Negro	Criminal assault murder	Killed by officers
		1938	
Mississippi			
Canton	Negro	No crime	Shot by two officers by mistake
Rolling Fork	Negro	Murder	Killed by posse of seventy-five
		1940	
Alabama			
Fairfield	Negro	Altercation with white man	Killed in the cell by officers

Is It Murder or a Lynching?

Whenever the body of a white man is found with evidence pointing to death by violence, the white press assumes that murder has been done. When the body of a Negro is found pointing to death by violence, the Negro press assumes that a lynching has been committed. To sustain this latter assumption both Tuskegee Institute and the Negro press take the position that the nature of death proves that it is the work of a mob. In such instances, white persons question

the probability of the claim that one person of either race could not kill a man and, for reasons best known to himself, truss up the body, "riddle it with bullets," weight it, and throw it in the river. However, the record of Southern coroners and peace officers in investigations of murder in this Division is such as to lend color, if not legal support, to the claim of the Negro press that Negroes whose bodies are found under suspicious circumstances have been lynched.

The lynchings which come under this classification are as follows:

State and Town	*Race*	*Accusation*	
		1931	
Mississippi			
Vicksburg	Negro	Attempted attack on white woman	Body found "riddled with bullets"
		1932	
)hio			
Ironton	Negro	Threatening two white men with knife	Body found in river, beaten up
'irginia			
Hume	Negro	Murder—husband and wife	Body found hanging by neck
		1935	
lissisippi			
Hernando	Negro	Huey Long organizer	Body found shot, rope around neck
		1936	
eorgia			
Atlanta	Negro	Familiarity with white woman	Body found trussed—shot
		1939	
ississippi			
Canton	Negro	Altercation with white mill boss	Body found in river shot, trussed
		1940	
abama			
Luverne	Negro	Disrespectful to constable	Body found shot, in state of decomposition
orgia			
Atlanta	White	Being cruel to wife	Flogged, body found
nnessee			
Brownsville	Negro	Trying to register to vote	Body found in river—shot

Federal Definition of Lynching is Broadened

If a person put to death by a group of three or more is accused of no offense, and if he is not taken from jail or from officers, is the group a "mob" and is the act of the group a "lynching" under the Federal definition? This question may appear to be quibbling, but the frequency with which this type of crime is committed and the vigor with which local citizens have denied that it constitutes a lynching give its consideration importance. It is in this classification of lynching that personal interpretation dominates. It is here that records of statistical agencies differ.

Tuskegee Institute and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, working separately, have seldom released to the press reports on lynchings which have agreed.[1] In July, 1940, Tuskegee Institute reported no lynchings for the first six months. The N.A.A.C.P., which issues one report only at the end of the year, attacked the report as false, and declared that actually there had been five lynchings up to July 1. This charge created such confusion that many leading newspapers of both the white and the Negro press pointed out that there was so much divergence in the reports that both Tuskegee Institute and the N.A.A.C.P. were losing the respect of the public. They said that the statistical bodies ought to get together on their reports.

With this in view Dr. Frederick D. Patterson, President of Tuskegee Institute, arranged a conference at Tuskegee Institute for December 11, 1940.[2] Though there was the Federal definition of lynching to guide them, the group was in agreement that, since the Congress, prohibited by the Constitution from enacting legislation on the basis of race, could not designate as a lynching acts of a mob based solely on the race of the victim, the definition should be broadened to cover such cases. This unofficial group at Tuskegee Institute, after consideration of the lynchings in 1940 not covered by the Federal bill, wrote a supplementary definition which met unanimous acceptance by those in attendance. The definition says:

> "There must be legal evidence that a person has been killed, and that he met his death illegally at the hands of a group acting under the pretext of service to justice, race, or tradition."

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[1]From 1931-1941 inclusive, the N.A.A.C.P. reports 135 lynchings; Tuskegee Institute reports 118.

[2]Present at the conference were Walter White, secretary of the N.A.A.C.P.; Ralph McGill, executive editor of the Atlanta *Constitution*; McClellan Van der Veer of the Birmingham *Age-Herald*; Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, Atlanta, and Mrs. W. A. Newell, Greensboro, N. C., director and secretary respectively of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching; Dr. Ira DeA. Reid, professor of sociology, Atlanta University; Dr. Arthur Raper, author of "The Tragedy of Lynching;" Dr. Monroe N. Work, editor of the Negro Year Book and founder of the Department of Records and Research at Tuskegee; Ralph Davis, present director of the Department; Dr. F. D. Patterson, president of Tuskegee; Dr. Eli S. Marks, social science department, Fisk University; Howard Lee, Birmingham, secretary of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare; Earl W. Brown, *Time, Inc.*, and Claude A. Barnett, Director of Associated Negro Press, Chicago.

The weakness in this definition lies in the fact that it in effect could be made to convert into a lynching the death of every Negro at the hands of white persons. This was demonstrated in 1941 when the deaths of Melker in Gaston County, North Carolina, and of Tisdale at Andrews, South Carolina, were included in the five lynchings of that year. Jonathan Daniels in the *News and Observer* insisted that to list Melker's death as a lynching was "reducing lynching statistics into silliness." Certainly the county officers acted promptly in arresting the white men. There were no law's delays in sentencing them, nor time lost in appeals. All of them, within a month of the murder, where serving sentences for manslaughter ranging from fourteen to twenty-five years. The question raised in this instance was whether or not the white men acted "under pretext of service to tradition." Gaston County did not think so; otherwise the white men would have gone free. At Andrews, two of the white men in the fight which resulted in Tisdale's death were sentenced to prison. Was he lynched? The answer to both these questions hinged upon the answer to the question: Were the Negroes killed on "the pretext of service to justice, race, or tradition?" Tuskegee and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People said that they were. The Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lyching said they were not.

The classification of three other deaths as lynchings in this Division is open to serious question. At Aiken, South Carolina, 1933, a Negro acting as the agent of white bootleggers was suspected by them of double-crossing. They seized him and put him to death. This was a bootlegger's fight in which the race of the agent may or may not have entered. The next year at Darien, Georgia, two gangs of turpentine bootleggers had a gun fight in which one gang, two of whom were Negroes, surrounded the shack of the leader of the rival gang. When the smoke cleared, the rival had disappeared. There was no evidence that he had been killed. But if he had been, would his death be classed as a "service to justice, race, or tradition?" Near Daytona Beach, Florida, in 1939, a Negro taxi driver struck a twelve-year-old white boy in a traffic accident and killed him. A mob composed of the two brothers of the victim took the Negro from the constable and shot him. Though the race of the driver may have been the deciding factor in his death, this alleged lynching raises the question of the definition of a mob. Tuskegee Institute and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People by including this instance as a lynching indicate that in their judgment two persons constitute a mob. The Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching takes issue with this.

Except for these five cases, lynchings in Division IV are

indubitably lynchings—killings committed by a limited number of persons for personal reasons, but understood by the community as disciplinary measures, regrettable but accepted as necessary under the South's social code. No precise legal terms can be applied to these lynchings to distinguish them from murder, yet the South knows the spirit which inspired them. No protests by officials from the governor down can make such murders less than lynchings so long as the community, by its failure to punish the murderers, supports the act as accessories after the fact. Whether or not North Carolina and South Carolina have been blackened without cause by the listing of the murders in Gaston and Georgetown Counties as lynchings, their citizens have demonstrated that they do not support the murderers of Negroes acting "under the pretext of service to justice, race, or tradition."

The lynchings in this division are as follows:

State and Town	*Race*	*Accusation*	*Number in Mob*	
		1931		
Florida				
Blountstown	Two Negroes	Attacking forest ranger, out on bond	Not stated	Ambushed and shot
		1933		
Georgia				
Newton	Negro	No charge	Fifty	Shot and hanged
Newton	Negro	No charge	Fifty	Shot and hanged
Louisiana				
Homer	Negro	No charge	Three	Flogged to death
Mississippi				
Caledonia	Negro	Familiarity with white woman	Ten	Hanged and body thrown in creek
Louisville	Negro	Engaged in altercation with white	Seventeen	Flogged and shot
Minter City	Negro	Striking a white man and being too smart	Not stated	Body riddled with bullets and dragged through town
South Carolina				
Aiken	Negro	Stealing bootleg selling it and keeping money	Four	Flogged to death
Greenville	Negro	No charge	Masked band of men	Shot to death
Tennessee				
Columbia	Negro	Cleared by grand jury for want of evidence on charge of rape	Seven	Hanged

State and Town	*Race*	*Accusation*	*Number in Mob*	
		1934		
:eorgia				
Darien	Negro	Turpentine bootleggers	Four	No body found
.ouisiana				
Bethany	Negro	Rape of Negro girl	Not stated	Flogged to death
lissisippi				
Bolton	Negro	Writing letter to white girl	Three	Shot to death by three male relatives
Pelahatchee	Negro	Speaking disrespectfully to young white man		Flogged to death by Negroes
ennessee				
Manchester	Negro	Striking white man	Eight	Ambushed and shot
		1936		
:orgia				
Atlanta	Negro	Resisting arrest shot five times in back	Five	Shot by delegation who took him from his home under pretense of arrest
		1939		
orida				
Daytona Beach	Negro	Traffic accident	Two	Shot by two brothers of victim
		1941		
rth Carolina				
Gaston County	Negro	Altercation with white man	Four	Shot by four men
uth Carolina				
Andrews	Negro	Labor trouble	Two	Shot by brothers of victim

LYNCHING BY STATES

LYNCHINGS	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	Total
Alabama	1	0	3	1	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	8
Arkansas	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
Florida	2	1	0	2	2(1w)	1	3	1	2(1w)	0	1	15
Georgia	0	0	4	1	2	6	1	1	0	2(1w)	1	18
Kentucky	0	1(w)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Louisiana	1	1	4	2	4	0	0	1	0	0	0	13
Mississippi	3	0	3	6	7	0	2	3	1	0	0	25
North Carolina	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	3
South Carolina	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5
Tennessee	1	0	3(2w)	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	8
Texas	0	1	2	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
Virginia	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total South	8	6	24	15	19	8	8	6	3	5	4	106
California	0	0	2(w)	0	1(w)	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Kansas	0	1(w)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Maryland	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Missouri	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
North Dakota	1(w)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Ohio	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
West Virginia	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Total United States	13	8	28	15	20	8	8	6	3	5	4	118

(w) Indicates white victims.

APPENDIX

I

LYNCHINGS BY STATES—1931-1941

ALABAMA—8

1931

Haynesville, Lowndes County, August 5: Neal Guinn, Negro, charged with attempted criminal assault on an eleven-year-old white girl, was captured by posse of citizens and shot "thirty-two times."

1932

No lynchings

1933

Tuscaloosa, Tuscaloosa County, August 13: Dan Pippen and A. T. Hardin, Negroes, were taken from officers by a mob of fifteen men and shot. They had been arrested on suspicion in the murder of a white girl.

Tuscaloosa, Tuscaloosa County, September 24: Dennis Cross, a paralyzed Negro, was decoyed from his home at 2 A.M. by a group of six or seven and shot to death. He was out under bond on a charge of assaulting a white woman.

1934

Birmingham, Jefferson County, August 23: Three women crossing a park on the way to church were held up by an unidentified Negro. Two of them were thrown as they scuffleld to get hold of the gun while one ran about a block to a tent meeting to give the alarm. Men hurried from the tent and began chasing a Negro who almost made his escape because of darkness. He was cornered in an alley and shot. He died in the hospital next day without regaining consciousness. All three women identified him. "Police have not decided who fired the fatal shot that killed the Negro."

1935-1936

No lynchings

1937

Abbeville, Henry County, February 2: Wes Johnson, Negro, accused of criminal assault on a white woman, was taken from the custody of Sheriff J. L. Corbitt by a mob in twenty-five cars, hanged, and his body "riddled with bullets." Attorney General of Alabama declared that he would prove "the wrong Negro was lynched." Impeachment proceedings were brought against the sheriff, who was exonerated by a 4 to 2 vote.

1938-1939

No lynchings

1940

Fairfield, Jefferson County, May 9: O'Dee Henderson, Negro, charged with an altercation with a white man, was beaten and then shot to death in his cell by three officers of the law and one civilian.

Luverne, Crenshaw County, June 28: Jesse Thornton, Negro, was overheard speaking disrespectfully of a local peace officer. A week later his body was found, full of bullet holes, in a remote spot on the bank of a nearby stream.

ARKANSAS—2

1931

No lynchings

1932

Crossett, Ashley County, September 15: Frank Tucker, Negro, was taken from jail and hanged from a light pole near center of business district. He was accused of slashing the throat of deputy sheriff.

1933-1935

No lynchings

1936

Lepanto, Poinsett County, April 29: Willis Kees, Negro, accused of an attempted attack on a white woman, was taken from the city marshal by a masked mob and shot to death.

1937-1941

No lynchings

CALIFORNIA—3

1933

San Jose, Santa Clara County, November 27: John M. Holmes and Thomas H. Thurmond, white, were taken from jail by a mob estimated as over 6,000 and hanged in the public square. The two men were under arrest for kidnaping and murdering another white man.

1935

Yreka, Siskiyou County, August 3: C. L. Johnson, white, was taken from jail by a mob of twenty-five to fifty men and lynched. He was charged with the murder of Chief of Police F. R. Daw of Dunsmuir. Johnson was taken twelve hours after the funeral of his victim. "I suppose they talked it over at the funeral and got up the mob," Deputy Sheriff Joe Clark said. Johnson had been moved from Dunsmuir to Yreka for safekeeping.

FLORIDA—15

1931

Blountstown, Calhoun County, August 28: Richard and Charley Smoke, Negroes, charged with attacking forest ranger, out on bond furnished by employer were seized by a mob of unknown size and shot to death.

1932

Jasper, Hamilton County, June 6: Henry Woods, Negro, charged with robbery and murder, was killed by arresting posse, his body "riddled with bullets" and burned.

1933

No lynchings

1934

Tampa, Hillsborough County, January 24: Robert Johnson, Negro, under arrest for stealing chickens was shot to death after being taken from officer, T. M. Graves. The mob traveled in several cars.

Johnson, suspected of guilt in connection with rape on a young white woman was questioned by officers and released on insufficient evidence. He had confessed to stealing chickens some time before.

Marianna, Jackson County, October 26: Claude Neal, Negro, accused of rape and murder, was tortured to death by a small group of men. His body was later hanged on the Marianna Courthouse lawn. He was taken from the jail at Brewton, Alabama, where Florida officers had taken him for safekeeping, and brought back to the Florida County.

1935

Fort Lauderdale, Broward County, July 19: Reuben Stacey, Negro, was taken from Deputy Sheriff Virgil Wright by a mob of 100 masked men, hanged, and shot "seventeen times." He was accused of a murderous assault on a white woman.

Tampa, Hillsborough County, December 4: Joseph Shoemaker, Socialist labor leader, white, was taken from jail in police cars, carried to nearby woods, beaten, and left on the ground half clothed. He was taken to a hospital where he died a week later. Eight men, six of whom were city policemen, were indicted. No convictions.

1936

Greenville, Madison County, September 11: Buckie Young, Negro, charged with attack on a white woman, was shot to death by mob of unknown size. Coroner refused an inquest.

1937

Tallahassee, Leon County, August 2: Richard Hawkins and Ernest Powders, Negroes, charged with stabbing an officer, were taken from the jail two blocks from the Courthouse and shot to death by a mob of four masked men. Governor Cone said, "This is a murder, not a lynching."

Milton, Santa Rosa County, October 3: J. C. Evans, Negro, accused of an "unnatural crime" against a white boy and robbery of a filling station, was taken from Sheriff Joe Allen and shot by a mob of four men, none of whom the sheriff recognized.

1938

Perry, Taylor County, August 9: Otis Price, Negro, charged with alleged rape, was taken from the sheriff by a mob of undetermined size and his body "riddled with bullets."

1939

Panama City, Bay County, April 1: Miles W. Brown, white, convicted of first degree murder with a recommendation of mercy, was shot to death after being taken from jail by a band of four or five masked men.

Daytona Beach, Volusia County, April 29: Lee Snell, Negro taxi driver, struck and killed a twelve-year-old white boy on a bicycle. He was taken from an officer and shot to death by two brothers of the accident victim.

1940

No lynchings

1941

Quincy, Gadsden County, May 13: A. C. Williams, Negro, charged with attempted rape upon a twelve-year-old white girl was beaten and his body "riddled with bullets."

GEORGIA—18

1931-1932

No lynchings

1933

Warrenton, Warren County, May 11: Will Kinsey, Negro farm tenant, was taken from a doctor's office, where he had gone to be treated for gunshot wounds, and shot to death by a mob of fifty. Kinsey was accused of firing the shot that killed a white man in a gun battle between two Negroes and four white men, one the landlord.

Newton, Baker County, June 12: T. J. Thomas, Negro, was taken from his home, hanged, and shot a week after a

white man died from a gunshot wound in a fight with Negroes. Two Negroes arrested at the time were removed for safekeeping. T. J. Thomas was not in the fight.

Newton, Baker County, June 17: Richard Marshall, Negro, was taken by a mob and carried to the place where a white man had been killed the previous December. He was shot and hanged.

No causes for these two lynchings at Newton were given other than "as examples."

Lumpkin, Stewart County, October 23: Cephus Davis, Negro, was beaten and shot to death by a mob which took him from the Richland city jail. Davis had assaulted an officer who arrested him for drunkenness.

1934

Darien, McIntosh County, October 9: A mob of fourteen turpentine bootleggers, two of them Negroes, surrounded the shack of James Curtis, Negro, another bootlegger, and opened fire. Curtis fired back. Later Curtis was reported missing.

1935

Vienna, Dooley County, September 28: Lewis Harris, Negro, in custody for resisting arrest and forcing Sheriff Bos Vinson to relinquish a prisoner. The sheriff was overpowered by the mob in four cars as he was being taken "somewhere" for safekeeping. The victim was hanged and his body "riddled with bullets." The Vienna *News* declared editorially that there was no indication of mob action in the town.

Moultrie, Colquitt County, October 17: "Bo" Bronson, Negro, was beaten and shot by a posse hunting for another Negro, believed to have murdered a white man. Bronson died shortly after being admitted to a hospital. He was not implicated in the murder of the white man.

1936

Cusseta, Chattahoochee County, March 14: Philip Baker, Negro, accused of attacking two white women, was hanged, and his body was "riddled with bullets" by a mob which took him from Chattahoochee County officers while he was being transferred from Macon to Columbus.

Danielsville, Madison County, April 28: Lint Shaw, Negro, was shot to death by a mob of forty men eight hours before he was to go to trial on a charge of attempted criminal assault. The mob broke into the jail at Royston, Georgia, where Shaw had been taken for safekeeping, the third in which the prisoner had been held.

Pavo, Thomas County, May 3: John Rushin, Negro, was snatched from a deputy sheriff by a mob of 200 men and shot to death in revenge for the slaying of a white man.

Dalton, Whitfield County, September 6: A. L. McCamy, Negro, accused of an attempted attack on a white woman, was taken from the county jail by a mob of about 150 and hanged. Sheriff J. T. Bryan found the body four hours later on a roadside beneath a tree from which the man had been hanged.

Atlanta, Fulton County, September 12: Tom Finch, Negro, for ten years orderly at the Grady Hospital, was taken from his home under the pretense that he was under arrest. Twenty minutes later his wife was called and told that his body had been dumped at the hospital door. The police department claimed that the Negro had resisted arrest and made an attempt to harm an officer, and that he was shot while fleeing. However, an examination of the hospital records revealed that he "was shot five times in the breast."

Atlanta, Fulton County, December 23: Mack Henry Brown, Negro, apartment house janitor, whose bullet-riddled, handcuffed, and foot-bound body was found floating in the Chattahoochee River at Roswell, Georgia, several weeks after he allegedly insulted an Atlanta white woman by kissing her hand, came to his death as the result of two bullets fired into his body by a party or parties unknown, a coroner's jury decided Tuesday afternoon following a two-day inquest conducted by Paul T. Donehoo, Coroner for Fulton County.

1937

Bainbridge, Decatur County, May 25: Willie Reed, Negro, accused of murdering two white women and assaulting one of them, was killed by local officers, H. G. Pollock and R. A. Stephens, who were returning him to Bainbridge from Dothan, Alabama. His dead body was seized from a Negro undertaking establishment by a mob of 100 and burned, after being dragged through the town behind an automobile.

1938

Arabi, Crisp County, July 6: John Dukes, Negro, after being mortally shot by an officer sent to arrest him for drunk and disorderly conduct, was seized by a mob "estimated at a hand full to several hundred." While still alive, but unconscious, he was dragged down the road several hundred yards, his body saturated with gasoline and burned.

1939

No lynchings

1940

Atlanta, Fulton County, March 7: Ike Gaston, white, was flogged by a gang of masked men and left in such a state of exhaustion that he was unable to make his way home, and died of exposure. The Grand Jury of Fulton

County investigated Gaston's murder, but no indictments were returned. He was charged with drinking and being cruel to his wife. His body was found the following morning.

LaGrange, Troup County, September 8: Austin Callaway, Negro, was charged with an attempted attack on a white woman. He was taken from jail about midnight by six masked men and shot to death.

1941

Blakely, Early County, May 6: Robert Sapp, Negro, suspected of stealing from his employer, was beaten unconscious with a club and a piece of machine belting by three men. He died several days later.

KANSAS—1

1932

Atwood, Rawlins County, April 18: Richard Read, white, attacker and slayer of eight-year-old white girl, was taken from the Rawlins County jail by a mob of 200 and hanged. The mob chased the officer from Colby County, where the crime was committed, through Cheyenne County and into Rawlins.

KENTUCKY—2

1931

No lynchings

1932

Princeton, Caldwell County, June 1: Walter Merrick, white, was removed from county jail by an unidentified group in six automobiles late at night, carried into Princeton, and hanged. Merrick was charged with dynamiting a store at Hopson.

1933

No lynchings

1934

Hazard, Perry County, January 24: Rex Scott, Negro, accused of striking a white man, was taken from jail by a mob of coal miners from Knott County, carried to a place opposite a grave yard, hanged, and his body "riddled with bullets."

1935-1941

No lynchings

LOUISIANA—13

1931

Pointe a La Hache, Plaquemine Parish, August 3: Oscar Livingston, Negro, charged with attempted rape, was taken from jail by mob of masked men and his body "riddled with buck shot."

1932

Wisner, Franklin Parish, November 20: The body of William House, Negro, arrested for insulting two white women, was found dangling from a tree twenty-four hours after band of fifteen men had taken him from officers.

1933

Homer, Claiborne Parish, January 12: Fell Jenkins, Negro, was flogged to death by three white men, according to the coroner's report. The report was made without recommendation and no arrests were made.

Ringgold, Bienville Parish, February 19: Nelson Nash, Negro, was taken from officers about an hour after he had confessed to burglary, murder, and attempted rape. He was hanged at the scene of the crime and about fifty bullets shot into his body.

Opelousas, Saint Landry Parish, September 26: John White, young Negro, was taken from officers by a mob and shot to death, his body "riddled with bullets." He was accused of rape.

Labadieville, Assumption Parish, October 11: Freddie Moore, young Negro, was taken from jail by a mob of unknown size sometime after midnight and hanged from a bridge. He was accused of the murder of a young white girl.

1934

Bastrop, Morehouse Parish, July 9: Andrew McLeod, Negro, accused of attempted rape, was taken from jail in broad daylight, hanged on the courthouse square, and throat slashed.

Bethany, Caddo Parish, August 3: Grafton Page, Negro, accused of drunk and disorderly conduct, was flogged to death. He was not in the hands of the law.

1935

Franklinton, Franklin Parish, January 11: Jerome Wilson, Negro, was shot to death in his cell in the Parish jail by a mob of six or eight men. The Supreme Court of the United States had granted Wilson a new trial for the murder of officer Delos C. Wood. Sheriff J. C. Brock said, "There wasn't any lynching. There wasn't any mob. . . . There were just about six or eight men who were going about their business."

Maringuoin, Iberville Parish, March 3: After he had whipped a white man who had drawn a gun on him, Anderson Ward, Negro, was taken from jail by a mob, "riddled with bullets," and hanged to an oak tree, where his body dangled for several hours before relatives were allowed to cut it down for burial.

Gretna, Jefferson Parish, November 1: Two unidentified Negro men, removed from mob-proof parish jail at New Orleans across the river to Gretna, were shot to death in their cell by a mob of three. They were accused of attempted rape.

1936-1937

No lynchings

1938

Ruston, Lincoln Parish, October 13: R. C. Williams, Negro, was taken by a mob of undetermined size and hanged to a tree, "riddled with bullets," and burned. Williams was accused of murdering a white man and raping his companion.

1939-1941

No lynchings

MISSISSIPPI—25

1931

Vicksburg, Warren County, March 29: The body of Eli Johnson, Negro, charged with an attempted attack upon a white woman, was found "riddled with buck shot and bullet hole in head."

Inverness, Sunflower County, March 22: Steve Wiley, Negro, charged with an attempted assault, was taken from officers by a mob of unknown size and hanged.

Columbus, Lowndes County, November 6: Coleman Franks, Negro, was taken by a band of men from a cage in the convict camp, where he was held pending trial for wounding white man after a row, and was hanged.

1932

No lynchings

1933

Minter City, Leflore County, September 18: Richard Roscoe, Negro farmer, was seized at his home by a mob and shot. His "bullet-filled body" was fastened to an automobile, dragged through town and then taken back and deposited in the yard. He was accused of "striking a white man in a fight and being too smart."

Louisville, Winston County, July 18: Reuben Micou, Ne-

gro, was taken from his home by a mob of seventeen, flogged, shot and his body thrown into a drainage canal. Micou had engaged in an "altercation" with one of the seventeen.

Caledonia, Lowndes County, about July 10: A Negro tenant, name suppressed by local people, was seized by a "band of men" when he was coming in from the fields, held until after dark, then hanged and his body weighted and thrown into a nearby creek. The Negro was accused of "improper conduct toward a white woman." It was some ten days or more after the Negro disappeared when the body was found.

1934

Lambert, Bolivar County, June 8: Joe Love and Isaac Thomas, Negroes, accused of attempted rape, were taken from officers and hanged.

Bolton, Hinds County, July 16: James Sanders, Negro, was shot by a mob of three "for writing an indecent letter to a white girl." Not in the hands of the law.

Three men—father, uncle, and cousin of the white girl to whom the letter was written—made the following sworn statement in court: After driving the Negro out a certain distance from town, they stopped the car. The Negro grabbed the pistol from the pocket of the father of the girl and began shooting, so they had to shoot the Negro in self-defense. The District Attorney "was present at the trial and recommended that the case be dismissed." A business man said, "It was something that just had to be done."

Pelahatchee, Rankin County, July 24: Henry Bedford, Negro, was flogged to death by a mob of four "for speaking disrespectfully to a young white man." Bedford was seized at his home.

The sheriff, notified a few hours after the flogging, went out and brought the Negro into the hospital where he died the next night. The four white men were arrested immediately. They were given trial in the city court, but were released several days later on bond to await the meeting of Grand Jury, which did not indict.

Michigan City, Benton County, August 13: Robert Jones and Smith Houey, Negroes, who were being brought to Ashland for trial for murder committed more than a year before, were taken from officers by a mob and hanged.

1935

Columbus, Lowndes County, July 15: Dooley Morton and Bert Moore, Negroes, accused of attempted rape were taken from Deputy Sheriff Parker Harris by a motorcade mob of thirty-five men and hanged.

Oxford, Lafayette County, September 17: Elwood Higgenbotham, Negro, was taken from jail at 9:30 P. M., where

he awaited the verdict of the jury in his trial for murdering a white man, and hanged by a mob of fifty men. The jury had retired at 6 P. M.

Pittsboro, Calhoun County, August 5: Bodie Bates, Negro, suspected of attempting to attack a white girl was taken from the Calhoun County jail and hanged from a Yalobusha River bridge. Sheriff Jack W. Powell had meager information about the lynching.

Wiggins, Stone County, June 22: R. D. McGee, Negro, was captured by a mob of 300, hanged to an oak tree near the graveyard, "filled full of bullets," cut down and hanged to another tree near the highway. He was accused of criminally assaulting an eleven-year-old white child.

Slayden, Marshall County, March 12: Ab Young, Negro, was captured by a mob of about fifty men at Rossville, Tennessee, brought back and hanged in a school yard three miles east of Slayden. He was accused of killing a white highway employee.

Near Hernando, DeSoto County, March 28: The body of an unidentified Negro, with a rope round the neck and with bullet holes in it, was found in a gully near Hernando. Several of Huey Long's pamphlets "Every Man a King" were found in the pockets. A coroner's jury returned a verdict of suicide.

1936

No lynchings

1937

Duck Hill, Montgomery County, April 13: Roosevelt Towns and Bootjack McDaniels, Negroes, accused of murdering a white storekeeper, were taken from Sheriff E. E. Wright, as they were being led from the courthouse at Winona after indictment proceedings, and burned to death with blow torches.

1938

Rolling Fork, Sharkey County, July 6: Tom McGehee, Negro blacksmith, was killed in gun battle with a posse of about seventy-five men after the murder of a white planter for whom he worked. Later a mob seized the body, poured gasoline over it, set it on fire, tied it to an automobile, and hauled it down to Rolling Fork.

Wiggins, Stone County, November 21: Wilder McGowan, Negro, "was lynched by a mob of two hundred men for the alleged choking, assaulting, and robbing of a seventy-four-year-old white woman. It was an 'orderly lynching.' Sheriff H. C. Hinton was sure there was 'no shooting and no disorder in the mob.' "

Canton, Madison County, July 29: Claude Brooks was shot by officers when he speeded up his car and refused to

halt when ordered. The officers had closed off streets in search of the murderer and robber of a white man. Brooks' companion, Jones, was placed in jail. Officers said both Negroes were innocent of any offense.

1939

Canton, Madison County, May 8: Joe Rogers, Negro, was understood locally to have had some difficulty with the foreman at the sawmill where he worked. Several days afterwards his body was found in Pearl River with hands and feet tied.

1940-1941

No lynchings

MARYLAND—2

1931

Salisbury, Wicomico County, December 4: Mack Williams, Negro, charged with murder of his employer, was taken from a hospital cot by a mob of 2,000, hanged in front of the courthouse, and his body cremated.

1932

No lynchings

1933

Princess Anne, Somerset County, October 18: George Armwood, Negro, was taken from the jail by a mob of over 5,000 men, women, and children, dragged a mile through town and hanged from a tree on the main street and his body burned. Armwood was accused of attacking a seventy-one-year-old white woman.

MISSOURI—2

1931

Maryville, Nodaway County, January 19: Raymond Gunn, Negro, charged with rape and murder, was taken from the sheriff by a mob of several thousand, carried to school house, site of the crime, where he was chained and handcuffed to rooftree, which was soaked with gasoline. The building was then set on fire.

1932

No lynchings

1933

St. Joseph, Buchanan County, November 29: Lloyd Warner, Negro, was taken from jail by four men, hanged and his body burned, while a mob of 7,000 looked on. He was in jail on a charge of rape.

NORTH CAROLINA—3

1931-1932

No lynchings

1933

Willard, Pender County, August 27: Doc Rogers, Negro farmer, was killed by a posse in a gun battle in which a deputy sheriff was wounded. The posse dragged the body around the courthouse square. Later Rogers' house was burned. The Negro and a white bootlegger had an altercation in which the Negro fired into the bootlegger's house.

1934

No lynchings

1935

Louisburg, Franklin County, August 3: Govan Ward, mentally deficient Negro, was taken from Sheriff J. T. Moore by a mob of Negroes and white men, hanged, and his "body riddled with bullets." He had chopped off the head of a white farmer with an ax in what Sheriff Moore said was apparently a mad frenzy.

1936-1940

No lynchings

1941

Gaston County (near Cherryville), April 13: Robert Melker, Negro, fighting with four white men, was shot to death in his home. All four men were convicted and are serving prison terms from ten to twenty-five years.

NORTH DAKOTA—1

1931

Schafer, McKenzie County, January 29: Charles Bannon, white, accused of murder of a family of six, was taken from McKenzie County jail by a mob of eighty men and hanged from a bridge. No shots were fired.

OHIO—1

1932

Ironton, Lawrence County, June 11: Luke Marion, Negro, had drawn a knife on two white men which angered the crowd of white people. Later his body, badly battered, was found in the river. Four white men were arrested at once; twelve others were under suspicion; six were later indicted.

SOUTH CAROLINA—5

1931-1932

No lynchings

1933

Clinton, Laurens County, July 4: Norris Dendy, Negro, was taken from the county jail by four men and hanged. His body was found by Deputy Sheriff Thad Moore seven hours later badly beaten and still hanging. Dendy had been shot once.

Aiken, Aiken County, February 19: George Jeter, Negro, was flogged to death by four white men who accused him of stealing their bootleg liquor, selling it, and keeping the money.

Greenville, Greenville County, November 16: George Green, Negro, was shot to death by a masked, robed band of more than ten after he had been taken from his home. Authorities said they knew of no reason for the slaying.

Ninety-Six, Greenwood County, October 9: Bennie Thompson, Negro, was taken from jail by four men and beaten to death. He was lodged in jail on a charge of drawing a pistol on one of the white men.

1936-1940

No lynchings

1941

Andrews, Georgetown County, February 20: Bruce Tisdale, Negro, was beaten over the head in a fight with five white men and died in hospital five days later. Three of the men were convicted of manslaughter. Case is on appeal.

TENNESSEE—8

1931

Union City, Obion County, April 17: George Smith, Negro, was hanged in the courthouse jail by a mob of several hundred people at 2:30 P. M. He was accused of attemped criminal assault on a young white girl.

1932

No lynchings

1933

Columbia, Maury County, December 15: Cord Cheek, twenty-year-old Negro, was kidnaped by a mob of seven and hanged near the scene of an alleged criminal assault on an eleven-year-old white girl. The Maury County Grand Jury had released Cheek earlier in the day for lack of evidence to indict him.

Huntsville, Scott County, June 8: Jerome Boyette and Harvey Winchester, white, accused of murder, were shot by a mob of several armed men. They were taken from jail.

1934

Manchester, Coffee County, June 24: A Negro, Richard Wilkerson, was ambushed by a mob of eight and shot for striking a white man. He was not in the hands of the law.

A party of white men went to a Negro dance. They had some trouble with Wilkerson in regard to their conduct, reports say, toward a Negro girl. Wilkerson struck one of them. On his way home after the dance, Wilkerson was ambushed by eight white men, shot, stripped of his clothing, and beaten on the head with an axe.

These eight men were convicted of manslaughter and sentenced, but no record of their having served terms is available.

1935

White Bluff, Dickerson County, November 4: Baxter Bell, Negro, struck a white woman who was in a Negro drinking joint. Arrested for assault and battery he was being taken to Ashland to jail when five men—husband of the woman and four relatives—overpowered the constable, took Bell across into Cheatham County. He was found thirty minutes later, dead with a shot through the lungs. The white men were acquitted.

1936

No lynchings

1937

Covington, Tipton County, August 17: Albert Gooden, Negro, accused of slaying an officer of the law, was taken from Sheriff W. J. Vaughn by six men and hanged. The sheriff was taking his prisoner back to Covington from Memphis where Gooden had been taken for safekeeping.

1938-1939

No lynchings

1940

Brownsville, Haywood County, June 22: Elbert Williams, Negro, attempted to qualify to vote. Trouble developed. Later his "bullet riddled body" was recovered from the Hatchie River.

1941

No lynchings

TEXAS—6

1931

No lynchings

1932

Crockett, Houston County, April 2: Dave Tillis, Negro, while being taken to Crockett by his landlord to be turned over to the sheriff—for allegedly entering white woman's bedroom—was seized by four men, hanged to a blackjack tree. Five men were arrested, following investigation by Sheriff J. L. Hazlett.

1933

Carthage, Panola County, May 23: W. C. Lovell, Negro, was cornered and killed instantly by officers and a large mob less than ten minutes after he had attacked a white woman.

Kountze, Hardin County, December 7: David Gregory, Negro, charged with assaulting and killing a white woman, was killed by officers while resisting arrest. The mob of about 400 seized the body, dragged it around for two hours or so, then dismembered and burned it on a bonfire in the Negro district.

1934

Newton, Newton County, June 21: A Negro, Sonny Griggs, was hanged for associating with a white girl. He was taken from the sheriff who was removing him to Orange for safekeeping. The mob was estimated to have been several hundred.

1935

Columbus, Colorado County, November 11: Ernest Collins, and Benny Mitchell, Negroes, were taken from Sheriff Frank Horgemeyer and deputies by a mob of 700 and hanged to a liveoak tree. They were being brought from Houston to Columbus to be tried for criminal assault and murder. County Attorney O. P. Moore said, "I do not call the citizens who executed the Negroes a mob. I consider their action an expression of the will of the people."

1936-1941

No lynchings

VIRGINIA—1

1931

No lynchings

1932

Hume, Fauquier County, July 12: In the early morning of July 12, a farmer and his wife were attacked while sleeping in their home at Hume, Virginia. The report was that

the farmer was struck over the head, stunned by a stick of stove wood, and his wife dragged away and left about a half mile from their home where she was found later in a semi-conscious condition. The suspected attacker, Shadrick Thompson, Negro, had been sought in connection with the crime.

On September 15 his body was found near Linden, hanging from a tree. The coroner was immediately notified and viewed the body. "The body, therefore, came into the hands of the law. The law, however, did not retain possession of it, but permitted it to come into the hands of a mob which burned the body, distributing the victim's teeth as souvenirs, and placed his head on exhibition in the town of Warrenton." (From Tuskegee report).

1933-1941

No lynchings

WEST VIRGINIA—2

1931

Lewisburg, Greenbrier County, December 10: Tom Jackson and George Banks, Negroes, charged with killing Constables Joseph H. Myles and Jack Brown, were taken from jail by a mob of fifty and hanged. Bodies were "riddled with bullets."

II

EDITORIAL TREATMENT OF LYNCHINGS*

By JESSIE DANIEL AMES

Editorial treatment of lynchings offers an interesting and revealing study of public attitudes toward this peculiarly American custom. Environment and not personal inclination of editors determines the tone of opinion in almost every instance. As individuals, they are unanimously opposed to mob violence but, as editors who are caught in the general atmosphere of a given trade territory, they do not reflect their own ideas but those of the people upon whose goodwill their papers depend for revenue. They find themselves in the difficult position of a rider who must sit two horses at the same time, one standing facing backward, the other moving rapidly forward unencumbered by the harness of tradition. They must satisfy that part of the watchful public pressing in closest and upon whose approval they must rely for immediate revenue. But, also, they must offer assurances that the show is worth the investment of huge sums of money to that distant public whose worldly possessions are highly essential to the progress and development of the South.

Editors, with few exceptions, condone lynchings by offering reasons for lynchers which are in effect sympathetic excuses defending the right of citizens under provocation to take the law into their own hands and constitute themselves judge, jury, and executioner all at the same time. The exceptions are so few, in fact, that they do not make up even a respectable minority.

Newspapers and Southern society accept lynching as justifiable homicide in defense of society. When defenders of society sometimes go too far in their enthusiasm, as in the Winona, Mississippi, torch lynchings of 1937, public opinion regrets their acts, deplores them, condemns, but recognizes that too much blame must not be attached to lynchers because their provocation is great and their ultimate motives are laudable. This attitude of society in the South—this sympathetic understanding of a barbarous act while regretting the fact—influences editorial opinion.

Outside Agencies Blamed

Editors from time to time refer to the South's "peculiar situation" which must be handled entirely by native Southern people, without interference from "outside agencies." When such interference can be claimed, outside agencies become the spectacular scapegoat for local crime, bearing off into the wilderness all the sins and shortcomings of the community, leaving it . . . well, if not as white as snow, at least as white as it was before the lynching. Could there be any finer defense offered to lynchers than this editorial from a great, liberal, and influential daily paper:

> Their bodies (the Negroes') were riddled with bullets by hotheads who took the law in their own hands for fear that outside interference would block the course of justice. . . . But the maggoty beaks of the belled buzzards of the International Labor Defense League are stained with the blood of the three Negroes whose torn bodies this morning lie in newly turned graves.

The lynching community, to the last man, was quickly informed by its local paper that its citizens were cleared of crime by the press. The local paper, supporting its constituency, took up the defense offered by the Capital City daily in an editorial captioned "The Carpet Baggers of 1933" and carried the idea of patriotism to an amazingly high point of eloquence:

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*Reprinted from The Public Opinion Quarterly, Princeton, January, 1938.

> They (the Negroes) died at the hands of an unidentified mob but they were LYNCHED by a communistic organization known as the International Labor Defense whose promoters may now enjoy to the fullest the havoc they have wrought.

There is almost visible a tear in the editorial eye for the hapless victims of the "communistic organization."

Nothing could be more delightfully restrained than this editorial rebuke on the same occasion from another state paper. Even a casual reader may detect the editor's dislike for unnecessary violence even in a good cause:

> There can be no justification in flaunting the jurisdiction of the courts and committing murder even to show such a despicable outfit as the International Labor Defense, whose concern is not for the Negroes, that it is not wanted in Alabama.

Sorrowful regret, a few penitential tears, but for the most part an indignant and righteous wrath that a fine community had been forced to such extreme measures to protect society—those were the characteristics of editorial opinion in Alabama on the occasion of this double lynching. Editorial screams of justification were accepted as noble harmonies by the public. In an editorial three days after the lynching, the editor who described the outside agency as "belled buzzards" sighed gratefully in his paper:

> Let us forget the embarrassment we have suffered at the hands of outsiders now that the outside world has agreed that the International Labor Defense shares our blame. A state that does not or cannot offer protection to the most lowly of its residents does not deserve the right to call itself a sovereign state.

All was peaceful again in Alabama. The country and the Alabama editors had accepted the lynchings as painful, regrettable, but excusable under the circumstances, something in the nature of a terrible cauterization of a poisonous snakebite, necessary to the preservation of community life. This accomplished, the editors called on the citizens of Tuscaloosa to clean house. The answer Tuscaloosa made to this appeal was another lynching within six weeks.

Thus were the editors of Alabama and the South again embarrassed. Their amazement and pain were genuine. They cried aloud in their anguish. But Tuscaloosa lynchers were quite logical. Their first sin had been forgiven and their second, like unto the first, also must be forgiven. In a front-page editorial spread over four columns, they found expression in part—even the "law-abiding citizens":

> No lynching can be condoned but Tuscaloosa refused to take full responsibility for the Pippen-Hardin case and it had a right to refuse this responsibility. An outside agency inflamed the people to such a point that the community was tense with fear of racial disorders in which many lives would be lost, so when a handful of men took the matter in their own hands and put those Negroes to death a certain relief was undeniably felt by even the most thoughtful and law-abiding of our citizens.

The Dilemma of Editors

Editors are good citizens. As individuals they condemn lynching. Lynching gives the South the wrong kind of publicity. It makes it a bit more difficult to attract outside capital and to increase immigration of the right people. The South wants all possible "outside" agencies with money to invest to invade its section, but this invasion must come on local terms, chief of which is that the native population must be allowed to handle their "peculiar situation" in the traditional way. Thus must editors sit on the stationary horse while desiring to ride rapidly into the sunrise of progress and prosperity.

Other states, not so spectacularly heckled by Communists as Alabama, find other dangers to the South's "peculiar situation" equally

hateful. Undisturbed by revolutionary ideas, Negroes and white people would continue in a state of harmonious living in which all persons of each race find contentment. This harmony is clearly set forth by a Georgia editor:

> But he (the Negro) is still extant in the majority of cases with the inherent negroid characteristics of the common laborer. . . . He is still something of an economic necessity. . . . The problem of dealing with him evolves into making him a fit citizen. . . . It is only appropriate that they (Negroes) live in their present capacity as neighbor citizens in continual peace and friendship.

This peace and friendship, based on a recognition of and respect for a caste system, is the basis of good race relations. Negroes, undisturbed in the philosophical acceptance of their "present capacity" in a white society, go along unharmed and unlynched. Sometimes Negroes forget their status, even to the point where they think they can defend their property against greedy white neighbors. Then they are liable to sudden death. After a lynching in Mississippi, when an old Negro man had questioned the right of certain acts of white people against him, the local county paper delivered editorially a funeral oration addressed to the remaining Negroes, closing with a benediction:

> Negroes must learn—and most of them do know—that they occupy a peculiar place in this land and must keep it. It is hoped that white people will eventually learn better how to handle the minor difficulties for their own salvation and better interest—and thereby save themselves and their loved ones much unnecessary trouble and worry.

Outsiders must see in this editor's mind that lynchings are regrettable, and, what is not so generally recognized, a lot of trouble.

Sometimes even Southern white people forget their caste in this biracial society. When they do, though they are admonished, the outcome may be death to a Negro. A Negro was lynched in North Carolina within these late years. Now, a lynching in North Carolina, because of its rarity, is news. But when one does occur—doubtless through necessity—the same racial attitudes that control in the Deep South are exposed editorially by some papers of that state. Such an exposure is made in this editorial:

> If some white people were not prone to be familiar with Negroes and socialize with them, allowing them reasons to suppose their presence among white people is acceptable, there would still live in the heart and soul of the Negro the fear and dread of swift and sure punishment in case of wrong doing.

Their presence, except as an economic necessity, is not desired. They must be endured and handled as capably as long experience in dealing with an inferior race—made so by God himself—has taught the white people. Nations which might inflate the ego of a Negro and delude him into thinking that he is a man even as other men must be dealt with heroically. When a Negro is lynched he is not lynched by the persons who fire the guns, pull the rope, or light the bonfire, but by white people who betray their own race and also the Negro whom they pretend to love:

> The white and Negro races of the South (editorializes one paper) get along very well and would get along better if the Negro-loving yankee who loves the Negro at long distance and the visionary and fanatical interracialist who coddles the Negro, would take themselves out of the picture.

Education Changes Defenses

Many leading Southern dailies no longer condone lynchings by holding them as necessary to protect Southern womanhood. Editors to some extent have absorbed a few statistics on the alleged crimes

which arouse sensitive citizens. However, they have not come to the point in their education, either in their minds on facts or in their emotions on chivalry, to do more than drop the knight-errant explanation of lynching. Since big dailies have a circulation outside the South and their editors and publishers attend national conferences and conventions, they must represent the South in the light that will be most productive of goodwill and large investments. So they dare not lay themselves open to ridicule by defending lynching on the grounds of gallantry. They cannot defend lynching as a necessary form of violence to insure white supremacy. All the country holds the philosopy of white supremacy—North, East, West, as well as South—but nationally it is not good sales talk to advertise that white supremacy can be maintained in the South—the last stronghold of pure Anglo-Saxon heritage—only by force, coercion, and lynching.

The Scottsboro Case, made famous by outside interference, has become a trifle boring, not only to Alabama but to the larger part of the South. It has done the South no good in many ways but it has proved an asset in one notable way. It has furnished Southern editors a dignified and self-righteous basis for excusing lynchers with a line of argument that the whole country appreciates—delays in court procedure, the uncertainty of punishment, the loopholes in the law—conditions prevalent everywhere and universally condemned.

So, the Scottsboro Case contributes to the editorial policy of Southern dailies in solving their problem of sitting still while riding rapidly to a place in the sun. One editorial—and their number is legion—is representative of all editorials in defense of lynching on these grounds:

> Lynching is chiefly attributable to laxity of court procedure and the abuse of the pardon power in the United States. No such outrages against law and order occur in Great Britain and her dominions because British justice is quick and certain. . . . In that difference is to be found the reason why mob violence is an unknown thing in one of the great English-speaking nations of the world but is lamentably frequent in the other.

Dignified in style, elegant in language, balanced in construction, and international in illustration, it holds arguments advanced by J. Edgar Hoover as causes of crime, and applies them deftly and convincingly to lynching. It is a national condition with a special application to the South's "peculiar situation." It satisfies the lynchers with a good alibi for their acts, even if those acts include burning at the stake, or, as happened twice in Georgia in these last two years, the ghastly exhibition of the mutilated dead bodies before lighting the funeral pyre.

Daily papers of the South are beginning to show editorially a growing sympathy toward Federal interference, a sympathy not shared to any noticeable extent by the county weeklies whose local constituencies grapple with the problem of maintaining white supremacy. If the Federal government intervenes in the activities of lynchers, then the burden of stopping lynchings will no longer rest on the South. If two men or officers of the law kill a Negro, that will not be a lynching; but if three or more men and women kill a Negro, that will be a job for the Federal government. The Negro in either case will be very dead. The South can forget the murder but the nation will share the lynching. The pot and the kettle can't call names—a situation greatly desired by Southern editors and their readers.

III

CAN NEWSPAPERS HARMONIZE THEIR EDITORIAL POLICY ON LYNCHING AND THEIR NEWS STORIES ON LYNCHING?

Speech of Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, executive director, Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, Atlanta, Georgia, at the Southern Newspaper Publishers' Association Convention on May 18, 1936.

Lynchings are climactic of type of a violence which is aroused by playing upon fear and hate in human relations. Emotions which precipitate lynchings are identical with those which plunge nations into war. Without hate and fear it would not be possible to stage a lynching or a war.

The surest method to follow in developing hate and fear to the point of violence, whether in precipitating a lynching or a war, is the use of stories of sex crimes committed by the people who are to be killed on the women of the people who are to do the killing. Men and women alike see in outraged womanhood their own mothers or wives or sisters, and they are moved by an invincible force to mete out punishment to the vandals. Something of Arthurian chivalry stirs men's minds; they wear the colors of their own womanhood into a battle for all womanhood.

As it is in war, when true stories of sex violation are lacking, fictitious accounts of imaginary assaults against innocent women by brutish enemies are published, so it is in lynchings. As wars have their roots in economic conditions, greed and avarice, so also have lynchings. "My country right or wrong" furnishes the motive in wars; preservation of white supremacy, in lynchings. In both, a whole people lose for the benefit of the few.

Editors do condemn lynchings. They condemn even particular lynchings. Their handling of such crimes is dignified and logical. On no other subject have editorials and editors risen to greater heights of eloquence in stronger language. But the very nature of the editorial, its dignity and its balanced phrases, restricts its effect on public opinion and its influence on human conduct.

The editorial writer competes in a losing battle with his news stories. He is lost to the public while that public reads on his front page—in language that fairly bristles with expressions calculated to awaken the ever-present fear and hate in the less-privileged members of the white race—a dramatic and inflammatory account of some violation of the white man's code by a "giant Negro." Front page space is not enough. Lest some might fail to see or read the story, streamer headlines, of an inch or more in height, catch the eye of any careless loiterer. Whatever the editor may say after this is like the silent fall of dew after a terrific hail storm.

Mencken Is Quoted

Quite apropos is the statement made by H. L. Mencken last month to the American Publishers Association, as it was reported in *Time:* "The editorial page . . . has been going downhill steadily for 50 years. It enlists good men, and sometimes brilliant men, and they work hard and faithfully. On even the worst paper, the editorial page . . . shows more careful writing than any other page, and not infrequently it shows wider information and sounder judgment. Yet how many read it and heed it? Write a scathing editorial on any subject you fancy. Print it on your editorial page. You will get a few letters, and a few of your local bores will call up—no more. Then take exactly the same editorial and reprint it next day on your first page . . . and with appropriate headlines. If you get less than ten times as many letters, call me up in Baltimore with the charges reversed, and a case of Maryland rye will be at your disposal."

Because some Southern women are greatly concerned about lynch-

ing, we are on the alert to discover some effective method of approach to the public which will build a new public opinion toward this crime. It is my opinion that in the beginning not one of us thought of the press in any light other than an ally. We read editorials. When one is printed condemning lynching or recognizing our disinterested efforts in applying an educational program against lynching, we feel greatly strengthened for the time being. We are not as a whole over-critical of the press. I think we—even those of us who do not know Mr. Kipling's writings so well—are inclined to agree with him when he says:

> Remember the battle and stand aside
> While Thrones and Powers confess
> That King over all the children of pride
> Is the Press, the Press, the Press.

We hasten to express our appreciation for every editor who strengthens our purpose a bit by his unqualified condemnation of lynching. We are grateful for editorial commendation of our courage and nobility in openly working against lynching. Again I repeat: We are grateful. But we are coming to see that editorials are not getting us far along our road. Naturally believing in the power of the press, we are interested in the dynamo which generates the power. Some of us think the front pages and the news columns are the dynamo, and we would like to reach the men who control this power.

Will Irwin Cited

Will Irwin says in his book "Propaganda and the News," page 84: "More than twenty years ago I sat with a group of American publishers, talking shop. Conversation turned to the decline of the editorial as a social and political force. 'My front page is my editorial,' said one of the company. 'The headlines are mine,' said another."

You know what these gentlemen of the press mean. Some of us women who are readers only are learning what they mean.

Possibly one of the most pronounced failures on the part of the press to deal fairly in the news columns is illustrated in the story of a prevented lynching in Conroe, Texas, a small town not far from Houston. Streamer headlines and space were given to the story: **"Hunt Negro After Child is Attacked," "Child Assailed as She Returned Home After Taking Sister to School," "Hunt Negro After Girl is Attacked," "Hundreds Seek Conroe Negro in Attack,"** and subheads: **"Girl of About Fourteen Victim of Attack," "Fugitive is Believed in River Bottoms," "Feeling is Intense as Posse Scours Woods," "Girl Sobs Story."**

Whatever the nearby metropolitan papers had to say editorially, if anything, was said so vaguely and so generally that their words have been lost to memory in the vivid recollection of the clamor of the front page headlines and space. In addition, this story represents another and equally potent method of propaganda both in war and in lynching. I refer to the suppression of essential facts which if given equally emphasized publicity might crack the hard shell of hate and fear and let in a ray of reason.

This story dropped out of the papers at the end of the second day. No Negro was captured. No "barbecue" was pulled off. Nobody was arrested or held. The story just disappeared without one word of explanation. One paper carried this paragraph which was a clue to the whole story:

> "They (the bloodhounds) weren't getting anywhere—the man didn't seem to be going anywhere. He just kept crossing and recrossing the river. As a result of this the dogs sort of lost interest in the affair and more dogs were phoned for. Well, the second set of dogs got on the job early in the night. They would pick it up and lose it right away and about 10:30 they checked out."

The bloodhounds each time traced the trail back into the body of the white posse. The quality of the paragraph quoted and the nearbyness of the metropolitan press to the town leads one to conclude that either the papers had their own representatives on the field or the re-write man was a knowing fellow with a sense of irony. These papers which carried this story have been for years editorially opposed to lynchings.

We know that men of the press know a very great deal more about people than we do. They know more about the emotions of people than we do. So whatever we learn after several years of study we are safe in concluding that our news is old news to the fourth estate.

Place of Different Stories

When a story is lacking in spectacular features which earn it headlines on the front page, it is found tucked away somewhere on an inside page, no more conspicuous in type or heading than is given to editorials. But suppression of facts feature these stories and to such an extent that the press is unwittingly developing another alibi for lynching. We have discovered this fairly recently in current news stories.

Any intelligent Southern newspaper man knows that when a jury of Southern white men gives a Negro one year in prison or one year on the chaingang for criminal assault or attempted criminal assault upon the person of a white woman or child, there is something which needs to be explained. These short penalties for this revolting crime, given without full publicity as to the facts involved, are proving a doubledistilled poison to Southern life. Men and women, in increasing numbers, point to these short penalties as evidence that the courts of the South are controlled by Communists who believe in social equality and intermarriage. This fear of Communistic control of our courts intensifies racial fear, or the other way about.

That there is propaganda by suppression is illustrated by two such cases of short sentences:

Last fall the papers carried a news story of a Negro who had received one year in prison for attempting to assault a twelve-year-old child, the daughter of a white farmer. This needed study. A prominent woman citizen of the State in which the crime allegedly was committed visited the town. From the white merchants and city officials she learned of the good character of the Negro—his prompt payment of bills, his industry, and his sobriety. She also learned, from the same people, of the questionable character of the white man. After his Negro tenant was sent to prison for one year, the white farmer took all the crops of the Negro, as well as his chickens and hogs, leaving the Negro's wife and children without support. The news story gave the white child's age as twelve. When the Negro was tried, he was tried for attempted assault not on the twelve-year-old daughter but on her eighteen-year-old sister.

This year, the day after a Negro was lynched for alleged criminal assault, another Negro in the same town was given one year on the chaingang for a similar crime. The lynching of the first Negro was justified by the public on the ground that had he not been lynched he would have received a sentence of only one year. The papers have not yet carried the story of the suppressed facts. What force would have been placed in our hands for removing the halo of chivalry around lynchers and building respect for courts had the papers made public the story of the white woman and white man who supported themselves through selling a young white girl to any man with the price, without regard to race or color!

Diversion of the public mind from the savage revenge of the mob by emphasizing the heinousness of the crime committed by the victim of the mob excuses any excess of torture. Men and women see in the outraged victim of a "black brute" their own mothers or sisters, wives or daughters. Anonymous letters, demanding to know "How would

you feel if that had been your daughter or sister?," have been received too often for us to overlook the effect these news stories have on the minds of men and women.

Descriptions in Newspapers

In describing the victim of an assault, newspapers use such words as "young, lovely, innocent, devout in her religious life, loving, affectionate; now broken and ruined, a glorious future of proud womanhood destroyed and blasted." Men are stirred. No one with a drop of "red blood" in his veins will stand back! If they hesitate, there are women and girls milling around, demanding that they show themselves as heroes, and not yellow cowards.

This method of propaganda has been used successfully over a long period of years—that all white women of the South are categorically pure and noble and sacred, and all white men of the South are defenders of this purity, nobility, and sacredness against spoilation by a Negro. I was brought up on this theory. As a woman of mature years, I discovered that there were white women like those in the Scottsboro case and the Marianna, Florida, case. Even later have I become acquainted with the type of white men involved in the lynchings at Newton, Texas, and Marianna, Florida, in 1934, and the recent one at Danielsville, Georgia.

Cannibalism of mobs, revolting souvenir collections carried by lynchers, sadistic acts inspired by diseased and poisoned minds—these facts are played down if they are mentioned at all, while justification is given for any extreme measure of cruelty which a maddened mob may devise. "It was terrible," one white woman remarked about the mob at Marianna, Florida, "but nothing that could have been done to the Negro would have been too much."

In Will Irwin's "Propaganda and the News," almost every statement he makes about propaganda and war, the place of the press in creating hate and arousing fighting blood, can be paralleled with similar stories of propaganda and lynching—ways of turning on racial hate and fear and arousing the savage in white men. It seems to me that the Southern press has helped to cultivate the field of public opinion which is now fertile for seeds of communism and fascism. Lynchings are spectacular incidents of the complete destruction of law and the courts while the mass rules. Hatred, the essential ingredient for murder and lawlessness, is never completely dormant. Methods of propaganda—or technique, as sociologists call it—for stirring up this hatred have become so much a part of our method of control that unconsciously, because of familiar outlines, newspapers which now seek to change this in their editorial columns print news stories of lynchings which satisfy the state of the public mind; suppress details that reveal the white man as something less than chivalrous; divert attention from his acts of savagery; emphasize and support the emotions of hate and fear; and in other subtle ways feed the doctrine of group superiority, as an attribute of birth, to those of our race who have failed to achieve individual superiority over their Negro neighbors.

IV

TOWARD LYNCHLESS AMERICA*

By JESSIE DANIEL AMES

An old Hindu proverb says that "the view depends upon the point of view." The point of view in considering lynching and conditions during recent years is of importance. If one sees lynching as an isolated crime unrelated to social conditions, then that person with this point of view undoubtedly considers punishment of the community in which the crime is committed the surest and, possibly, the one way to stop lynching.

On the other hand, if one sees lynching as a symptom of violent social disease which afflicts not the community alone in which the lynching occurs but a whole section of country, then that person considers that the disease must be cured to destroy the symptom. In other words, to those who believe lynchers are criminal devils, inherently wicked and depraved, then punishment, swift, severe, and sure, appeals; to those who believe lynchers are born into a social and economic system which turns them to acts of brutal violence, then change of the system appeals. Indeed, the view depends upon the point of view!

Lynching a Diminishing Crime

If people who lynch are born evil, then there is little point in discussing conditions during recent years. It must be concluded at once that lynchers have died off—they have not been punished for murder—or they have been miraculously regenerated. No one in his right mind will argue seriously that lynch-minded individuals have suddenly resolved overnight to stop lynching. Yet something must be taking place that is changing them. For lynchings have decreased so remarkably—from 3,080 in the decades 1882-1901 to 295 in the decades 1920-1939, and from 231 in 1892, the highest annual record, to 3 in 1939, the lowest—that it is clearly a diminishing crime in the United States. Going back of these figures, however, the observer may conclude that it is also a vanishing crime, for while in 1933 there were twenty-eight lynchings in eleven states, in 1939 there were three lynchings in two states.

Possibly lynchers are beginning to sense the change in public opinion which no longer supports them unreservedly. Maybe they recognize that their acts are not accepted as evidences of chivalry. Then, too, in addition to a changed public opinion which discourages their extralegal methods, their economic conditions are improving. Neither of these factors operates instantly or separately. They become potent gradually over a long period of time. So, in order to understand conditions affecting lynchings in recent years, it is necessary to go back another decade to 1920.

South Takes a Stand

It was in the year 1919-20 that the South decided to do something in earnest about the problems of its biracial society. For ten years slow and apparently ineffective efforts to improve conditions through education were carried on. In that time it seemed as though nothing was evident except talk. To be sure the talking was done as much by Negroes as by white people and, even more important, Negroes were talking to the white people in person. Nor were they careful of the sentiments and emotions of their white brethren. The idea of holding conferences and meetings on an interracial basis gained support among Southern church leaders, men and women, educators and private citizens, until by 1930 thousands of Southern white people had met and talked with Southern Negroes, had sat down together

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and frankly discussed conditions affecting the lives of Southern people.

About this same time, too, the seeds of a new public opinion were beginning to be sown in Southern colleges. Then it was that these institutions began to liberalize their curricula to include sociology, economics, and political science—subjects with current and local applications. The young people reaching college age twenty years ago were an awakening group of future citizens. The war had made them restless and disobedient to the mores of the pre-war period. In addition, they were the third generation removed from the experiences of Reconstruction and their emotions of sectionalism and race prejudice were not so deep that they were blinded intellectually to the conditions of the present. Race relations, introduced with misgivings in a few of the colleges as a dangerous experiment in education, became popular courses which have spread in the last ten years to more than 75 white Southern colleges. The first students introduced to race relations are today men and women in their middle thirties. They and those who have reached maturity in later years hold opinions on conditions in the South's biracial society which are affecting public opinion on lynching and the causes underlying mob violence. The Southern colleges, reaching into more and more homes of the low, middle, and upper middle classes, are inevitably, if occasionally reluctantly, helping to destroy the old mores of the South.

Woman Suffrage Affects Attitudes

Far-fetched as the statement may appear, the enfranchisement of women in 1920 has contributed its mite to a new public opinion on lynching. The South did not accept suffrage for women; it acquired it in spite of the fight-to-the-last-ditch stand taken by both the Southern press and Southern politicians. That Southern women should have been slow to exercise the ballot as a weapon in the fight to make the world a better place for children was a natural consequence of the oft-repeated and generally accepted statement that no real lady would degrade herself by participating in politics. But younger women, growing to maturity, educated in the increasing numbers of co-educational schools, did not accept the dictum of the man-made society. They and those others who had fought for political freedom were seeking the proper medium for reaching the mass of women. They, being Southern born and bred, turned naturally to the one organization with which they were familiar—the church. They knew that the church was powerful, and they knew, also, that the strong hold of the church on social conditions could best be broken within the church itself. So in the church, the one recognized sanctuary for women's undisturbed activities, Southern women became active in race relations and law observance in their own land while they continued their work to extend the Kingdom of God to foreign lands.

Whatever else may be said about Southern women, it cannot be said that they lack the moral courage to act according to their convictions even though those convictions may run contrary to social custom. Certainly, investigation of lynchings in person was about the most contrary act they could have committed. But they had to have some understanding of lynchers and they had to have it first-hand. When from their own investigations of lynchings, allegedly committed to protect Southern womanhood, they found that they were used as the shield behind which their own men committed cowardly acts of violence against a helpless people, they took the only action they could. They pledged themselves to educate against lynching in the towns where they lived and to publish by word of mouth the facts about women and lynching. It was at this point that woman suffrage made its contribution to the decrease in lynching and the changing of public opinion. For these women spoke as citizens who had the assurance born of the knowledge that they had the power to affect the political lives of local and county politicians whose bread

and butter depended upon the will and the wishes of their constituents. The politicians also knew it.

Church Women Change Situation

The influence of church women on the lynching situation is not a conjecture. It is a fact. In 1931 when they launched their campaign against lynching, some Southern editors expressed scorn—"It will be just as easy to stop lynching by resolutiing against it as to prevent war by denouncing it"—or warnings "that they were doing a vain and useless thing." Nine years later, in 1939, not one of the three lynchings committed involved an offense against Southern womanhood—nor were there more than a few small newspapers expressing other than appreciation for the "courageous work" done by the women of the South.

These—interracial meetings, schools, the church and home, the press and Southern women as an organized bloc—are all contributing factors to a changing public opinion in the South toward lynching. To which one is due the most credit depends upon the point of view of the proponents of each. But regardless of credit, lynching is decreasing and disappearing by the initiative and support of Southern white people. Lynchers are no longer held in esteem and they are beginning to feel it.

But the would-be and have-been lynchers are themselves growing less committed to lynching than formerly. For the real conditions which have instigated most lynchings in the past have, themselves, been changing. Poverty, disease, illiteracy, starvation from one generation to the next, until malnutrition could be mistaken as an hereditary disease, have so afflicted the rural white and Negro South that hope of rising out of their desperate conditions was dormant if not dead. "Corn" and white supremacy have been the sole physical and emotional releases in the lives of most of the white rural population; "corn" and subtle aggression, the only physical and emotional releases of the depressed Negroes. Living side by side, under these stimulations, conflict has been inevitable.

Lynching and Price of Cotton

Past history of lynchings disclose that in periods of depression, when the price of cotton is down, this conflict is intensified. Lynchings increase. The landlords want all the cotton, or as one Georgia editor expresses it, "Now has come the season when the tenant farmer who has made the best crop will be run off from his crop." Under these circumstances mob violence eases the emotional pressure of disappointment and despair of the poor whites and scares the Negroes off the land. True to form, the first year of depression—1930—showed an increase of lynchings from ten in the year 1929, the lowest record of any previous year, to 21 the next year. Up to 1936, in fact, the barometer of lynchings moved in inverse ratio to the price of cotton. But in 1936, with the price of cotton still low, lynchings dropped to a new record and, since that year, lynchings have continued to decrease, each year setting a new low record.

The New Deal and Lynching

What happened that changed the course of lynching history? Nothing but hope, the most potent of forces in human existence, hope of better things in the lives of those who lynch and are lynched—the forgotten members of the American people. And here it is that the Federal Government enters the campaign against lynching, not with a flashing sword of vengeance but with promise of a better day for the rural farm laborers of the South. Work relief from the Federal and State Governments put these people to work and reduced idleness and boredom and, equally as important, gave them a little cash money to spend with white merchants. The much-vaunted American pride did not deter them from accepting charity from tax money.

They were working for the government for money and they did not have to work for just anyone for a pitiful roof and a pellagra-inducing diet. The Farm Security Administration offered them a chance to own something of their own for the price of the labor they had been doing for practically nothing in the past. Their children could go to school like other children. The Federal Government, in its entire agricultural program of work, home ownership, proper diet, and health clinics, entered the field against lynching.

White people still feel their racial supremacy as a sacred and inherent trust, but they are beginning to occupy their minds with the more pressing and important problem of living and earning and spending rather than with that of finding a Negro to lynch to prove their supremacy. Negroes long at the bottom of the pile, are beginning to dig themselves out from under, and standing erect; no longer are they moved by the desire to arouse the equally helpless white man to dangerous acts. The Federal Government has not finished its work in the field of preventing lynchings, but it has made a good beginning, as is indicated by the fact that in 1939 not one of the three lynchings was committed in strictly rural communities.

Public opinion against lynching and the Federal Government in its socio-economic program are beginning to convince the South that Booker Washington was a sage of the greatest wisdom when he warned the South that "You cannot hold another down in the ditch without staying in the ditch with him."

V

LADIES AND LYNCHINGS*

By LEWIS T. NORDYKE

The remarkable story of the campaign against lynching which is being carried forward by forty thousand southern women, backed by two million members of social, civic and religious groups. A Texas journalist reports on the promise of better human relations which distinguishes this quiet but determined movement for "self-reconstruction."

Mob violence, masquerading as the champion of southern womanhood, is petering out below the Mason and Dixon Line. And the weaker sex is largely responsible. Nine years ago a small group of thinking women who had long realized that there was more bloodthirst than knight-errantry in howling mobs, organized the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. Today, backed by women's social, civic and religious groups that have more than two million members in the southern states, the women are massed in one of the most effective social programs ever attempted in the United States and certainly one of the most vital and constructive movements in the South—that of preventing white men from lynching Negroes for any cause whatsoever.

The word "southern" in the association's name is significant, for the program is a native one, conceived, developed and expanded into a South-wide movement by southern-born women. In a strict sense, the movement is part of the final work of reconstruction, the righting of wrongs growing out of slavery and the Civil War.

The accomplishments of these southern women are not widely known, even in the South. The women have worked quietly—very quietly in comparison with the notoriety of lynching mobs bent on murder. Through personal effort, pressure on state officials and peace officers, and with the help of church, social and other organizations, they have greatly affected the South's whole approach to the problem of race relations.

Demolishing the Myth of Mob Chivalry

Statistics tell part of the dramatic story of the patient anti-lynching campaign. In the eight years previous to the founding of the women's association, there were 211 lynchings in the nation. In 1930, the year the association was founded, there were twenty-one lynchings in the South. Records of Tuskegee Institute show that in the first eight years the women were organized there were 105 lynchings, only half as many as in the previous eight years. There were thirteen lynchings in 1931, eight in 1932, twenty-eight in 1933, fourteen in 1934, twenty in 1935, eight in each of 1936 and 1937 and six in 1938, the lowest year on record.

Moreover, the records show that in forty instances sheriffs and police officers, many of them committed in writing to the women's program, prevented lynchings in 1938—saving three white men, forty-nine Negro men and a Negro woman from mobs. In each of these officially recorded cases, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching was on the job, not up front in a dramatic, headline way, but quietly functioning where action counted.

To outsiders the most surprising thing about the anti-lynching drive is that southern women are responsible for it. The remark of one northerner who heard for the first time of the association's program was, "Why, that is peculiar. Isn't the primary purpose of lynching to protect white women?" To this question thousands of southern women have answered for nearly ten years with an emphatic, "NO."

The first thing the association's organizers set out to do was to

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destroy the fiction that men lynch in women's names. Here is the organization's declaration and personal pledge:

"We declare lynching is an indefensible crime, destructive of all principles of government, hateful, and hostile to every ideal of religion and humanity, debasing, and degrading to every person involved. Though lynchings are not confined to any one section of the United States, we are aroused by the record which discloses our heavy responsibility for the presence of this crime in our country. We believe that this record has been achieved because public opinion has accepted too easily the claim of lynchers and mobsters that they were acting solely in the defense of womanhood. In the light of facts, we dare not longer permit this claim to pass unchallenged nor allow those bent upon personal revenge and savagery to commit acts of violence and lawlessness in the name of women. We solemnly pledge ourselves to create a new public opinion in the South, which will not condone, for any reason whatever, acts of mobs or lynchers. We shall teach our children at home, at school and at church a new interpretation of law and religion; we will assist all officials to uphold their oath of office; and, finally, we will join with every minister, editor, school teacher and patriotic citizen in a program of education to eradicate lynching and mobs forever from our land."

That pledge is not an idle one. Nearly 40,000 of the leading white women of the South have signed it and have fought for the principles involved, including the statement that men do not lynch in the South to protect the flower of southern womanhood.

When, on November 1, 1930, two dozen southern-born women met in Atlanta, some amazing facts about lynchings were placed on the council table. Guarding against possible consequences of acting in haste on what might be a half-baked idea, the small group had made an exhaustive survey of lynching. Here are some things they learned:

Since 1886, a total of 4297 persons had been lynched in the United States, most of them in the South—but only 21 per cent of the victims had been lynched for crimes against white women.

Women had been present at all lynchings of recent years and in a number of cases had participated. Some of the women were mothers with young children who, on several occasions, were actually balanced precariously on parents' shoulders so as to have a better view. Young boys and girls were contributing their numbers to the mobs, both as spectators and as leaders.

From 1922 to that autumn of 1930, there had been 211 lynchings, 204 of them in the South. But only 29 per cent of the victims had been accused of crimes against white women.

Then came the questions that electrified the conference: What did the other 71 per cent of the victims do to provoke the murderous wrath of mobs? Why do white men lynch Negroes? In a tense moment, the women saw what had been traditionally known as southern chivalry stripped down to sadistic barbarism. In the economic, social and racial significance of the problem lay the real challenge.

Under the leadership of Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames of Atlanta, today executive director of the association, an even dozen of that pioneer group pledged themselves to do all within their power to prevent lynchings and to change public opinion to abhor instead of countenance mob murder. The women decided they had two jobs. First to carry on an educational program between outbursts of violence; second, to act quickly when a mob formed, or when there was a threat of a mob. The first they considered of greater importance, and they wrote into their minutes:

"The time to prevent lynchings is before the mob forms. Investigations have disclosed that no county in the South is free from the shadow of a possible lynching. Because the county is the important unit of government, intensive activities are planned to be carried out by women in each county seat before a mob ever threatens."

And this the women set out to do. Each of the dozen original members was prominent in church work and each knew that in the South church women are beyond any doubt the dominating force. So to the church organizations the women went for assistance. The response was great. Hundreds of southern women offered their aid. Prominent women like Mrs. Attwood Martin of Louisville, who is well known as a novelist under the name of George Madden Martin, joined actively in the work and placed their influence behind the program.

Then the women started work—talking, writing letters, distributing printed circulars, interviewing officers and state officials, addressing organization meetings—with the ambitious goal of interesting every organization of men and women in every county in the South in the campaign against lynching.

There was ridicule. There were threats. Organizations which had made the terrorizing of Negroes their chief business since the Civil War opposed the women, inspired sinister warnings or sent them under their own official letterheads. In no few communities the women were ordered not to speak. In other communities officials demanded that talks be written and censored locally before the women might speak.

"Many of the women were threatened," Mrs. Ames said. "I know women who wouldn't tell their husbands of the threats because they feared their families would insist that the women quit the work. Women went into communities in which there had been lynchings. Many of the people were surly, belligerent. When we take into consideration the fact that some of the lynchings had grown out of politics and crooked business deals, we can understand that the women were by no means safe at all times. They knew of the constant danger, and they didn't forget to pray."

The Momentum of Education

By good chance the women struck at an opportune moment. For years some of the leading newspapers of the South had fought mob murder. Such editors as Grover Hall of the Montgomery *Advertiser*, Mark Ethridge of the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, Virginius Dabney of the Richmond *Times-Dispatch*, and many others had made a strong fight against lynching.

State officials, particularly the governors, in several states had taken a reasonably firm stand against lynching and held sheriffs responsible for lynchings in their counties. In the cities of the South other individuals and organizations, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, had long been waging anti-lynching campaigns. There was a growing awareness of the social and economic implications of the spirit created by lynching. "Outside" criticism had begun to offend the sensibilities of southern people and make them more self-conscious about charges that lynching was the act of barbarians. In short, public opinion was not unprepared to accept the surprise move made by the southern white women. And, from the start, the women gave thankful credit and offered their full cooperation in all anti-lynching movements, except the drive for a federal anti-lynching bill, which because of the women's program of applying pressure to southern sheriffs, they neither favored nor opposed.

Perhaps the most important part of their work—the part that shocked a large section of the public into a changing view of the lynching problem—was that of gathering and publicizing facts about lynchings. The records in Mrs. Ames' office in Atlanta show that in more than one instance innocent Negroes were lynched on non-existent grounds at the instigation of white men who coveted the crops the Negroes had cultivated.

Here are some of the officially recorded facts the women publicized in newspapers and in printed circulars:

Nine of the 84 mob victims in the 1931-35 period were not accused of any crime and 25 others were accused of minor offenses.

Near Moultrie, Ga., Bo Brinson, an unaccused Negro, was killed at his home by a mob looking for John Henry Sloan, who had killed a white man.

In Baker County, Ga., a Negro killed a white bootlegger at a Negro dance. When the "right man" couldn't be found, two unaccused Negroes were lynched as an object lesson.

In Cheatham County, Tennessee, a Negro was lynched for slapping a white woman who was drinking beer in a Negro store.

At Tuscaloosa, Ala., a helpless Negro paralytic was lynched on the charge of attempted rape.

In Greenville County, S. C., a Negro was shot to death in his home at midnight by a masked mob after he had repeatedly asked for a settlement for his crop.

Revelation of such facts, Mrs. Ames said, aided the Association in battering down opposition and winning popular public approval; and this, of course, represented a decided change in public opinion. As a result, the ranks of the women crusaders increased by thousands.

Mrs. Mullino Prevents a Lynching

How do some 40,000 crusading southern women work? On Christmas Day, 1934, Mrs. Ames was preparing for holiday festivities. Her telephone rang. An Associated Press editor informed her that a Negro had killed an officer in Schley County, Georgia, and that a mob was forming. Mrs. Ames rushed to the office. She discovered that the Association had no signatures in Schley County. But in adjoining Macon County lived a member of the Georgia Council of the Association, Mrs. F. M. Mullino of Montezuma. Mrs. Ames telephoned Mrs. Mullino, who stopped preparation of her Christmas dinner and started telephoning everyone she knew in Schley County, urging each to bring pressure on the sheriff to prevent a lynching.

A short time later, Mrs. Mullino was informed that the Negro was in a swamp in her own county. She called the sheriff and his deputies, and a number of ministers and other public-spirited citizens, urging them to aid in preventing mob action. Until mid-afternoon she stayed at her telephone. Finally the Negro was captured—by officers. That Christmas Day was not blackened by a lynching in Georgia. The law took its course. Had Mrs. Mullino gone to the mob and pleaded for restraint she would have been taunted. She knew that. She knew, too, that a sheriff, even though disposed to carelessness in such cases, couldn't afford to take any chances after dozens of influential voters had demanded that every possible precaution be taken to insure a constitutional trial for the accused Negro.

That is only one of dozens of examples of the women's quick work. Early in their campaign they realized that the sheriff was the key man. It was up to him to handle any mob forming in his county. The women approached practically every southern sheriff, asked each to sign a pledge to do all within his power to prevent lynchings. Some of the sheriffs shrugged off the matter as "just another one of them things." But the women did not stop there. They went about their work of obtaining the signatures of influential persons, of talking anti-lynching in schools, churches and at public meetings, of distributing circulars giving facts on lynchings and asking the public to help prevent mob law.

Southern women know local politics. No strange woman from the central state office called on a sheriff in the counties of the fifteen states. Nothing like that. A woman voter living in each sheriff's own county went to him about the lynching matters, and that is about as firm political pressure as can be applied. Each time there was a crime, or an accusation which might lead to a lynching, the women went into swift action. The sheriff started getting calls from in-

fluential voters and visits from prominent men and women who demanded that he protect the Negro, take him to an unnamed jail if necessary. Some of these calls came from governors who had been informed by Association members of possible attempted violence. In some southern states a governor can remove a sheriff who loses a prisoner to a mob. In certain instances southern governors have called out the militia to protect accused Negroes.

A Basic Approach to Race Relations

At the end of 1937 the southern women issued a startling statement entitled, "Where Were the Peace Officers?" It declared: "All eight victims of lynchings in 1937 were in the hands of peace officers. In seven of the lynchings, investigations indicate, officers were either in the mob or were in collusion with the mob."

Here is a typical message sent all persons who have committed themselves to the anti-lynching program. "Do you know your sheriff? Have you talked with your sheriff? If it is an election year, have you talked with the candidates for sheriff? Have you asked each candidate what he will do to prevent lynchings if elected? The voters will decide for or against lynchings this year."

The results have been extraordinary. To date 1229 southern peace officers in fifteen states have written their signatures to pledges to educate against lynching and to prevent mob action.

Many sheriffs have volunteered their pledges. In asking the sheriffs to sign pledges the women do not intend to intimate they think the sheriffs would countenance lynchings. All they want is cooperation, and most peace officers are giving it. A recent issue of the Texas Sheriffs Association's monthly magazine bitterly attacked lynching as murder and urged Texas sheriffs—there are 254 of them—firmly to aid in stamping out all such outrages.

The women have not limited their pressure to sheriffs. They have used the same methods on governors, legislators and other state officials. In Kentucky, 2000 women demanded repeal of the "gallows festival" law, which provided public hangings for men convicted on charges of rape. The law was repealed. The law, which made the crime of rape punishable by hanging in the county where the offense was committed, had been intended to quench the lynching spirit by demonstrating publicly that the law had taken its course, but the practice became distorted and was marked by many shockingly shameful celebrations, at which, as one southern newspaper pointed out, morbid appetite grew by what it fed on.

The women's work has included some activities more strenuous than signing petitions and applying pressure. They have faced howling mobs bent on lynching Negroes. Their pleadings were seldom heeded or even heard, but the women did all they could. Another dangerous job has been that of visiting the scenes of lynchings and collecting the real facts.

In cases—particularly those actually involving crimes against white women—in which the Association has stepped into the scene, members have been taunted with:

"What if it were your daughter? What if it were you?"

To these jeering questions the women can reply with facts from the records. In 1936, the seven-year-old daughter of an Alabama woman, who was committed to the program, was attacked by a Negro. The mother, clinging tenaciously to her ideals and principles at a time when it would have been understandable had she succumbed to a profoundly human desire for revenge, prevented mob violence by her appeal that the law take its course.

Two aged sisters, who had only read of the southern women's program, pleaded with a posse of men in a Texas village in 1938 not to attempt to lynch a Negro who had attacked them. The sisters made their plea from beds in which their injuries confined them.

The Association has its central council in Atlanta with Mrs. Attwood Martin as chairman and Mrs. Ames as director. There are thirteen council members at large, and each of the fifteen states has an independent council. The women work without pay and have planned their organization so shrewdly that it has none of the drawbacks common in ordinary guilds. They have carefully avoided strict rules of organization. "Much of the ineffectiveness of reform movements," said Mrs. Ames, "arises from the determination of the leaders to set up an organization into which are gathered only like-minded people, thereby cutting them off from making converts." And they have carefully avoided the mistake of getting too far ahead of public opinion. "Knowing at the start," said Mrs. Martin, "that if we went too fast, moved ahead of public opinion in a particular locality, it would be the Negro population that would suffer, we have refrained from overzeal until sure of our support."

And all along, every day of the year, the quiet educational program in which thousands of women have relayed the Association's message to high schools and colleges, Sunday schools and churches, social, religious and patriotic clubs has been carried forward. Even the drama has been used in this earnest educational campaign. The Association sponsored a one-act play contest, in which the subject was limited to anti-lynching. "Country Sunday" by Walter Spearman, teacher of journalism in the University of North Carolina, and "Lawd, Does Yo' Undahstan'?" by Ann Seymour, teacher in the schools of Palestine, Tex., were the winners. The plays were widely produced by Little Theater groups, and Miss Seymour's play was included in "Representative One-Act American Plays of 1938," which had a circulation of more than 20,000. The women have not been able to estimate the number of persons the message of the plays reached, nor do they have any idea how many thousands their constant flow of printed circulars on lynching and its prevention have affected.

The central office now sends out more than 10,000 pieces of literature upon direct request each year. Requests for information on the work have come from India, China, Africa, England, and the Philippines.

In order to accelerate the work, the Association has requested Mrs. Ames to develop a study book of methods on the education of the public against lynching and its prevention. All the methods the women have found in ten years to be successful—ways of carrying on the educational program when there is no mob to combat, and action necessary when there is danger of a mob—will be included in the handbook. In addition there will be factual discussions of the racial problem in the South. With this book in the hands of thousands of women, each worker will benefit by the Association's past experience in combating lynching. And the goal of the women is 100,000 signatures and pledges of cooperation from every sheriff in the South.

It is the hope, the prayer, the intention of these thousands of southern women that not far in the future they will look at the first page of their morning newspaper and see an item something like this:

Tuskegee Institute, Ala., Dec. 31—(AP)—The Tuskegee Institute reported today that for the first time since the Civil War no lynchings occurred during a year in the United States.

VI

THE "WHITE PRIMARY"

An Extra-legal Institution

"White primaries" are not created specifically but are under State laws authorizing party primaries.

These laws empower political parties to prescribe other qualifications for voters in party primaries in addition to those prescribed by law for general elections.

State Executive Committees of the Democratic Party of the South have ruled consistently that participation in Democratic Party primaries be limited to qualified "white voters."

This rule is adopted anew each election year by State Democratic Executive Committees prior to the dates set for holding primaries.

The Primary and the Supreme Court

Up to May, 1941, the Supreme Court of the United States had held that a primary was a system for the nomination of candidates for office and, not being an election, was not subject to regulation by the Federal Government.

In May, 1941, the Supreme Court of the United States appears to reverse its previous decisions:

> **. . . a primary election which involves a necessary step in the choice of candidates for election as representatives in Congress, . . . is subject to congressional regulation as to the manner of holding it . . . the right to participate through the primary in the choice of representatives in Congress . . . is the same . . . as the right to vote at the general election.**

The "White Primary" is not an issue in the decision of the Supreme Court given in the preceding paragraph, but it may constitute a precedent which could be used in the suit on the "White Primary" which is on its way to the Supreme Court from Texas.

In February, 1941, the Executive Committee of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching decided to study "the effects of disfranchisement of Negroes on the personality and attitudes of white people."

* * * *

In November, 1941, the Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church approved the recommendation of its Committee on Christian Citizenship in the Division of Christian Social Relations to work to "remove all barriers to the use of the franchise such as . . . the white primary."

ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN WOMEN FOR THE PREVENTION OF LYNCHING

710 Standard Building

Atlanta, Georgia

Printed January, 1942

THE "WHITE PRIMARY"

AN ANACHRONISM IN THE YEAR 1942

December 8, 1941, the United States declared war on Japan. In the same week war was declared on Germany and Italy.

In that week the United States became the ally of all nations and races fighting for the principles of democracy as opposed to the principles of totalitarianism.

The United States became the ally of every nation and every race at war which we call "colored," as well as the ally of the British Empire and the Soviet Government of Russia.

The United States believes the nations of the Western Hemisphere must stand together against a common foe.

The citizens and governments of some of these nations of the Western Hemisphere are "colored."

★ ★ ★

For the dominant political party in a third of the United States to rule that in 1942 only qualified "white voters" shall be allowed to participate in the selection of the officials of our democratic government would be an anachronism too dangerous to democratic principles and Christian ideals to be preserved for the sake of old days and old ways.

Georgia Farmers'
Market Bulletin
Tom Linder Commissioner

Miss. Anna Holden
1440 No. Emory Rd. NE
Atlanta, 6, Ga

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FOREIGN TRADE AND FARM PROBLEMS

Editorial By TOM LINDER

News items coming out of Washington tell us that Secretary of Agriculture Benson proposes to put a stop to imports of many agricultural products into this country.

It is high time that someone begin to be interested in the welfare of the United States. Too long our national policy has been to take care of the balance of the world

figure of our imports of meat and meat animals over our exports would be the equivalent of at least two million head of ordinary beef cattle.

In addition to these imports into the United States, there is no telling the amount of meat the taxpayers of this country have purchased from Argentina and other countries for our armed forces and allies over-seas.

DAIRY PRODUCTS, 1951

During 1951 we imported dairy

times the farm income approximately. This can of course be affected to some extent by war and by government spending, but even with that the ratio remains relatively the same. Falling farm prices means within twelve months a falling off in business; a falling off of employment; falling off of governmental revenues. Falling farm prices means high interest rates. You will note even now that the government is raising interest rates on government bonds because it is becoming increasingly difficult to find buyers for those bonds. Any deliberate forcing down of farm prices is like knocking the

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The American public had been made to believe that the American farmer was producing surpluses of crops and that he was receiving large benefits of taxpayers' money from the Federal Government. Let's see what some of the facts are.

1950 and 1951

During the calendar years of 1950 and 1951 the United States exported agricultural products amounting to $6,913,000,000. During the same two years we imported agricultural products in the amount of $9,151,000,000.

Our imports exceeded our exports by $2,238,000,000.

It must be remembered, however, that much of our exports consisted of processed and manufactured agricultural products, while most of our imports consisted of raw products. For this reason the volume of our imports in pounds, bushels, bales, boxes, etc must have been five to six times as much as our exports amounted to in pounds, bushels, bales, boxes, etc.

MEAT AND MEAT ANIMALS

During the years 1950 and 1951 and eleven months of 1952 we exported 397,752,000 pounds of meat. During the same period we imported 960,779,000 pounds of meat. This showed that we actually imported 563,027,000 pounds more than we exported. These figures, however, do not include the hundreds of thousands of meat animals brought in from Mexico and Canada. I do not have before me the actual figures on imports of beef animals, but I do remember that when the Mexican border was opened last year the initial quota was something more than 500,000 head of beef cattle. I would say that a minimum figure of our imports of meat and meat animals over our exports would be the equivalent of at least two million head of ordinary beef cattle.

In addition to these imports into the United States, there is no telling the amount of meat the taxpayers of this country have purchased from Argentina and other countries for our armed forces and allies over-seas.

DAIRY PRODUCTS, 1951

During 1951 we imported dairy products consisting of cream, whole milk, buttermilk, condensed and evaporated milk, powdered milk, powdered buttermilk, and powdered cream in the amount of $24,554,439.52. These dairy products came from Canada, The Netherlands, Union of South Africa, The United Kingdom, Denmark, Switzerland, Australia, New Zealand, Sweden, Turkey, Norway, Lebanon, Belgium, France, Germany, Austria, Finland, Italy, Mexico, Dominican Republic, Ireland, Malta, Argentina, Portugal, Hungary, Uruguay, Cuba, The Azores, and Greece. The heaviest shipments came from Italy, Switzerland, The Netherlands, New Zealand, Denmark, Canada, Argentina and France in the order named.

Taking into consideration the low prices prevailing in the countries from which these products came, these imports alone would amount to as much in volume as all of the butter, cheese and powdered milk now held by the Commodity Credit Corporation in Washington. No wonder Mr. Benson has a headache.

FALLING FARM PRICES

For several months now you have been reading in the newspapers and hearing on the radio of the steady decline in farm prices in the United States. Most everyone knows that farm prices and farm production are the basis of our national economy.

When we import foreign products it is not merely a question of the American farmer losing the job of producing these products, neither is it merely a question of prices the consuming public pays at the market place. The results of these imports are much more far reaching than any of these things. The total national income is total wages total salaries, total profits — total income from all sources. The national income is seven times the farm income approximately. This can of course be affected to some extent by war and by government spending, but even with that the ratio remains relatively the same. Falling farm prices means within twelve months a falling off in business; a falling off of employment; falling off of governmental revenues. Falling farm prices means high interest rates. You will note even now that the government is raising interest rates on government bonds because it is becoming increasingly difficult to find buyers for those bonds. Any deliberate forcing down of farm prices is like knocking the pillars from under the house. When you remove the pillars, the house falls of its own weight.

INTERNATIONALIST AND COMMUNIST ARE EQUAL THREATS TO THIS COUNTRY

Every communist is an internationalist, and every internationalist can answer for himself.

Individual or corporation, or even the government itself, when engaged in unnecessary foreign trade is pulling down the house which we call America.

Some place the internationalist and the free traders have to be stopped if America is to survive.

FIVE DAYS AGAINST EIGHTY-THREE YEARS

From the beginning of this Republic in 1789 through the year 1871 the United States grew from thirteen ragged colonies into a great nation. During those years we purchased and paid for all the land from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, including the Louisiana Purchase. We purchased and paid for Florida. We purchased and paid for Alaska We fought the War of 1812 with Great Britain. We fought the Mexican War. We fought the great conflict between the States from 1861 to 1865. We built great cities and railroads. Yet during the entire eighty-three year period we are told the total amount of taxes going into the United States Treasury amounted to $5,418,000,000

During five days last month the Federal Government received taxes amounting to $5,583,000,000, or 165 mil-

(Continued on page Four)

GEORGIA MARKET BULLETIN

Address all items for publication and requests to be put on the mailing list and for change of address to STATE BUREAU OF MARKETS, 222 STATE CAPITOL, Atlanta.

NATIONAL EDITORIAL ASSOCIATION 1953

Notices of farm produce and appurtenances admissible under postage regulations inserted one time on each request and repeated only when request is accompanied by new copy of notice.

Under Legislative Act the Georgia Market Bulletin does not assume any responsibility for any notice appearing in the

Limited space will not permit insertion of notices containing more than 35-40 words, not including name and address. Bulletin, nor for any transaction resulting from published notices.

Tom Linder, Commissioner
Published Weekly at
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State Capitol, Atlanta, Ga.
Publication Office
114-122 Pace St. Covington, Ga

SECOND HAND MACHINERY FOR SALE

Oliver Grain Master Combine No. 15, with continental water cool motor, on rubber, 2 rubber sheets, 6 ft. blade, good cond., no junk, cut 2 light crops. Write, or phone 140 nights 8:00 o'clock. E. L. Davis, Butler, P. O. Box 258.

SECOND HAND MACHINERY FOR SALE

Bolen - Huski 3 hp Garden Tractor with turn plow, cultivator, single plow, cutting harrow, sickle bar, 42 in mower, $225. Henry Carney, Jasper, (off Refuge Rd.)

David Bradley Garden Tractor with plow and other fix-

SECOND HAND MACHINERY FOR SALE

John Deere 12 A Combine, good running cond., priced right for immediate sale. A. G. Ellis, Alpharetta, Rt. 2, Box 266. Phone 2293.

One used J. D. No. 12-A Combine, bag type, used less than 50 hrs., and 1 new John D. 12-A Combine, bag type, with motor. Priced to sell. J. O. Bass, Eastman, RFD 1.

Complete Peach Harvesting Equipment, packing shed machinery, consisting of brushing machine, roller grader, sizer, Friend Spray Machine, and all necessary equipment, for sale or trade. Hamilton Ralls, Hogansville.

Used Intl. Combine, Motor powered, good cond., ready for service, reasonable. Mrs. Major F. Fowler, Fayetteville. (Nights call Ve. 8323 Atlanta, or days, Fayetteville 4551).

-1947 Farmall A Tractor, good motor, tires, fully equipped, planters, corn, beans, cotton, cultivators(used 1 time), 2 disc IHC trailer plow on 6 ply tire, priced right. See at farm. W. A. Maddox, Sr., Winder, Rt. 4.

One Farmall A 48 Model Tractor, 1st. class cond., lights, starter, good rubber, cultivating equip., 2 disc Hester plow, $700. at my farm. Alvin Harrison, Dearing.

Int. H Tractor, good cond., with 2 disc plow, dbl. sec. disc harrow, bush and bog harrow, mowing machine, planter, guano, cultivators, for sale or trade for smaller tractor with no cultivation equipment. G. H. Davis, Rome, Rt. 2, Bell's Ferry Rd.

SECOND HAND MACHINERY WANTED

Want 5 or 6 hand Cotton Chopping hoes, good shape,

PLANTS FOR SALE

Genuine Marglobe and Rutger Tomato Plants, moss packed, good count, $2. M del.; Government insp. and treated Red Skin P. R. Potato, seed grown from vine cuttings, $4. M del.; 2 M up, $3.75 M. L. D. Lightsey, Screven, Rt. 2.

Coastal Bermuda Stolons, 85c M. Aproved by P. M. A. Digging daily. None shipped. C. C. Brand, Montezuma, Rt. 1. Phone 4934.

Rutger Tomato, certified, tested, mossed, 50c C; $2. M. FOB. Good county. Can ship large orders. Dewey Thornton, Screven, Rt. 1.

Rutger Tomato, certified, tested moss packed, 50c C; $2. M. FOB. Good count. Can ship large orders. Frank Chancy, Screven, Rt. 1.

Long Wide Leaf Bull Face Tobacco Plants, 75c C; Sage and Catnip, $1. doz.; Mastodon Ever bearing Strawberry, $1. C; Little Rice Pea Seed, 35c cup; Pumpkin, 40c cup; Gourd Seed, 35c pack; Imp. Spanish Peanuts, $5. Bu. L. J. Ellis, Cumming, Rt. 5.

Early Jersey, Chas. Wakefield Frostproof Cabbage, ready 300, $1.; $2. M;Rutger Tomato, 500, $2.; $2.50 M; 50c C. Del. Otis Conner, Pitts.

Chas. Wakefield, Early Jersey Wakefield, and Golden Acre Cabbage, fresh, green, and White Bermuda Onion Plants, 300, $1.; 500, $1.25; $2. M; Rutger Tomato, $2.50 M; 50c C. PP. Prompt. R. Chanclor, Pitts. $7. M; 5000, $30.; Red Skin P.

Certified Bunch P. R. Potato, R. Potato, running vine var., $3.50 M; 5000, $15. PP. E. H. Hall, Arabi, Rt. 1.

Certified Coastal Bermuda Stolons, $1.75 per bag; 75 cu. ft. by truckload at my farm. Blue tag with each purchase. Don C. Nail, Baxley, Rt. 3.

Tifton Coastal Bermuda

PLANTS FOR SALE

Certified Govt. Insp. Treated Bunch P. R. Potato, $1.25 C; 500, $4.; $7. M. PP. in Ga. Moss packed. Late April, May, June del. R. M. Fussell, Milan.

Early Flat Dutch, Charleston, Jersey Wakefield Cabbage, 300, $1.; 500, $1.25; $2. M. Del. No chks. C. W. Smith, Gainesville, Rt. 2.

Condon, Giant Mastodon Strawberry, $1. C; Black Raspberry, May Cherry, Muscadine Grape Vines, 6, $1. Add postage. Mrs. Mae Turner, Gainesville, Rt. 6.

Hazlenut Bushes, 75c doz.; Yellow Root Plants, 2 doz., $1.; Mtn. Huckleberry, bearing size, 85c doz.; Yellow Roots, washed, clean, $1. per 4 lb. large Box full. Add postage. Mrs. Nancy Henderson, Ellijay, Rt. 3, Box 49.

Ga. insp. and treated Cooperskin P. R. and Red Skin PR Potato Plants, $5. M. Del. Good plants. Prompt shipment. Ready April 15th. Carroll Lightsey, Screven.

Govt. insp. and treated Copperskin and Red Skin P. R. Plants, $5. M. Prompt shipment. Ready April 15. L. C. Lightsey, Screven, Rt. 1.

Rutger and Marglobe Tomato, field grown, small or large, moss packed, prompt shipment, 200, 75c; $2. M; Long Hot Cayenne, and Calif. Wonder Pepper, 200, $1.; $4. M. J. M. Mullis, Broxton, Rt. 2.

Rutger and Marglobe Tomato 200, 75c; 500, $1.25; $2. M; Calif. Wonder, and Long Slim Hot Pepper, 200, $1.; 500, $2.; $3. M. Ready. Del promptly. Moss packed. J. P. Mullis, Broxton, Rt. 2.

Hazlenut bushes, 75c doz.; Mtn. Huckleberry plants, bearing size, 85c doz.; Yellow root, 65c doz.; Plum bushes, 5 for $1.; Vinca, $1. C. Add postage. Mrs. Howard Easley, Ellijay, Rt. 3.

provided for in Section 1103 Act of October 8, 1917.

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SECOND HAND MACHINERY FOR SALE

Oliver Grain Master Combine No. 15, with continental water cool motor, on rubber, 2 rubber sheets, 6 ft. blade, good cond., no junk, cut 2 light crops. Write, or phone 140 nights 8:00 o'clock. E. L. Davis, Butler, P. O. Box 258.

One 1951 Allis- Chalmers Combine with pickup attachments, used 1 - 1/2 season, $850. J. D. Tiller, 7 or 9 disc, $250. Both good cond. J. M. Harrison, Oconnee, Wideacres Farm.

1953 Ford Tractor used lesh 50 hrs, also 2 disc tiller, planters, cultivators. W. B. Workman, Atlanta, 346 Kenzie Court. Ch. 1850.

14 in. Roller Cane Mill, in iron frame at bargain price, at my home. J. P. Rentz, Adel, East 4 St.

12 Disc Cutaway Harrow and Black Mare 1200-1400 lbs., gentle, for sale. Lewis Reese, Sharon.

One 5 Deck Elec. Brooder, $20. W. G. Waggoner, Marietta, 1138 North Aircraft Dr. Tel. 9-5475.

Garden Tractor with attachments, for sale or exch. for Ford Tractor. Stanley Christian, Atlanta, 2309 Boulevard Dr., S. E. De. 5753.

Good 2 Disc Trailer Plow for Farmall Super A Tractor. Homer H. Aikens, Blairsville, Rt. 1.

J. D. Side Delivery Rake, rubber on rear wheels, good cond., new paint, $125. B. F. Smith, Colbert.

J. D. Tractor for sale or trade for equal value. Jess Jackson, Douglasville, Rt. 1.

Intl. H & M Cultivator and Planter (2 row), Ford Tractor 7 ft. Mower, tractor mounted, for sale. G. F. Sparling, Leesburg, Box 116. Phone 4201.

Allis - Chalmers G Tractor with mould board plow and cultivator, 1 horse drawn harrow, entire lot -495. John B. Rawls, College Park, Rt. 2. Ca. 4183.

One Allis - Chalmers with planters and cultivators, good as new $800., One 6ft. Combine with motor in good cond., $7000. A. T. Stewart, White Plains.

Farmall M Tractor, has recently had complete overhaul and new paint, $1200. Lloyd C. Caswell, Americus.

SECOND HAND MACHINERY FOR SALE

Bolen - Huski 3 hp Garden Tractor with turn plow, cultivator, single plow, cutting harrow, sickle bar, 42 in mower, $225. Henry Carney, Jasper, (off Refuge Rd.)

David Bradley Garden Tractor with plow and other fixtures, $100. Anna Shaffer, Augusta, Rt. 2, Box 481.

Farmall H. Tractor, startter, lights, power take-off and pulley, good tires, has lift, like new, also cultivator, $895. FOB. Ross Maddox, Winder, Rt. 4.

One 42 Intl. Combine in good cond. except it needs new aprons cond. except it needs new aprons, $300., FOB. farm Alex Barfield, Louisville.

WC Allis - Chalmers Tractor with cultivators, planters, 2 disc plow. Also 1 A Farmall Tractor and 2 disc plow, priced to sell. No letters. See: D. G. Wood, Adairsville. (Come after 6:00 P. M. or on Sundays, 4 mi. W. Adairsville).

42 Model WC Allis - Chalmers Tractor, new tires, and 2 disc plow, priced to sell. F. S. Brinkley, Marietta, Rt. 4.

One 7 ft. Jeoffory Scooter Plow (or Granham - Hoeme), used very little, $225. C. C. Campbell, White Plains.

One 30 Farmall Tractor, 6 disc tiller, dbl. sec. cutaway smoothing harrow, and seeder box in fair shape, $1000; AC All - Crop Combine, fair shape, $550. R. J. Henderson, Morrow, Rt. 1, Box 65 A.

J. D. 12 A (6 ft.) Combine with motor, A-1 cond., $900.; Allis Chalmers 60 Combine, $500.; J. D. KC Heavy Duty 6 ft. Harrow, $200.; J. D. Disc Tiller on rubber, $300. Norman Johnson, Warrenton.

No. 7 McCormick - Deering Mule Mowing Machine, late model, runs in oil, almost new, 2 blades, 4-1/2 6 ft., $75. Will not ship. L. B. Law, Leslie, Rt. 2.

2 Roe Tractor with PTO pulley and cultivators, drag harrows, for sale or trade for smaller tractor or garden tractor; Also 500 chick brooder. Geo. Orton, Brunswick, Rt. 2, Box 186 B.

Farmall A Tractor, 2 disc turning plow, cultivator, $550. Roy H. Barron, Rome, 705 Ave. A. Phone 28361.

8 Bush and Bog Disc 5/16 X 24 Z 1-1/4 for sale. Fred Hindsman, Douglasville, Rt. 1.

One Farmall A 48 Model Tractor, 1st. class cond., lights, starter, good rubber, cultivating equip., 2 disc Hester plow, $700. at my farm. Alvin Harrison, Dearing.

Int. H Tractor, good cond., with 2 disc plow, dbl. sec. disc harrow, bush and bog harrow, mowing machine, planter, guano, cultivators, for sale or trade for smaller tractor with no cultivation equipment. G. H. Davis, Rome, Rt. 2, Bell's Ferry Rd.

SECOND HAND MACHINERY WANTED

Want 5 or 6 hand Cotton Chopping hoes, good shape, cheap. Give price. Will pay express. Y. J. Ivie, Atlanta, 1088 Sanders Ave., S. E. Ma. 3995.

Want used attachments for Gravely Garden Tractor, reasonable, in good condition. Henry Kilburn, Americus, Rt. 2, Box 151.

Want all-purpose Cultivator and planter for Ford Tractor, 1st. class cond., within 75 mi. State best price. A. E. Porter, Dalton, Rt. 3.

Want good used reel type mower to fit David Bradley Garden Tractor, in good shape. W. B. Heats, Sycamore.

Want 1 man Automatic Pickup Baler and Side Delivery Rake in good condition. L. P. Singleton, Fort Valley, Rt. 3. Phone 772.

Want Coastal Bermuda Grass Transplanter, in good cond. State price, condition, and type. James W. Veal, Cedartown, Rt. 3.

PLANTS FOR SALE

Govt. insp. and treated Red ond Copperskin Potato, $4.50 M. Full count. Prompt shipment. Luther Griffis, Odum, Rt. 2.

Certified La. Copperskin Potato Plants, $4 M; Copperskin Bunch Potato, April del., $6. M. B. B. O'Berry Surrency.

Govt. insp. P. R. Red and Copperskin Potato, $4. M, FOB. Ready in Apirl. No COD. Wade Aycock, Surrency.

Rutger, Marglobe, Milglobe, Brimmer Tomato, ready, 75c C; $5. M; 5000 and over, $4. Will ship. No chks. Phone 2828-R. T. L. Edwards, Albany, 407 Mercer Ave.

Marglobe, Rutger Tomato, full count, good plants, moss packed, shipped, 75c C; $1.45 M. Del. Buncum Lightsey, Surrency, Rt. 2.

P. R. Potato Plants, Imp. La. Copperskin, State insp., ready to ship, 5000, $20. F. G. Tyre, Bristol.

Early Jersey, Chas. Wakefield Frostproof Cabbage, ready 300, $1.; $2. M;Rutger Tomato, 500, $2.; $2.50 M; 50c C. Del. Otis Conner, Pitts.

Chas. Wakefield, Early Jersey Wakefield, and Golden Acre Cabbage, fresh, green, and White Bermuda Onion Plants, 300, $1.; 500, $1.25; $2. M; Rutger Tomato, $2.50 M; 50c C. PP. Prompt. R. Chanclor, Pitts.

$7. M; 5000, $30.; Red Skin P. Certified Bunch P. R. Potato, R. Potato, running vine var., $3.50 M; 5000, $15. PP. E. H. Hall, Arabi, Rt. 1.

Certified Coastal Bermuda Stolons, $1.75 per bag; 75 cu. ft. by truckload at my farm. Blue tag with each purchase. Don C. Nail, Baxley, Rt. 3.

Tifton Coastal Bermuda Stolons, well established sod and P. M. A. approved for Webster, Stewart and Terrell Co. Del. our farm at price of 60c M. Any quantities. J. F. Leonard, Preston, Lenwood Acres. Phone 632.

Early bearing Strawberry, $1. C; Crabbapple, Currant, 30c ea.; Cuttings of Bronze Scuppernong, Black Muscadine, 50c doz. $1.25 orders prepaid in Ga. Add postage on small orders. No COD nor chks. Mrs. Effie Smith, Austell, Rt. 3, Gordon Rd.

Mtn. Huckleberry, 50c doz.; Large Blakemore Blackberry, Raspberry, 6, $1.; Kudzu Plants, 10c ea.; Catnip, 25c doz.; Also tender Striped Half Runner Garden Beans, 45c cup. Plus postage. Mrs. Otis Mashburn, Cumming.

Govt. insp. P. R. Potato Plants, Cooperskin, vine grown, 5000, $20. B. D. Brannen Bristol.

Govt. insp. P. R. Potato Plants, Copperskin, vine grown, 5000, $20. B. D. Brannen, Bristol.

Certified Rutger Tomato, $3.-50 M. Can fill large orders. Mrs. Jesse F. Johnson, Cordele, Rt. 2.

Rutger Tomato, ready, $1.75 M del. Moss packed; Also Red or La. Copperskin Potato, ready, $4. M. del. All good plants. Full count. Prompt shipment. W. G. Murray, Odum, Rt. 2.

Marglobe, Rutger, and New Stone Tomato Plants, $1.75 M; Moss packed, govt. insp. Red and Pink P. R. Potato, $4. M. Del. Ready. Prompt shipment. Omar Lightsey, Screven, Rt. 2.

Marglobe and Rutger Tomato, 200, 75c; 500, $1.25 ; $2. M. Del. Prompt shipment. Full count. Lou Eva Mullis, Broxton, Rt. 2.

Mtn. Huckleberry, bearing size, 85c doz.; Hazelnut Bushes, 75c doz.; Yellow Root, 65c doz.; Red and Yellow Plum Bushes, 3, $1.; Wild Blackberry Plants, $1. doz. Add postage Mrs. Manda Henderson, Ellijay, Rt. 3.

ment. Ready April 15. L. C. Lightsey, Screven, Rt. 1.

Rutger and Marglobe Tomato, field grown, small or large, moss packed, prompt shipment, 200, 75c; $2. M; Long Hot Cayenne, and Calif. Wonder Pepper, 200, $1.; $4. M. J. M. Mullis, Broxton, Rt. 2.

Rutger and Marglobe Tomato 200, 75c; 500, $1.25; $2. M; Calif. Wonder, and Long Slim Hot Pepper, 200, $1.; 500, $2.; $3. M. Ready. Del promptly. Moss packed. J. P. Mullis, Broxton, Rt. 2.

Hazlenut bushes, 75c doz.; Mtn. Huckleberry plants, bearing size, 85c doz.; Yellow root, 65c doz.; Plum bushes, 5 for $1.; Vinca, $1. C. Add postage. Mrs. Howard Easley, Ellijay, Rt. 3.

Copenhagen, Chas. W., Early Jersey cabbage, White Bermuda onion and colard, Marglobe, Baltimore, and Rutger, tomato plants, 500, $1.25; $2. M. Full count, roots wrapped, strong plants. Satis. guar. E. L. Fitzgerald, Fitzgerald, Box 662.

Cert. Marglobe and Rutger tomato plants, 40c C; $3.50 M. plus postage. Egg plants, hot and sweet pepper, 20c doz. No COD orders under $5. Ready. Alton Palmer, Leary, Rt. 2, Box 3-A.

April del. red and copperskin potato plants, $4.50 M; govt. insp. Also Rutger tomato plants, $2.50 M. del. Moss packed, full count, prompt shipment. Luther Griffis, Odum, Rt. 2.

Rutger tomato plants, 500, $1.50; $2.50 M., 2000 and up, $2.25 M. Del. Now ready, moss packed, prompt shipment. Also booking orders for red or La. copperskin potato plants for April and May del. $4. M. W. G. Murray, Odum, Rt. 2.

Pink skin P. R. potato plants, $5. M. del. Govt. insp. treated, ready for shipment in April. Money orders only. L. L. Lightsey, Surrency, Rt. 2.

Rutger and Marglobe tomato plants, 200 75c; 500, $1.25; $2. M. Field grown on new land. Cal. wonder hot pepper plants, 200, $1.; 500, $2.; $3. M. Del. Prompt shipment. J. P. Mullis, Broxton.

Govt. insp. P. R. potato, $4. M; Marglobe, Rutger, New S., tomato plants, moss packed, $2. M. del. Prompt shipment. Oma Lightsey, Screven, Rt. 2.

Cert. Rutger tomato plants, open field grown, ready, $3. M. Moss packed. PP in Ga. S. J. Hardee, Surrency, Rt. 2.

Rutger tomato plants, $2.50 M. Del. Moss packed, prompt shipment. No checks. J. S. Murray, Odum.

Marglobe, Rutger, and New Stone Tomato Plants strong, moss packed, $1.25 M; 2 M up, $1.; Govt. insj. and treated P. R. Red and Pink Skin Potato, $4.-50 M del. Can fill large orders. No chks. W. R. Lightsey, Screven.

Hog Prices Paid At Various Markets

APRIL 3	NO. 1	NO. 2	NO. 3	NO. 4
Toombs County Stockyard, Lyons	$20.75	$20.25	$19.30	$16.90
Cordele Livestock Sale Barn, Cordele	$21.19	$20.37	$19.27	$18.00
Smith Bros. Stockyard, Bartow	$21.25	$19.55	$18.75	$00.00
Flint River Livestock Auction, Bainbridge	$20.55	$00.00	$00.00	$00.00
Sylvania Stockyard, Sylvania	$21.00	$20.00	$18.95	$17.00
Ocilla Livestock Co., Ocilla	$20.71	$20.55	$19.60	$17.75
Smith Stockyard Co., Thomson	$20.10	$19.85	$18.00	$00.00
APRIL 4				
Emanuel County Stockyard, Swainsboro	$20.65	$20.00	$19.00	$17.00
Washington County Marketing Ass'n. Sandersville	$20.85	$19.50	$18.41	$00.00
APRIL 6				
Jesup Stockyard, Jesup	$21.09	$20.45	$19.95	$00.00
Seminole Livestock Auction Mkt., Donalsonville	$21.10	$22.70	$19.50	$00.00
Henry Shuman Jr. Stockyard, Hagan	$21.00	$20.50	$19.50	$00.00
Swainsboro Stockyard, Swainsboro	$21.05	$19.95	$18.80	$00.00
Georgia Farm Products Sale Corp. Thomaston	$21.50	$20.50	$19.40	$19.30
Bleckley Livestock Auction, Cochran	$21.25	$19.65	$18.00	$17.20
Millen Livestock Market, Millen	$21.00	$20.00	$19.00	$17.00
Muscogee Livestock Co., Columbus	$20.75	$19.80	$00.00	$00.00
Carroll County Livestock Sale Barn, Inc. Carrollton	$22.00	$21.00	$00.00	$00.00
		Heavies . . .		$19.50
Sutton Livestock Co., Sylvester	$20.89	$20.71	$19.52	$17.60
Jepeway and Craig Comm. Co., Dublin	$20.90	$20.20	$19.40	$00.00
Columbus Stockyard, Columbus	$20.95	$20.00	$18.50	$00.00
Chatham County Stockyard, Savannah	$21.00	$20.50	$19.10	$00.00
Dodge County Stockyard, Eastman	$20.55	$20.10	$18.65	$00.00
Coffee County Livestock Company, Douglas	$20.74	$20.53	$19.26	$17.30
Metter Livestock Market, Metter	$20.41	$19.85	$18.85	$00.00
Farmers Livestock Cooperative Ass'n. Soperton	$20.60	$20.20	$00.00	$00.00
Emanuel County Stockyard, Swainsboro	$21.05	$20.50	$19.25	$17.25
Farmers Stockyard, Sylvania	$20.80	$20.00	$18.65	$00.00
Farmers Stockyard, Arlington	$20.95	$20.75	$19.51	$17.50
Mitchell County Livestock Co., Camilla	$20.79	$20.54	$20.00	$00.00
Troup Livestock Ass'n., Inc., LaGrange	$21.10	$20.10	$18.20	$15.10
Farmers Livestock Auction Co., Inc. Nashville	$20.85	$20.58	$19.61	$18.35
Appling County Stockyard, Baxley	$20.77	$20.22	$18.87	$00.00
APRIL 8				
Union Stockyard, Albany	$20.75	$20.30	$19.81	$18.35
Coosa Valley Commission Co., Rome	$21.50	$19.10	$17.00	$16.70
Tattnall Livestock Co., Glennville	$20.83	$19.86	$19.16	$00.00
Producer Cooperative Livestock Exchange Statesboro	$21.00	$20.45	$19.10	$00.00
Seaboard Stockyard, Colquitt	$20.80	$20.40	$19.45	$00.00
Turner County Stockyard, Inc., Ashburn	$20.85	$20.15	$19.35	$00.00
Hazlehurst Livestock Market, Hazlehurst	$20.77	$20.03	$18.76	$00.00
Vidalia Stockyard, Vidalia	$20.81	$20.31	$19.35	$00.00
APRIL 9				
Claxton Stockyard, Claxton	$21.00	$20.50	$19.25	$00.00
Dublin Livestock Comm. Co., Dublin	$21.11	$20.10	$19.05	$00.00
Farmers Livestock Co., Inc., Douglas	$20.71	$20.38	$19.34	$17.94
Wayne Co. Livestock Market, Jesup	$21.12	$20.50	$19.95	$00.00
Valdosta Livestock Co., Valdosta	$20.99	$20.90	$19.70	$00.00
Peoples Livestock Market, Cuthbert	$20.94	$20.51	$19.35	$17.80
Fitzgerald Livestock Auction Co., Fitzgerald	$20.90	$20.70	$19.65	$00.00

Swainsboro Stockyard, Swainsboro	$21.05	$19.95	$18.80	$00.00
Georgia Farm Products Sale Corp. Thomaston	$21.50	$20.50	$19.40	$19.30
Bleckley Livestock Auction, Cochran	$21.25	$19.65	$18.00	$17.20
Millen Livestock Market, Millen	$21.00	$20.00	$19.00	$17.00
Muscogee Livestock Co., Columbus	$20.75	$19.80	$00.00	$00.00
Carroll County Livestock Sale Barn, Inc. Carrollton	$22.00	$21.00	$00.00	$00.00
		Heavies . . .		$19.50
Sutton Livestock Co., Sylvester	$20.89	$20.71	$19.52	$17.60
Jepeway and Craig Comm. Co., Dublin	$20.90	$20.20	$19.40	$00.00
Columbus Stockyard, Columbus	$20.95	$20.00	$18.50	$00.00
Chatham County Stockyard, Savannah	$21.00	$20.50	$19.10	$00.00
Dodge County Stockyard, Eastman	$20.55	$20.10	$18.65	$00.00
APRIL 7				
Dawson Livestock Sale Barn, Parrott	$20.88	$20.50	$19.75	$00.00
Jones Neuhoff Commission Co., Macon	$21.36	$20.60	$19.50	$00.00
McRae Livestock Market, McRae	$20.91	$20.14	$18.95	$00.00
Smith Stockyard Co., Augusta	$20.80	$20.30	$18.50	$00.00
Statesboro	$21.00	$20.45	$19.10	$00.00
Seaboard Stockyard, Colquitt	$20.80	$20.40	$19.45	$00.00
Turner County Stockyard, Inc., Ashburn	$20.85	$20.15	$19.35	$00.00
Hazlehurst Livestock Market, Hazlehurst	$20.77	$20.03	$18.76	$00.00
Vidalia Stockyard, Vidalia	$20.81	$20.31	$19.35	$00.00
APRIL 9				
Claxton Stockyard, Claxton	$21.00	$20.50	$19.25	$00.00
Dublin Livestock Comm. Co., Dublin	$21.11	$20.10	$19.05	$00.00
Farmers Livestock Co., Inc., Douglas	$20.71	$20.38	$19.34	$17.94
Wayne Co. Livestock Market, Jesup	$21.12	$20.50	$19.95	$00.00
Valdosta Livestock Co., Valdosta	$20.99	$20.90	$19.70	$00.00
Peoples Livestock Market, Cuthbert	$20.94	$20.51	$19.35	$17.80
Fitzgerald Livestock Auction Co., Fitzgerald	$20.90	$20.70	$19.65	$00.00
Sumter Livestock Ass'n, Inc., Americus	$20.90	$20.40	$19.75	$18.50
APRIL 10				
Effingham County Stockyard, Springfield	$20.75	$20.50	$19.40	$00.00
Smith Bros. Livestock Co., Bartow	$21.10	$19.80	$18.15	$00.00
Tifton Livestock Co., Tifton	$20.95	$20.68	$19.55	$19.00

PLANTS FOR SALE

Strong Rutger and Marglobe tomato plants, $2.50 M. FOB. M. F. Jones, Metter, Rt. 1.

Wakefield and Dutch Cabbage, plants, 45c C; $1.95 M; white half runner, tender beans, 50c cupful. Miss Lee Crow, Gainesville, Rt. 2.

Rutger, Marglobe Tomato, good plants, moss packed, full count, shipped by return mail, 75c C; 1.50 M. Del Hiram Lightsey, Surrency, Rt. 2.

Rutger and Marglobe Tomato, moss packed, $2. M. Del.; Govt. insp, treated Red Skin P. R. Potato, seed grown from vine cuttings, $4.00 M. Earlish Lightsey, Screven, Rt. 2.

Marglobe and Rutger Tomato, 7 in., stocky, grown in open field, seed treated, no grasses, 500, $1.25; $2. M for truck loads. Phone 3751 for quick service. I. L. Stokes, Fitzgerald.

Coastal Bermuda Stolons, by truckloaded at my farm, 75c M; 100,000 or more, 65c M; By express not prepaid, $1.50 M. D. L. Harrison, Blackshear. Tel 3713.

Marglobe, Baltimore, Rutger Tomato, and Spring Copenhagen and Early Jersey Cabbage, and Collard Plants, del. in Ga., 500, $1.25; $2. M. Tomatoes not delivered. Mossed roots, full count, prompt shipment. E. L. Fitzgerald, Fitzgerald, Box 662.

Harris Special Tobacco Plants, $1.50 M. at bed; $3. PP. Ready. John Daniel, Ocilla.

Bunch P. R. Potato, April, May, and June delivery, 500, $4. $7. M. Parcel Post prepaid in Ga. packed. Treated and State insp. J. E. Sims, Mystic.

PLANTS FOR SALE

Rutger Tomato, from fresh 1st. yr. seed, strong stocky plants, damp moss packed, 50c C; $3. M; Bell Pepper, 25c doz. Add postage. Mrs. J. R. Brannen, Statesboro, Rt. 1.

Broad Leaf Sage, Plants, 5, 60c; 10, $1. PP., No chks. Miss Lillian Hardin, White, Rt. 1.

Rooted Certified Rutger Tomato, $3.50 M; $2.50 M at bed. Can fill large orders. Damp paper and moss wrapped. Leon L Johnson, Cordele, Rt. 2.

Pink and Copperskin P. R. Potato, $4.50 M. Del. in April. No chks. L. L. Lightsey, Surrency, Rt. 2.

Large White Heading Variety Collard Plants, ready, 50c C; $2.50 M. FOB. Mrs. J. L. Hall, Americus, Rt. 2.

Lucretia Dewberry, earliest of all bearers of large fruit, good rooted plants, $5. C; $40. M; Lemon Balm, rooted, $5. C. Mrs. C. M. Robinson, Greenville.

Govt insp. Red and Copperskin P. R. Plants, 1-4 M, $5. M; 5 M or more, $4. M. No COD filled. FOB. Ready April 15th. D. M. Cason, Bristol.

Certified Govt. Insp., treated, Bunch PR Potato Plants, $1.25 C; 500, $4.; $7. M. PP in Ga., Fla. moss packed. Later April, May, June delivery. R. M. Fussell, Milan, Rt. 2

Govt. insp. P. R. Red and Copperskin Potato, 5000, $20. FOB. No COD. A. L. Turner, Bristol.

Red and La. Copperskin P. R. Plants, govt. insp., 5000, $20. No COD. Ready April. J. C. Tyre, Bristol.

PLANTS FOR SALE

Marglobe Tomato, open field grown, $2. M. FOB; Rudy King Calif. Wonder Sweet, and Long Pod Cayenne Hot Pepper, $3.50 M; 75c C. Del. W. G. O'Quinn, Surrency, Rt. 2.

Rutger, New Stone, and Marglobe Tomato, good plants, full count, ready, $2. M; 50c C. Moss packed. Del. Woodrow Lightsey, Screven.

P. R. Potato, certified La. Copperskin, $4. M. Can fill large orders; Also Rutger and Marglobe Tomato, $2. M; Calif. Wonder, and Red Slim Cayenne, $3.50 M. Moss wrapped and prompt shipment. D. J. Thornton, Screven.

Booking orders for certified Rutger Tomato, resistant to fusarium wilut, $3.75 M. Cheaper at field. Damp moss wrapped. Mrs. Jesse F. Johnson, Cordele, Rt. 2.

P. R. Potato, govt. insp, imp. yellow skin, good count, ready, 5000, $20. No. COD. Lester Crawford, Bristol.

Rutger Tomato, ready, good plants, full count, moss packed, no checks, $2. M; 75c C. Del. Can fill large orders. George Griffis, Screven, Rt. 1.

Marglobe Tomato, good plants, fullcount, $2. M; 75c C. Del. Moss packed. W. L. Griffis, Screven, Rt. 1, Box 186.

Govt. insp. Red Skin P. R. Plants, $4.50 M. No chks. Prepaid. Paul Lightsey, Scerven.

Rutger and Marglobe Tomato Plants, good count, from certified seed, $2.50 M. FOB. M. F. Jones, Metter, Rt. 1.

Imp. Broad Leaf Sage Plants, $1.25 doz. Mrs. N. N. Skinner, Waco, Rt. 1.

PLANTS FOR SALE

Catnip Plants, 40c doz. Add postage. Mrs. I. K. Billups, Swainsboro, Rt. 1, Box 160.

Large White Artichoke Plants ready to ship, $3. C. Plus postage. Mrs. W. B. Green, Atlanta, 543 Cameron St., S. E.

Gov. imp. P. R. potato plants 5 M. $20.; Marglobe and Rutger tomato, $2. M; sweet pepper, $4. M. Del. Claude Tyre, Surrency.

Broccoli, Brussels Sprouts, Beets, Lettuce, Kale, Carrots, 2 doz. 35c; Cauliflower, Bell, Pimento and Hot peppers, Pan American tomatoes, Celery, Asparagus, Parsley, and Artichoke plants, 25c doz. Add postage. Mrs. H. V. Franklin, Register.

Rutgers tomato from Cert. seed on new land, $2.25 M; Black Beauty eggplant, $3. M. All Exp. Collect. Harold Hyers, Hazlehurst, Rt. 3.

Marglobe tomato plants, $3. M; Copperskin potato, $4. M; copperskin potato, 100 to hill, $4.50 M. Postpaid. Full count. Marvin Mullis, Surrency, Rt.

BEANS AND PEAS FOR SALE

Mixed Bunch and Half Runner Butterbeans, 1952 crop, good for eating or planting, 6 large cups, $1.10; $2. per 12 cups. Mrs. T. O. McMillian, Dacula, Rt. 1.

White Lady Peas, 35c lb.; 10 lb. or more PP; Clay Crowders, 25c lb. 10 lb. or more, 10c lb. or more, 20c lb. Add postage. No COD. R. T. Blalock, Adairsville, Rt. 2.

BEANS AND PEAS FOR SALE

About 5 b. Cream Crowder Peas, weevil treated, at my farm on lower Roswell Rd., near Mt. Bethel Church. Will not ship. A. E. Eavenson, Marietta, Rt. 2. Phone Roswell 3115.

15 b. Blackeyed Crowder, White with Brown Eye Peas, name unknown, free of weevils 15c lb. Exch. for calves. Will not ship. 1-1/4 mi. W. Chatsworth near the old Dalton and Chatsworth Hwy. William Willis, Chatsworth, Rt. 2.

Cream and White Weeks Half Runner and Little Pink Peanut Beans, 35c cup; Exch. 2 cups for 5 print sacks or 5 whitte. Ea. pay postage; Salet Peas, 60c cup. Add postage. Mrs. Jemima Crump, Talking Rock, Rt. 3.

Blue Java Peas, 35c lb.; Green or Dry Peppermint Plantts, 35c doz. Add postage. P. B. Brown, Ball Grond, Rt. 1.

White Bunch Butterbeans, 30 cp; Col. Half Rnner and Few Whites, 60c pt. also Yellow Crooked Neck Squash Seed, 15c Tbl. Add postage. Mrs. Samuel Caine, Cumming, Rt. 5.

White Tender Cornfield Bean Seed, 45c measring cp; Few good Colored Cornfield, 40c measreing cp. Add postage. Alice Harris, Ellijay, Star Rt.

400 lb. sound New Era Peas, 10-20 pct. mixed with Brabham, $6. lb. FOB in 2-1/2 lb. lap bags. Recleaned, all harvested withot rain white hlls. N. P. Bassett, Fort Valley. Phone 716.

35 b. Black, Hay and Feed Peas, sound, very prolific, $7.-50 bu.; 14 bu. Imp. Brab., pure, sound, and 2 bu. large Black Crowders, $7.50 bu. FOB. Marvin Moore, Buena Vista.

Foreign Trade And Farm Problems

(Continued from page One)

lion dollars more in five days than was taken in during eighty-three years.

In spite of this they tell us there will be a large deficit this year in the Federal treasury. They tell us taxes cannot be reduced. They have changed their minds since last November.

Eisenhower plays golf. Truman played the piano. The world plays us for a sucker. Wall Street is afraid the war will stop in Korea. We trade the Chinese fifty prisoners for one American.

The United Nations, controlled by foreign elements, is installed in our midst and like a cancer in our vitals makes us afraid to move. We spend billions of dollars to make atom bombs, and explode them over great waste lands, while our boys are short of ammunition in the front lines in Korea because we are afraid that our hired friends wouldn't like it if we used them to save the lives of boys who have been conscripted and sent around the world to fight.

God Save America!

TOM LINDER

Commissioner of Agriculture

BEANS AND PEAS FOR SALE

15 lbs. Lady Finger Peas, 60c lb. PP. Mrs. Fred Yelton, Appling.

Red Speckled Crowder and Java Peas, 25c teacup. No less 4 cups shipped. G. T. Brown, Ball Ground, RFD 1.

170 bu. Tenn. or Clay Peas, reclean, 90 pct. pure, 95 pct. germ., $7. bu. at my farm 1 mi. E. Tennille. H. C. Gilbert, Tennille, RFD.

Tender Blue Pole Beans, 2 cups, $1.; Early Brown 2 crop 6 weeks Peas, White Table Crowders, 5 cups, $1.; White and col. Bunch and Col. Running Butterbeans, 4 cups, $1.10; Col Running Butter Peas, 2 cups, $1. Add postage. Mrs. Clearnce McMillian, Dacula.

Speckled, and Silver Hull Crowder Peas, 40c pt.; White and Colored Butterbeans, 35c pt.; Also White Spansh Peanuts, 45c qt. Add postage. Ezra Caine, Cumming, Rt. 5.

4 b. Yellow Crowder Peas, best table variety, $8. b.; 2 b. Lady Finger, 15c lb. E. L. Cooper, Btler, Rt. 1, Box 24.

SEED AND GRAIN FOR SALE

15 lbs. good Citron Seed, $1. lb. Ralph Jones, Cadwell.

Old Time Jones Watermelon Seed, grows 50 and 60 lbs., $1.25 lb. E. W. Bellamy, Carnesville, Rt. 1.

White Mush Peas, Green Okra Seed, 40c cup; 3 cups, $1.; Red Speckled Crowder and White Blackeyed Peas, 35c cup; 4 cups, $1. Add postage. Clinton Smith, Ellijay, Rt. 3.

Citron Seed, $1. lb. Will ship COD A. L. Thompson, Cadwell.

Citron Seed, $1. lb.; Honey Rock Cantaloupe, 50c teacup; White Bunch Butterbeans, 25c teacup; Banana Muskmelon, 30c Tbl.; Also Mtn. Huckleberry Plants, bearing size, 2 doz., 75c. Add postage. Rosie Crowe, Cumming, Rt. 1.

40 lbs. Black Diamond (white seed) Watermelon Seed, $1.50 lb. Parcel Post prepaid. Joe R. James, Douglasville, Rt. 1.

Hand selected good Watermelon Seed, mixed, early and late varieties, and Muskmelon, 50c measuring cup; Sunflower, Old Fashion large Pumpkin Seed, Cinnamon Tubers or

EGGS FOR SALE

Speckled Guinea Eggs, 18, $1.65; 36, $3.20. PP Parcel Post. Mrs. Ed Stone, Adairsville, Rt. 2.

Chinese Ringneck Pheasant Eggs, 20c ea. at my house. J. A. Moore, Atlanta, 2181 Flat Shoals Rd., Rt. 3.

African Guinea Eggs, $1.50 per setting. Now available. Jess Jackson, Douglasville, Rt. 1.

Booking orders for Bob White Quail Eggs to be shipped in June, 80 pct. fertility, from 2 yr. old birds, 25c.; $22.50 per C. B. A. Pollock, Marietta, Rt. 3, c/o Green Acres Farm.

Purebred B. B. and B. B. Mammoth Bronze Turkey Eggs, from free range stock, $4.50 doz. PP. Mailed in metal mailing egg boxes (returnable). Mrs. Bessie Baggett, Hiram.

Black Bronze Turkey Eggs, 25c ea.; $3. doz. at my farm. Mrs. W. H. Maddox, Danville, Rt. 2.

Purebred Buff Cochin and Dark Cornish Bantam Eggs, $2.50 per 18. Parcel Post. C. H. Overby, Columbus, 3609 - 14th. Ave.

Dark Speckled Guinea Eggs, $1.50 per setting of 15. PP.

FARM HELP WANTED

Want middle age or elderly couple to live in home and do general or truck farm work. Good place. J. B. Mosley, Austell.

Want at once unencumbered white woman to live in home with family of 3 adults and do light farm work on farm for room, board, $10. weekly. Give full particulars. Mrs. Eva Knowles, Byron, Rt. 2.

Want 1 or 2 H share cropper, 50-50 basis. Nice, smooth, fertile land, bale of cotton per acre. Riding cultivator. Good 4 R house, plenty wood, water, mail and school bus Rt. Near church. Good community. Dr. W. J. Green, McDonough, Rt. 2.

Want experienced man and wife, or father and son to handle 50-60 cow dairy. Must be honest and sober, start in two weeks. L. T. Callaway, Madison, Rt. 2.

Want man or couple capable of managing a 9000 to 10,000 broiled farm. Will pay $1. per day and 25 pct. of net profits, or on halves. 1 R tenant house, wired for stove, city water. Clyde Cookerly, Ringgold, Rt. 1.

POSITIONS WANTED

57 yr. old man wants job on cattle, chicken or hog farm. Have 2 sons to drive tractors, Good 4 or 5 R house, lights, water, wood, pasture, barn. 6 in family (all grown), honest, sober. Have to be moved. Prefer close to town and regular work. Jim Dotson, Jonesboro, Rt. 1, Box 421.

Want job on farm, wife and 2 boys, 3 to work. Can operate any kind farm machinery. Experienced truck, poutlry, and cattle farming. Need 3 or 4 R house, lights, on school bus Rt. Desire day work and some patches. Can furnish good references. Move at once. Richard Wilson, Atlanta, 246 Glenwood Ave., S. E.

Want work as supervisor and laborer on large beef cattle or poultry farm. Born and reared on farm. Married. A graduate of local high school and attended the Univ. of Ga. College of Agriculture. References if desired. Available May 1st. R. M. Maddox, Winder, RFD 4.

Want job on farm for home, laundry, board, and salary. Charlie R. Lewis, c/o Mrs. Maude Watts, Doraville, Rt. 1.

White man, 36 yrs. old, with wife, 6 children, wants job as

Tennille, RFD.

Tender Blue Pole Beans, 2 cups, $1.; Early Brown 2 crop 6 weeks Peas, White Table Crowders, 5 cups, $1.; White and col. Bunch and Col. Running Butterbeans, 4 cups, $1.10; Col Running Butter Peas, 2 cups, $1. Add postage. Mrs. Clearnce McMillian, Dacula.

Speckled, and Silver Hull Crowder Peas, 40c pt.; White and Colored Butterbeans, 35c pt.; Also White Spansh Peanuts, 45c qt. Add postage. Ezra Caine, Cumming, Rt. 5.

4 b. Yellow Crowder Peas, best table variety, $8. b.; 2 b. Lady Finger, 15c lb. E. L. Cooper, Btler, Rt. 1, Box 24.

SEED AND GRAIN FOR SALE

Black Diamond Watermelon, and Jumbo Cantaloupe Seed, 60c lb.; Okra, 75c lb. Mrs. C. H. Sledge, Byron.

Red and White Speckled Crowder Pea Seed, 30c cup; 4 cups, $1. del. Exch. 4 cups for 4 print sacks. Each pay postage. Mrs. T. L. Frost, Bowdon, Rt. 2.

Sericea Lespedeza, clean, scearified, $35. Cwt. FOB. F. C. Garrett, Fort Gaines.

1500 lb. 1952 crop Sericea Seed, scarified, 99.59 pct. pure, germ. 79 pct., 30c lb. L. P. Williams, Austell, Rt. 3, Box 101.

Lady Finger, Purple Hull Peas, and Half Runner Bean Seed, 25c large cup. FOB. Mrs. Will Howell, Mitchell, Rt. 1.

9000 lbs. Brown Top Millet Seed, 16c lb.; 300 lbs. small percent Johnson Grass, 14c lb.; 2800 lbs. Kobe Lespedeza, 96 pct. pure, 85 pct. germ., 23c lb. Prices FOB farm. No order shipped less than 100 lbs. M. T. Morrow, Newborn.

2000 lbs. Sericea Lespedeza Seed, 99.68 pct. pure, 85 pct. germ., no noxious weed seed, 32c lb. in 100 lb. bags. FOB. Mrs. Estelle Johnson, Rome, RFD 4, Phone 2-0516.

Mixed Gourd Seed. Write for price. Mrs. T. B. Thomas, Rocky Ford, Rt. 1.

Ky. 31 Fescue Seed, 99 pct. pure, 93 pct. germ., $20. Cwt. Cecil Travis, Riverdale, Phone Fayetteville, 5581.

Calico Bunch Butterbeans, 35c cup. PP. Exch. 3 cups for 3 print sacks alike. Each pay postage. Mrs. W. H. McWilliams, Lithonia, Rt. 3.

Recleaned Brown Top Millet Seed, free of any noxious weed seed, 20c lb. Norman Johnson, Warrenton.

Gourd Seed, 3 pkts., 40c; Garrison Wateremelon, 15c pkt.; $1.50 lb. PP; Also have Gourds, Martin, Dipper, Dishrag, $3. doz.; Small sizes, $1.50 doz. Earl Stuckey, Blackshear.

on Smith, Ellijay, Rt. 3.

Citron Seed, $1. lb. Will ship COD A. L. Thompson, Cadwell.

Citron Seed, $1. lb.; Honey Rock Cantaloupe, 50c teacup; White Bunch Butterbeans, 25c teacup; Banana Muskmelon, 30c Tbl.; Also Mtn. Huckleberry Plants, bearing size, 2 doz., 75c. Add postage. Rosie Crowe, Cumming, Rt. 1.

40 lbs. Black Diamond (white seed) Watermelon Seed, $1.50 lb. Parcel Post prepaid. Joe R. James, Douglasville, Rt. 1.

Hand selected good Watermelon Seed, mixed, early and late varieties, and Muskmelon, 50c measuring cup; Sunflower, Old Fashion large Pumpkin Seed, Cinnamon Tubers or Gourd (dipper) 15c doz. Mrs. Ethel Sanders, Buchanan, Rt. 2.

Gourd seed, 3 pkts. 40c; Garrison watermelon seed, 15c pkt. $1.50 lb.; Also Martin, Dipper and Dishrag gourds, $3. doz. PP. Earl Stuckey, Blackshear.

Sugar Crowder peas, treated, 25c lb.; Nancy Hank melonseed, $1.50 lb.; also sundried horse apples, 50c lb. Add postage. J. E. Pettyjohn, Summerville, Rt. 4.

Hale's Best Cantaloupe, and Stone Tomato Seed, 75c cup; 10c pack; Yellow Crookneck Squash, 10c Tbl.; Cucumber, 5c Tbl.; 3 cups only Striped Half Runner Bean, 45c large cup. Mrs. Clyde Logan, Austell, Rt. 2, Hillcrest Dr.

Tender Speckled Half Runner Bean Seed, 50c large cup; Long Green Okra, 40c large cup. Add postage. Mrs. J. B. Woody, Pisgah, Star Rt.

300 lbs. Genuine Cannonball Black Diamond Watermelon Seed. State tested, 90 pct. germ., $1. lb.; Original Ga. Sweetheart Melon, $2. lb. Kenneth W. Birdsong, Gordon.

Yellow Meat Watermelon Seed, $1.50 lb.; 75c half pound; Collard, and 1 lb. Red Running Butter Peas, 50c lb. Exch. for dried apples, free of core, peel and worms. Mrs. Chas. Shrum, Fitzgerald, Rt. 1, Box 108.

White and Colored Butterbeans, mixed, 30c lb.; Martin Gourd Seed, and Jumbo Pumpkin, 15c doz.; 2 doz., 25c. Also White and Red Spanish Peanuts, $1.50 pk. Add postage. Mrs. J. A. Wilson, Martin.

White Bunch Butterbeans, last year's seed, and Dark String Bean, 60c qt. Add postage. Mrs. T. A. Stowers, Tifton, Rt. 2.

EGGS FOR SALE

Mammoth Broad Breasted Bronze Turkey Eggs, 50c ea.; Also 10 Mammoth B B Bronze Hens, and 1 Tom, 50c lb. Mrs. Mrs. J. C. Broome, McBean.

Booking orders for Bob White Quail Eggs to be shipped in June, 80 pct. fertility, from 2 yr. old birds, 25c.; $22.50 per C. B. A. Pollock, Marietta, Rt. 3, c/o Green Acres Farm.

Purebred B. B. and B. B. Mammoth Bronze Turkey Eggs, from free range stock, $4.50 doz. PP. Mailed in metal mailing egg boxes (returnable). Mrs. Bessie Baggett, Hiram.

Black Bronze Turkey Eggs, 25c ea.; $3. doz. at my farm. Mrs. W. H. Maddox, Danville, Rt. 2.

Purebred Buff Cochin and Dark Cornish Bantam Eggs, $2.50 per 18. Parcel Post. C. H. Overby, Columbus, 3609 - 14th. Ave.

Dark Speckled Guinea Eggs, $1.50 per setting of 15. PP. Henry Jr. Dupree, Acworth, Rt. 1.

Northern Bobwhite Quail Eggs and Baby Quail. Herbert Moss, Atlanta, 1989 Baker Rd., N. W. Phone BE 7938.

HONEY BEES AND BEE SUPPLIES FOR SALE

75 Colonies Italian Bees in 8 frame hives, 3-5 supers on each, all combs built on wired foundation, $6. ea. colony. W. P. Moore, Ailey, Rt. 2.

11 hives good Italian Bees in 8 frame style gums, all with 1 super, 1 extra hive, $50. for lot. E. C. Kittle, Temple, Rt. 1.

Good Table Honey, $2.50 gal. del. in Ga.; in 65 lb. lard can, $9. FOB. J. T. Holland, Sparks, (U. C. 41).

Fancy Chunk Comb Honey, also strained packed in 2 1/2 lb. big mouth jars, 12 to case, 30 lbs., $8.10 case; 2 cases, $14.50. Exp. charges prepaid in Ga. E. J. Lewis, Nahunta.

Special Wrayswood Honey, clear, strained, no comb, packed in 2 1/2 lb. wide mouth jars (12 per case), $7. per case. FOB. farm. Call Madison 2603, or write: R. B. Curtis, Farmington.

New Bee Supers for sale. E. H. Hawkins, Atlanta, Rt. 1, Box 1639.

FARM HELP WANTED

Want large family to share crop 100 A good land; tractor and team of horses. Wages for 3 hands when not in crop. Fred Barber, Jonesboro, P. O. Box 206. Phone No. 3111.

Want single, sober, white man from country for poultry farm work, not over 45 years old. Private room, board, $65. month. Mrs. Helen Street, Atlanta, Rt. 2.

Want experienced tractor driver on farm. Lloyd C. Caswell, Americus.

Want 1 or 2 R share cropper, 50-50 basis. Nice, smooth, fertile land, bale of cotton per acre. Riding cultivator. Good 4 R house, plenty wood, water, mail and school bus Rt. Near church. Good community. Dr. W. J. Green, McDonough, Rt. 2.

Want experienced man and wife, or father and son to handle 50-60 cow dairy. Must be honest and sober, start in two weeks. L. T. Callaway, Madison, Rt. 2.

Want man or couple capable of managing a 9000 to 10,000 broiled farm. Will pay $1. per day and 25 pct. of net profits, or on halves. 1 R tenant house, wired for stove, city water. Clyde Cookerly, Ringgold, Rt. 1.

Want white man and wife to live on premises, care for livestock, garden, yard, etc. House, lights, water, phone furnished, $25. weekly salary. Mondays off. Must have own car and be Christians. D. E. Estes, Atlanta, Fulton Co. Court House. WA 5310 Ext. 232.

Want man and wife to work on chicken farm for house, lights, wood, water, milk cow, truck patches furnished. Jess Jackson, Douglasville, Rt. 1.

Want married man to help on vegetable farm near Atlanta. Pay man $5. daily, nice house, elec., garden, pasture, an wood. R. F. Sams, Clarkston, Phone 43-7322.

Want middle aged, unencumbered white woman for light farm chores on farm with small family. Contact: J. H. Donaldson, Fort Valley, RFD 1.

Want single man, not over 40 for work on farm. $2.50 daily. Don't write. Come see. G. B. Ham, Cobbtown.

Want farm family to operate farm in high state of cultivation in which 40 acres land has already been plowed with a tractor, land suitable for cotton or corn. Shares or wages. W. J. Saunders, Jenkinsburg.

perienced truck, poultry, and cattle farming. Need 3 or 4 R house, lights, on school bus Rt. Desire day work and some patches. Can furnish good references. Move at once. Richard Wilson, Atlanta, 246 Glenwood Ave., S. E.

Want work as supervisor and laborer on large beef cattle or poultry farm. Born and reared on farm. Married. A graduate of local high school and attended the Univ. of Ga. College of Agriculture. References if desired. Available May 1st. R. M. Maddox, Winder, RFD 4.

Want job on farm for home, laundry, board, and salary. Charlie R. Lewis, c/o Mrs. Maude Watts, Doraville, Rt. 1.

White man, 36 yrs. old, with wife, 6 children, wants job as caretaker or overseer on cattle or other farm (except on dairy). Experienced any kind tractors. Know how to operate and keep up equipment. Need House, lights, water, plus good salary. Have to be moved. Ralph Lynn, The Rock, Rt. 1.

Want to raise chickens on halves for some good man. Write or see. Carl Grant, Ellijay, Rt. 5.

White man, wife, 4 children, oldest boy 12 yrs. old wants job on general farm. 2-3 R house lights, water, etc. Salary or on halves. Phone WA 2350. Elisha Taylor, Atlanta, 318 Cooper St., S. W.

30 yr. old man with 5 children wants job driving tractor or truck, or doing any kind farm work. Need 4 or 5 R house, water, lights, have to be moved. Can move at once. Eddie Spears, Woodstock, Rt. 1, c/o Jas. R. Spears.

Want job on farm within 15 mi. Atlanta in good settlement, near school and church. 4 R house or larger, wired for stove, running water. 50-50 basis. Don't drink nor use profanity. 7 in family. Have to be moved. Letters ans. Arnold Loftin, Powder Springs, Rt. 1.

PIEDMONT HEREFORD ASSN., SALE

The Piedmont Hereford Assn., will hold their spring sale at the Northeast Georgia Livestock Barn, Athens, Wednesday, April 22, at 12:00 Noon EST. 70 head, Horned and Polled . . . 25 bulls, 45 females consisting of open and bred heifers, cows and cows with calves by side offered. Cattle will be in barn Tuesday 21st., prior to sale. Write: Gordon Dudley, Athens, P. O. Box 1466.

ANNUAL SPRING SALE

The Georgia Guernsey Breeders Association will have their annual spring sale at the Livestock Arena, Macon Fairgrounds, Wednesday, April 22, at 1 P.M.—36 females of fine quality from outstanding breeders offered. W. W. Denny, Sec.-Treas., Canton.

Georgia Farmers'
Market Bulletin
Tom Linder Commissioner

VOLUME 39 WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1953 NUMBER 9

EXPORTS, IMPORTS AND TAXPAYERS

MISS. Anne Holden
1440 No. Emory Rd. NE
Atlanta, 6, Ga

Editorial By TOM LINDER

During the seven years from 1946 1952 inclusive, our total exports amounted to eighty-nine billion dollars. During the same seven years, our total imports amounted to fifty-four billion dollars. This means the taxpayers had to absorb twenty-nine billion dollars in order to export eighty-nine billion dollars. In addition to this, the general public had to pay a profit of approximately twenty-five billion dollars when they bought these imported goods at retail. This made a total cost to taxpayers and the general public of fifty-four billion dollars for the privilege of exportmen and other government officials, to say nothing of newspapers and radios, show one of two things to be true—either they are grossly ignorant of the facts or they have an ax to grind by misrepresenting the truth.

1936 TO 1945 INCLUSIVE

In 1936, Roosevelt was elected for his second term. He was elected again in 1940 for his third term and in 1944 for his fourth term.

During that ten years, 1936 to 1945, we had pig killing, wheat burning, and crop reductions generally to get rid of so called surpluses of farm products.

HEALTHY F[illegible] TRADE

Everyone who ha[illegible]er studied the subject knows that fo[illegible] foreign trade to be healthy, exports and imports must be in substantial balance. That is, we must ship as much one way as we do the other way.

If we import more than we export, we have a drain on our national economy. If we export more than we import, we likewise have a drain on our national economy. Either will produce a national depression if continued long enough in large amounts.

THE AMERICAN FARMER IS BEING ELIMINATED

AND TAXPAYERS

Miss. Anna Holden
1440 No. Emory Rd.
Atlanta, 6, Ga.

Editorial By TOM LINDER

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INDUSTRIAL EXPORTS

During those seven years, industrial exports were sixty-four billion dollars and industrial imports were twenty-nine billion dollars. This gave us a net balance of industrial exports of thirty-five billion dollars. We exported thirty-five billion dollars more industrial products than we imported. Since other nations had no money with which to pay for this thirty-five billion dollars excess of industrial exports, it is fair to assume they were absorbed out of taxpayers' dollars in the form of grants to foreign countries.

AGRICULTURAL EXPORTS AND IMPORTS

During the same seven years, total exports of agricultural products amounted to twenty-four and a fraction billion dollars, while imports of agricultural products amounted to twenty-four and a fraction billion dollars. This shows that all agricultural exports and imports paid their own way insofar as dollars were concerned and cost the taxpayers nothing.

In view of the above statements verified from official government report, namely, "Foreign Agricultural Trade," printed in May, 1953, it is astounding to hear those who should know better claiming that agricultural exports are a burden on the taxpayer.

In view of the above official figures, statements by the President, Congressmen and other government officials, to say nothing of newspapers and radios, show one of two things to be true—either they are grossly ignorant of the facts or they have an ax to grind by misrepresenting the truth.

1936 TO 1945 INCLUSIVE

In 1936, Roosevelt was elected for his second term. He was elected again in 1940 for his third term and in 1944 for his fourth term.

During that ten years, 1936 to 1945, we had pig killing, wheat burning, and crop reductions generally to get rid of so called surpluses of farm products.

During those ten years, we fought the Second World War. Everyone remembers the cry that food will win the war and write the peace. Restrictions were generally removed and farmers were told to raise all the food they could to feed the world and especially our Allies over seas. The American people thought they were producing great surpluses for overseas shipments and that we were actually feeding our Allies. All this was a fiction of politics. Let us see what the record shows. And, I mean the record of the United States Government.

During that ten years, 1936 to 1945, our total exports of agricultural commodities amounted to less than twelve billion dollars. During the same ten years, our imports of agricultural products amounted to more than fourteen billion dollars. Actually, we imported two and a quarter billion dollars in agricultural products more than we exported. Please let me repeat. During the ten years of 1936 to 1945 inclusive, we imported two and a quarter billion dollars more of agricultural products than we exported.

Keep in mind that all of this has been the record under the operation of so-called Reciprocal Trade Agreements. As I have repeatedly stated in the Market Bulletin, the so-called Reciprocal Trade Agreements was a device from the beginning to have one tariff policy for the farmer and a different tariff policy for industry. It was intended from the beginning to pauperize the farmers of America and force them down to a common level with the balance of the world while maintaining, at the same time, an American standard for industry.

HEALTHY FOREIGN TRADE

Everyone who has ever studied the subject knows that for foreign trade to be healthy, exports and imports must be in substantial balance. That is, we must ship as much one way as we do the other way.

If we import more than we export, we have a drain on our national economy. If we export more than we import, we likewise have a drain on our national economy. Either will produce a national depression if continued long enough in large amounts.

THE AMERICAN FARMER IS BEING ELIMINATED

We have shown you that during the seven years from 1946 to 1952 our total exports amounted to more than eighty-nine billion dollars while our total imports amounted to more than fifty-four billion dollars, leaving a net of exports over imports of thirty-five billion dollars.

In order to make our imports balance our exports for those seven years, it would be necessary for American agriculture to shut down completely for twelve months. The surplus amounts to more than a whole year's income for all agricultural products.

During the ten years preceeding the seven years, the excess of exports over imports amounted to thirty-six billion dollars. This would mean that all agriculture in the United States would have to shut down for another twelve months. In the meantime, an additional surplus of exports would accumulate.

The basic fact is this country has been over-industrialized. The Internationalists and the Communists (they are the same people in many cases) are destroying the economy of America more effectively through over-industrialization than they could by armed conflict.

How any farmer or farm organization could endorse so-called Reciprocal Trade Agreements is beyond understanding.

It is understandable how the Chamber of Commerce of the United States could favor such a measure. It is understandable how the big moguls of inter-

(Continued on page 4)

GEORGIA MARKET BULLETIN

Address all items for publication and requests to be put on the mailing list and for change of address to STATE BUREAU OF MARKETS, 222 STATE CAPITOL, Atlanta.

NATIONAL EDITORIAL ASSOCIATION 1953 ACTIVE MEMBER

Notices of farm produce and appurtenances admissible under postage regulations inserted one time on each request and repeated only when request is accompanied by new copy of notice.

Under Legislative Act the Georgia Market Bulletin does not assume any responsibility for any notice appearing in the Bulletin, nor for any transaction resulting from published notices.

Limited space will not permit insertion of notices containing more than 35-40 words, not including name and address.

Tom Linder, Commissioner
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Executive Office State Capitol
Editorial and Executive Offices State Capitol, Atlanta, Ga.
Publication Office
114-122 Pace St. Covington, Ga.

SECOND HAND MACHINERY FOR SALE

One 2¾ hp Bolin Huski Garden Tractor with turn plow, cultivator gear and mowing bar, $200.00 cash at my home. 2 mi. Courthouse. O. C. Mingledorff, Douglas, Rt. 3.

Intl. 30-35 HP Power Unit, used to operate grist mill and corn sheller on farm, with 40 ft. endless 6 in. belt, excellent

SECOND HAND MACHINERY FOR SALE

Allis-Chalmers WC Tractor and mounted mower, good cond., for sale. Mrs. C. B. Glover, Newnan, 50 Jackson St., Tel. 162.

1948 VAC Case Tractor, planters, cultivator, 2 disc plow, Rome 8 disc bush and bog harrow, John Blue cotton duster, good cond. N. E. Rick-

SECOND HAND MACHINERY FOR SALE

Used 8 Can Milk Cooler, $100.00 at my farm. Marvin M. Martin Jenkinsburg.

13 Row Grain Drill (J.D.) on steel wheels, good cond., for sale. L. C. Sparks, Carnesville, Rt. 1.

One 1950 Model Super A Tractor and equipment for sale R. D. Powell, Hazlehurst, Rt. 2.

1951 Ford Troctor, planters, cultivators, 8 disc B & B, and 20 disc tandem harrow, 2 disc tiller, terrace, and gang plow, mower, cutoff saw A-1 cond. Sell one or all. 1 1/2 mi. E. Temple, Hwy. 78. W. P. Simth, Temple, Rt. 1.

One 70 Oliver Tractor and King 8 Disc Bush and Bog Harrow, $800.00; L. A. John Deere Tractor with cultivators, $600; Both have starters and lights; J. D. 120 Combine, power takeoff, $300.00. Located Hwy. 27 between Cedartown and Bremen, North of river. James D. Hall, Buchanan, Rt. 1.

12 gas brooders in good condition cheap at my place, 4 mi. N. Dalton. Tom F. Yancey, Dalton, Rt. 5.

Inal. 30-35 Hp Power Unit with 40 ft. endless 6 in. belt, used on farm to operate grist mill and corn sheller, excellent cond., $185.00 at my farm Douglas Slaton, Richland, Rt. 2. Tel. 35J3.

1950 Model A-J. D. Tractor, cultivator, harrow, planters, etc., excellent cond. See at Cordele. Contact J. O. Gornto, Waycross, Box 24.

1952—B Model J. D. Tractor, planters, cultivators, K B A smoothing harrow, Burgress harrow, 5 disc tiller, John Blue cotton Duster, worked 35 acres cotton 1952, and 37 Acres cotton, 4 acres corn 1953, 1st class cond. Guy C. Gordan, Bogart, Rt. 1. (Eastville).

1 H Wagon at my place $35. Mrs. W. D. Herring, Lake Park.

SECOND HAND MACHINERY FOR SALE

5 Disc J. D. Tiller on rubber, broke about 200 acres in new condition, powr trol $245. David Simpson, Cochran, 302-6th St.

One 1952 Super C Farmall Tractor, good tires, A-1 cond., $1250.00. A. D. Wiley, Carnesville, Rt. 3.

1952 model M. John Deere Tractor, planters, cultivators, 2 disc plow, pickup type Rome 8-23 in., B & B harrow, David Bradley tractor wagon, all very good condition. E. W. Steed, Winder, Rt. 4.

S. C. Case Tractor, 12 disc B & B harrow, 24 disc tendem harrow, 4 disc tiller (Athens), 8ft. IHC binder, run 6 days. Grady H. Ridley, LaGrange, 206 Ridge Crest Rd.

B-Allis-Chalmers Tractor, cultivators, bush and bog harrow, bottom plow, $500.00, or part payment in cattle; McCormick-Maunre Spreader, No. 200, good cond. Sacrifice. Ross Maddox, Winder.

SECOND HAND MACHINERY WANTED

Want a feed mill in good condition, priced to sell, within 100 mi. radius preferably. To be used with Ford Tractor. C. O. Taft, Kirkland.

Want 403 H or 403 series used J. D. Disc Plow. Joel H. Sanders, Newnan, Rt. 2.

Want set of Clover Concave's for A-6 Case Combine. Tel. 1030, Tifton, or write. D. A. Law, Chula.

Want farm blacksmith's anvil, bellows or blower, tongs, hammers and other tools to equip complete farm use shop. Roger Thompson, Marietta, RFD 3, (Mt. Bethel Community). Tel. 9-5959.

Want steel wheels, front and rear, or rear only for F20 Intl. Tractor. Must be within 50 mi. Atlanta. J. E. Wood, Hapeville.

SECOND HAND MACHINERY WANTED

Want 1 Cycle Mower for Allis-Chalmers WD Tractor to operate with power takeoff. Contact. Jesse F. Mitchum, Griffin, c/o Jesse's Pharmacy.

Want J. D. 7 ft. No. 5 Mower for planters and fertilizer attachments for Jonh Deere M. T. Obie Youngblood, Molena, Rt. 1.

Want front lift and loader for Ford Tractor, the entire assembly. Aubrey Brooks, Griffin, Rt. 5, Box 165. Tel 7596 after 4 PM.

Want one row tractor, Farmall or Allis-Chalmers with planters, cultivators, and one small harrow. Give price. B. M. Pugh, Woodbury, Rt. 2.

Want medium size tractor, any make, within 25 miles Lawrenceville or Winder. Must be cheap. Fletcher Smith, Auburn, Rt. 1.

Want one set cultivators, planters, and distributors, for Farmall C Tractor. Good shape. Cheap for cash. L. W. Hudgins Bremen, Rt. 2, Box 18 A.

SEED AND GRAIN FOR SALE

Arlington and Cokers Victorgrain (48-93) Oats, recleaned, sacked, $1.25 bu.; Calhoun Barley, recleaned, sacked, $1.75 bu. Prompt RR shipment. L. L. Singleton, Fort Valley, Rt. 3. Tel. 772.

Col. and White Bunch Butterbeans, 4 cups, $1.00; Col. Running medium size, and extra large butterbeans for eating or plant, 3 cups, $1.00; Also old shallot plants, $1.00 C. Add postage. Mrs. Clarence McMillian, Dacula, Rt. 1.

1953 crop Pensacola Bahair germ. and purity in new 100 lb. germ. and pudity, in new 100 lb. bags, 20c lb. Virgil T. Barber, Nashville.

Ky 31 Fescue Seed, 99.3. pct pure, 95 pct. germ., 1953 crop, 11c lb. FOB my farm. G. W. Darden, Watkinsville.

of October 8, 1917.

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Intl. 30-35 HP Power Unit, used to operate grist mill and corn sheller on farm, with 40 ft. endless 6 in. belt, excellent cond., $185.00 my farm. Douglas Slaton, Richland, Rt. 2.

1951 Ford Tractor, cultivator, plows, planters, distributors, rotary hoe attach., pulley, power cane mill with 18 in. upright rollers, all geared to Ford Tractor, $1650.00 FOB my farm 18 mi. SE Valdosta. Jas. E. Culpepper, Lake Park, Rt. 3, Box 124. Tel. 1800.

2 H Bagwell Wagon, practically new, complete with brake and body, $100.; Also one Bay Mare Horse, 10 yrs. old, 1200 lbs., works well anywhere, $75. T. A. Darracott, Gainesville, Rt. 1.

Used Intl. Combine for sale or trade for cattle, chickens, or hogs. Roy Bishop, Locust Grove. Tel. La. 3456.

One Deep Well Digging Outfit, good cond., for sale or trade for Ford Tractor and equipment. Oliver Varnedore, Nicholls, Rt. 1.

One Belt Pulley for Ford Tractor, good cond., $35.00; Folding Type Weeder, $100.00; Plow (2 disc), good cond. $175. All for Ford or Ferguson Tractor. C. N. Edwards, Hawkinsville, 259 Commerce St.

Moline 2 H Wagon, 2¾, good rims and tires, $30.; 17 tooth Spring Tooth Harrow, Dbl. Sec., good cond., $20. Other farm tools. 1 mile No. Winston. Horace Darnell, Sr., Winston, P. O. Box 105.

1952 Super C Farmall Tractor, cultivators, planters, fertilizer attach., 3 disc No. 8 Intl. tiller, 5 ft. harrow, used very little, for sale at my place. Geo. D. Barfield, Louisville, Rt. 3.

1946 Ford Tractor with Dearborn harrow, hydraulic lift, good cond., $675. About 6 mi. Hollingsworth on post road. Troy Pruitt, Homer, Rt. 1.

1 Row Tobacco Setter for Ford or Ferguson Tractor, good cond., used very little, Iron Age make. Letters ans. Ira F. Pittman, Barney, Rt. 1.

1 H Wagon, Oliver Turn Plow, horse drawn drag pan, good hay rake, for sale at my place. W. J. Porter, Doraville, Rt. 2. Tel. 47-2332, or Atlanta phone Wa. 4627.

SECOND HAND MACHINERY FOR SALE

Allis-Chalmers WC Tractor and mounted mower, good cond., for sale. Mrs. C. B. Glover, Newnan, 50 Jackson St., Tel. 162.

1948 VAC Case Tractor, planters, cultivator, 2 disc plow, Rome 8 disc bush and bog harrow, John Blue cotton duster, good cond. N. E. Rickenbaker, Newnan, Rt. 3, Tel. 2061.

Allis-Chalmers G. Model Tractor, hydraulic lift, cultivators, distributors, new, never used. Joe Sikes, Glennville.

6 disc Athens Tiller with seeder box, 8 disc King bush and bog harrow, 6 ft. J. D. dbl. disc harrow, used very little, good cond. Wray Smith, Sparta. Tel. 4921.

Moline Tractor, 5 disc tiller, tandem harrow, 5 ft. J. D. combine, New Holland Corn shucker and sheller, tractor drawn plant setter, cart, potato digger, corn binder, fertilizer spreader, hammer mill, etc. $2000.00. FOB farm between Woodbury and Greenville. S. C. Owen, Woodbury.

H. G. Oliver Crawler and Harrow, for sale or trade for cattle. Graham Glover, Rome, Summerville Rd.

1948 WC Allis-Chalmers 2 Row Tractor on rubber, with starter, lights, power lift, power takeoff, complete with planters and cultivators, 4 disc tiller, Taylor, and Athens Harrow, Section Harrow, 6 row cotton duster, $1200.00. See J. R. Barnett, Commerce, 14 Little St.

Super C Farmall Tractor, used very little, 2 disc plow, subsoiler, bush, and smoothing harrow, loading conveyor, and cutoff saw, cheap. E. J. McGinnis, Alpharetta, Rt. 1, Box 146. Phone 4737.

Large Roller Mule Drawn Cane Mill for sale or exch. for livestock, corn, wheat, etc. Shellie D. Branch, Glennville, Rt. 1.

1952 W. D. Allis-Chalmers Tractor, subsoiler, harrow, slightly used, $1200.00, and assume payment. Lee B. Black, Stockbridge. Tel. 3182.

One Intl. 9 can Dairy Milk Cooler, almost new, $350.00. Garner F. Hart, Warrenton, Rt. 3

No. 42 Intl. Combine, good running cond., for sale cheap; Also Turner Peanut Picker, needs some repair. W. B. English, Montrose, Rt. 1.

with 40 ft. endless 6 in. belt, used on farm to operate grist mill and corn sheller, excellent cond., $185.00 at my farm Douglas Slaton, Richland, Rt. 2. Tel. 35J3.

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1 H Wagon at my place $35. Mrs. W. D. Herring, Lake Park.

1 H Wagon in good shape, and mule drawn Hay Baler (IHC), cheap for cash. E. A. Powers, Blackshear.

9 1/2 hp Frazer Tractor, disc plow, disc harrow, and cultivator, bargain, $300.00 for lot FOB. Chas S. Goodlin, Ben Hill, 2145 Camp Ground Rd. Atlanta phone Am. 2206.

Allis-Chalmers Combine with motor, A-1 cond., $1000.00. Seven miles East Stone Mtn. at Snellville. J. M. Jones, Grayson

1946 Ford Tractor with hydraulic lift, Dearborn harrows, good cond., $675.00 cash. Troy Pruitt, Homer, RFD No. 1.

Allis-Chalmers Tractor G, disc plow, cultivator, cutting harrow, all good cond., $575.00 at my home, 2 mi So. Chickamauga. L. B. Hamilton Chichamauga, Re. 2.

1952 WD Allis-Chalmers Tractor, 60 AC Combine, good shape, New No. 3 AC Power Mower with 6 ft. blade, all for $2500. J. P. Hodnett, White Plains.

2H Wagon, $35.00; Stalk Cutter, $20.00; Walking Cultivator, $50.00; 12 Oliver Turning Plow, $5.00. All 1st class cond. Sam J. Bozeman, Rydal, RFD 2.

One 2 H Wagon, fair cond,. reasonable. May be seen, Mrs. Abe Banks, Fayetteville, Rt. 3.

1950 Ford Tractor, 2 disc plow, A-1 cond., used only one season to farm 60 acres. Mrs. John Faulkner, Augusta, 1911 Elizabeth Dr.

Allis-chalmers B Tractor, hydraulic life, power takeoff, cultivators, harrow, belt pulley, $350.00 cash. Robert W. Evans, Durand, Box 25.

One 1946 "A" Farmall, planters, cultivators harrow,, tiller, seeder box, duel rear tires, good cond.. $800.00; 4 Disc Intl. Tiller on rubber, new disc and bearings, $200.00. Can be seen on Sat. or Sunday only. Mrs. B. E. Gay Mitchell.

Avery 4 Disc (3ft) plow on iron wheels, with wheel weights, ton, Fort Valley, Rt. 3. Phone good cond., $125.00 L. P. Singleton, Fort Villey, Rt. 3. Phone 772.

with a feed mill in good condition, priced to sell, within 100 mi. radius preferably. To be used with Ford Tractor. C. O. Taft, Kirkland.

Want 403 H or 403 series used J. D. Disc Plow. Joel H. Sanders, Newnan, Rt. 2.

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Want steel wheels, front and rear, or rear only for F20 Intl. Tractor. Must be within 50 mi. Atlanta. J. E. Wood, Hapeville, 3665 Ga. Ave.

Want an electric incubator, 150 or 200 size, good cond. C. L. Holcombe, Martin, Rt. 2.

Want to exch. good tobacco oil burners and J. D. harrow, for pulpwood saw, bottom plow For J. Deere A tractor,Or will buy. Must be in good condition. Mrs. T. H. Johnson, Boston, Rt. 1. (Old Parker Place).

Want Ford Mower and Rake for 1952 tractor; Also seeder and fertilizer distributor. Willis A Shanks, Macon, 746 Mulberry St.

Want one F-30 Farmall Tractor in good condition. Give best price. Guy E. Still, Statham, RFD No. 1.

grain (48-93) Oats, recleaned, sacked, $1.25 bu.; Calhoun Barley, recleaned, sacked, $1.75 bu. Prompt RR shipment. L. L. Singleton, Fort Valley, Rt. 3. Tel. 772.

Col. and White Bunch Butterbeans, 4 cups, $1.00; Col. Running medium size, and extra large butterbeans for eating or plant, 3 cups, $1.00; Also old shallot plants, $1.00 C. Add postage. Mrs. Clarence McMillian, Dacula, Rt. 1.

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Ky 31 Fescue Seed, 99.3. pct pure, 95 pct. germ., 1953 crop, 11c lb. FOB my farm. G. W. Darden, Watkinsville.

Old Fashion Cutshort Cornfield, and White Half Runner Garden Bean Seed, 50c large cup; Exchange 2 cups for 4 print sacks alike on each orders. Add postage. Mrs. Pearl Wilson Carters, Rt. 1.

Ky. 31 Fescue, passed field inspection for certification, 17c; Rescue, 10c lb.; Chapel Hill Rescue, 13c lb.; Dixie Crimson Clover, passed inspection also, 20c lb.; Arlington Oats, $1.15 bu. C. D. Wood Bowdon.

Good White Tender Half Runner Bean Seed, 55c cup; 2 cups, $1.00; Red Speckled Crowder Peas, and White Blackeye, 30c cup; 4 cups, $1.00. Add postage. Mrs. Carl Smith, Ellijay, Rt. 3.

COMPLETE DISPERSAL AUCTION

A Complete Dispersal at Auction of the Reg., herd of Polled Herefords of M. G. Lee, on U. S. Hwy., 82, two miles West Cuthbert, on Monday, Nov. 23rd. Sale beginning 12 NOON. For information, write, W. E. Aycock, Moultrie.

3RD. ANNUAL HEREFORD SALE

Sumter Hereford Assn., 3rd Annual sale—Horned and Polled Herefords—10 bulls and 31 females (open and bred heifers, cows with calf at side and rebred), all from popular and proven bloodlines—Livestock Sales Barn, Americus, Tuesday, Nov. 24th. For information, call or write, Dee Smith, Americus.

PECAN AUCTION SALES IN GEORGIA

The 1953 Pecan Auction Sales now being held weekly will continue throughout the selling season at the following places CAIRO—State Farmers' Market—Tuesdays and Fridays.—Cordele—State Farmers' Market—Wednesdays and Saturdays.—Vidalia—Ga. Pecan Auctions—Tuesdays and Saturdays, 11 A. M. and 2 P. M.

SEED AND GRAIN FOR SALE

100 bu. good oats, 90c bu. 7 mi. E. McDonough on late Henry Duffey Farm. Hiram C. Duffey, McDonough, Rt. 2.

Texas Rescue Grass Seed, recleaned, in 50 lb. bags, 85 pct. germ., 98 pct. pure, no noxious weeds, 12 1/2c del. in Ga. Murray Allen Avera, Rt. 1.

1953 crop Ky. 31 Fescue Seed, recleaned, tested, 99 pct. pure, 94 pct. germ., $18.50 Cwt. Cecil Travis, Riverdale, % Pine Crest Acres. Tel. Fayetteville, 5581.

Turner's Bancroft Seed Oats, pure, recleaned, graded, 90 pct. germ., high yielding for grain or grazing, $1.40 bu. sacked in even wt. 4 bu. bags L. M. Turner, Royston.

Pomegranate Seed, 10c thimbleful and self addressed stamped envelope. Miss Dorothy Pate, Tallapossa, Rt. 1.

Ky. 31 Fescue Seed, grown from cert. seed, recleaned in 50 lb. bags, 87 pct. germ., 14c lb. Felton Denny, Carrollton, Rt. 3.

Tift 14 Rustproof oats, 90 pct. germ., $1.00 bu. combine run; Recleaned in new 4 bu bags, $1.20 bu. Duke Lane, Fort Valley.

40 bu. Cokers Victorgrain Oats and Wheat, mixed, about 1/5 Wheat, 4 5 oats $1.25 bu. E. O. Sayer, Winston.

Chapel Hill strain Rescue Seed, recleand, dried, in 50 lb. bags, 99 pct. pure, 82 pct. germ., no weed 12 1/2c lb. Pensacola Bahia Grass, recleaned, 95 pct. pure, 88 pct germ., 20c lb. in 100 lb. bags. John Peacock, Cochran, Rt. 2.

SEED AND GRAIN FOR SALE

Red Nest Onions, $1.25 gal. Or exch. 1 gal for 4-100 lb. print sacks alike. Mrs. A. M. Lane, Vienna, Rt. 1.

Reseeding Dixie Crimson Clover, 99.41 pct. pure, 94.5 germ., $20.00 Cwt.; Blue Lupine, this year's crop, tested for germ. and purity, $4.00 Cwt. Norman Johnson, Warrenton.

PLANTS FOR SALE

Missionary and Klondike Strawberry Plants, $1. C. Exch. for clean feed sacks at 25c for white, 30c for print. Ea. pay postage. Sold only in Ga. Lizzie A. Mills, Folkston, Rt. 2, Box 1.

1 yr. old Asparagus Crowns, $1. doz. Del. Mrs. H. V. Franklin, Register.

Genuine Blakemore and Klondike Strawberry, $1. C; $7. M; Lawton Blackberry, $1. doz.; $7. C. T. H. Graves, Fayetteville.

Jersey, Charleston, and Copenhagen Cabbage, Flat Sweet Bermuda Onion, and Ga. Collard Plants, 300, $1.; 500, $1.25; $2. M. Del. PP; 5000, $7.50 exp. collect. I. L. Stokes, Fitzgerald.

Frostproof Chas. Wakefield and Early Jersey Cabbage, 500, $1.50; $2.25 M. Del. Prompt shipment. E. C. Waldrip, Flowery Branch, Rt. 1.

Plenty of Kudzu. Come dig up. Cheap for cash. R. C. Moore, Rockmart, Rt. 3.

Garrett Streamliner Everbearing Strawberry, $2. C; 500, $9.; $17.50 M. Shipped prepaid. Cash with order. Supply limited. C. J. Garrett, Bremen.

PLANTS FOR SALE

Klondike Strawberry, $1. C; Blakemore Blackberry, Raspberry, 6, $1.; Mtn. Huckleberry, 4c doz.; Yellow Sugar Fig Sprouts, $1. ea.; Muscadine Vines, 40c ea.; Concord Grape, 25c ea.; large Elberta Peach Seed, 35c doz. Plus postage. Mrs. Otis Mashburn, Cumming.

Sage and Catnip Plants, $1. doz.; Also Long Wide Leaf Bull Face Tobacco Seed, 75c Tbl.; Gourd Seed, 3 packs, $1.; Okra, $1. lb.; Small Gourds, $2.50 doz.; Add postage. L. J. Ellis, Cumming, Rt. 5.

Jersey and Chas. Wakefield, Copenhagen Cabbage, and Collard Plants, $2.50 M; 500, $1.50; 300, $1. Del. Tel. 4-5079. B. F. Mallard, Savannah, Rt. 5, Box 528.

Large Red Jumbo Strawberry Plants, $1. C; $8. M. Add postage. Prompt shipment. Mrs. E. E. Clark, Gainesville, Rt. 8.

Strawberry, from cert. Missionary and Mastodon, $1. C. PP. Damp packed. Tom Kittle, Carrollton, Rt. 5.

Blakemore Strawberry, $1. C; $9. M. PP in Ga. Mrs. John Howard, Cleveland, Rt. 1.

Charleston Wakefield and Early Jersey Cabbage, and Collard, $1.50 M. FOB. M. F. Jones, Metter, Rt. 1.

Large Everbearing Strawberry, $1.35 C; Brown Scuppernong Vines, 2, 75c; Also Garlic Bulbs, 50c doz. Add postage. Mrs. Mary E. Hudson, Macon, Rt. 2.

Streamliner Everbearing Strawberry, 25c doz.; $1.75 C; 500, $7.; $12. M; Mtn. Huckleberry, bearing size, $1. C. Prepaid. Mrs. B. T. Thornton, Bowdon.

PLANTS FOR SALE

White Crystal Wax Bermuda Onion Plants, green, fresh (pencil size) 350, $1.50; 500, $1.25; $2. M. Del. Parcel Post; 5 M, $7. Exp. Ship daily. Satis. guar. F. F. Stokes, Fitzgerald.

Fine Blakemore Strawberry, from inspected stock, not mixed, $1. C; 500, $4.; $7. M. PP in Ga. No Fla. orders. Mrs. A. M. Grier, Alto, Rt. 1, Box 155.

Leading varieties Chas. Wakefield, Copenhagen, Early Jersey, White Bermuda Onion, and Ga. Collard Plants, 500, $1.25; $2. M. Will mix orders. Full count, prompt mailing. E. L. Fitzgerald, Fitzgerald, Box 662.

PEANUTS AND PECANS FOR SALE

Large Red Peanuts, 2-4 in hull, washed, dry, $2. pk.; $6. bu.; Blue Java Peas, 25c lb. in 5 lb. lots or more. Add postage. P. B. Brown, Ball Ground, Rt. 1.

Large Red Peanuts, $2. pk.; $6. bu.; Blue Java Peas, Red Speckled Crowders, 25c lb. in 5 lb. lots. Add postage. G. T. Brown, Ball Ground, Rt. 1.

Peanuts: Large White Spanish, $1.50 pk.; $5. bu.; Red, 2-4 in hull, $1.75 pk.; $6. bu.; Also long cone, dried Hot Pepper, $1.50 lb.; Popcorn, 20c lb. 5 lb. up. All 1953 crop. Mrs. Claude Edmonds, Toccoa, Rt. 1.

Large selected, thin shelled Stuart Pecans, hand culled to one big size and one A-1 quality golden nut meat, guar., 45c lb. PP to 1st. and 2nd. zone. 5 lbs. up. H. M. Moorman, Lovett.

PEANUTS AND PECANS FOR SALE

Large, well filled Stuart Pecans, del. by parcel post, 40c lb. in zone 1 and 2, and 45 in zones 3, 4, and 5. Geo. A. McArthur, Albany, 1503 Dawson Rd.

1953 crop Schley Pecans, sound, clean, 10 lb., $4. Del. in Ga.; 100 lbs., $35.; Stuarts, 10 lbs., $3.; 100 lbs., $25. FOB. J. M. Jones, Grayson.

PECANS AND OTHER FRUIT TREES FOR SALE

Seedling Chinquapin Bushes, $1. doz.; Large size, 5, $1.25; Muscadine and Scuppernong Grape Vines, 10, $1.50; Fox Grape Vines, 5, $1.25; 2 dif. kinds Blueberry, $1.25 doz.; Hazelnut Bushes, $1. doz. Mrs. F. M. Eaton, Dahlonega, Rt. 1.

Hazelnut Bushes, Raspberry, $1. doz.; Chioquapin, $2. doz.; Muscadine, rooted, 6, $1.; Mtn. Huckleberry, 50c doz.; Sassafras with good roots, 20c ea.; 4, $1.; May Cherry, 50c ea. Mrs. D. M. Hollaway, Dahlonega, Rt. 1.

Mtn. Huckleberry, bearing size, 2 doz., 75c; Large Klondike Strawberry, 75c C; Large Field Dewberry, bearing size, 50c doz.; Blue Damson Plum Sprouts, Muscadine Vines, 45c ea.; Also small Clearstone Peach Seed, 35c doz. Add postage. Rosie Crowe, Cumming, Rt. 1.

Apple Trees, 1 yr. old, 35c ea.; 2 yr., 45c ea.; 1 yr. peach trees, 35c ea.; 1 yr. pear, cherry, plum, apricot, 60c ea.; 2 ft. size chestnut and pecan, $1.50 ea.; Grape vines, 25c ea. Del. State insp. T. M. Webb, Ellijay.

Hog Prices Paid At Various Markets

October 26	NO. 1	NO. 2	NO. 3	NO. 4
Jepeway-Craig Comm. Co., Dublin	22.00	21.10	21.05	20.45
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Swainsboro S/Yd., Swainsboro	20.50	19.60	18.64	19.00
Seminole L/S Auction, Donalsonville	20.10	19.70	19.00	19.80
Ocilla L/S Company, Ocilla	20.10	19.80	19.35	18.40

Ky. 31 Fescue Seed, grown from cert. seed, recleaned in 50 lb. bags, 87 pct. germ., 14c lb. Felton Denny, Carrollton, Rt. 3.

Tift 14 Rustproof oats, 90 pct. germ., $1.00 bu. combine run; Recleaned in new 4 bu bags, $1.20 bu. Duke Lane, Fort Valley.

40 bu. Cokers Victorgrain Oats and Wheat, mixed, about 1/5 Wheat, 4—5 oats $1.25 bu. E. O. Sayer, Winston.

Chapel Hill strain Rescue Seed, recleand, dried, in 50 lb. bags, 99 pct. pure, 82 pct. germ., no weed 12 1/2c lb. Pensacola Bahia Grass, recleaned, 95 pct. pure, 88 pct germ., 20c lb. in 100 lb. bags. John Peacock, Cochran, Rt. 2.

$7. M; Lawton Blackberry, $1. doz.; $7. C. T. H. Graves, Fayetteville.

Jersey, Charleston, and Copenhagen Cabbage, Flat Sweet Bermuda Onion, and Ga. Collard Plants, 300, $1.; 500, $1.25; $2. M. Del. PP; 5000, $7.50 exp. collect. I. L. Stokes, Fitzgerald.

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$6. bu.; Blue Java Peas, 25c lb. in 5 lb. lots or more. Add postage. P. B. Brown, Ball Ground, Rt. 1.

Large Red Peanuts, $2. pk.; $6. bu.; Blue Java Peas, Red Speckled Crowders, 25c lb. in 5 lb. lots. Add postage. G. T. Brown, Ball Ground, Rt. 1.

Peanuts: Large White Spanish, $1.50 pk.; $5. bu.; Red, 2-4 in hull, $1.75 pk.; $6. bu.; Also long cone, dried Hot Pepper, $1.50 lb.; Popcorn, 20c lb. 5 lb. up. All 1953 crop. Mrs. Claude Edmonds, Toccoa, Rt. 1.

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Apple Trees, 1 yr. old, 35c ea.; 2 yr., 45c ea.; 1 yr. peach trees, 35c ea.; 1 yr. pear, cherry, plum, apricot, 60c ea.; 2 ft. size chestnut and pecan, $1.50 ea.; Grape vines, 25c ea. Del. State insp. T. M. Webb, Ellijay.

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Jepeway-Craig Comm. Co., Dublin	22.00	21.10	21.05	20.45
Waycross L/S Mkt., Waycross	20.40	20.03	19.30	19.00
October 27				
Farmers Co-op L/S Assoc., Soperton	20.30	19.70	19.35	19.95
Jones-Neuhoff Comm. Co., Macon	21.00	21.40	20.90	19.80
October 28				
Ragsdale-McClure Comm. Co., Rome	22.70	20.50	19.50	
Hazlehurst L/S Mkt., Hazlehurst	19.39	18.95	19.00	19.70
Coosa Valley Comm. Inc., Rome	21.90	21.00	20.50	19.00
October 29				
Valdosta L/S Co. Inc., Valdosta	19.35	18.80	18.85	20.00
Ragsdale-Long Comm. Co., Quitman	19.67	18.96	18.20	19.00
Nahunta L/S Market, Nahunta	19.75	19.05	18.55	18.75
Effingham Co. S/Yd., Springfield	19.65	19.00	18.10	
Dublin L/S Comm. Co., Dublin	19.85	19.25	18.82	20.01
Bulloch Co. Stockyards, Statesboro	19.75	18.76	18.25	19.00
Barrow Co. Auction, Winder	20.50	19.00	17.00	
Bainbridge S/Yd. Inc., Bainbridge	19.50	18.75	18.40	19.85
October 30				
Toombs Co. Stockyard, Lyons	20.19	19.42	18.55	19.00
Wrightsville Stockyard, Wrightsville	19.70	19.20		
Tifton Stockyards Inc., Tifton	19.73	19.35	20.10	21.00
Thomasville Stockyards, Thomasville	19.90	19.30	19.00	
Sylvania Stockyards, Sylvania	20.35	19.55	19.10	20.50
Smith Stockyard, Thomson	20.50	20.00	19.20	19.10
Smith Bros. Stockyard, Bartow	19.80	18.85		
Pierce Co. Stock Market, Blackshear	20.77	19.92	19.15	19.65
Flint River L/S Auction, Bainbridge	19.95	19.00	18.45	
Cordele L/S Comm. Co., Cordele	19.98	19.31	18.80	
Co-op L/S Exchange, Statesboro	20.85	19.91	18.80	19.65
Candler L/S Market, Metter	20.54	19.87	20.00	
October 31				
Washington Co. Mkt. Assn., Sandersville	20.17	19.40	18.80	
Emanuel Co. S/Yd., Swainsboro	21.00	20.10	19.00	
November 2				
Shuman L/S Market, Hagan	20.62	20.00	19.38	
Swainsboro S/Yd., Swainsboro	20.50	19.60	18.64	19.00
Seminole L/S Auction, Donalsonville	20.10	19.70	19.00	19.80
Ocilla L/S Company, Ocilla	20.10	19.80	19.35	19.40
Muscogee L/S Company, Columbus	21.50		22.10	
Millen L/S Market, Millen	20.50	20.00	19.40	20.00
Jesup Stockyard, Jesup	21.01	19.92	19.05	19.00
Dodge Co. S/Yd., Eastman	20.05	19.30	18.35	
Columbus Stockyard, Columbus	20.40			
Chatham Co. Stockyard, Savannah	20.50	20.00	19.20	
November 3				
Appling Co. Stockyard, Baxley	20.17	19.64	18.75	
Troupe Co. Sales Barn, La Grange	20.10	19.90	19.00	17.20
Smith Stockyard, Augusta	20.85	20.25	19.90	19.00
Elbert L/S Auction, Elberton	22.00	20.75	19.00	
Tattnall L/S Co., Glennville	20.50	19.65	18.85	19.35
Farmers Stockyard, Sylvania	20.50	19.80	20.00	20.10
Dawson Livestock Co., Dawson	20.11	19.83	18.80	
Coffee County L/S Co., Douglas	20.12	19.26	18.75	18.76
Mitchell Co. L/S Co., Camilla	19.99	19.51	19.10	19.45
McRae Stockyard, McRae	20.50	19.18	18.51	17.00
Metter L/S Market, Metter	20.34	19.60	19.05	19.70
November 4				
Peoples Livestock Mkt., Cuthbert	20.31	19.81	19.00	20.00
Moultrie L/S Co., Moultrie	20.05	19.65		
Claxton Stockyard, Claxton	21.00	20.05	19.55	
Wilkes County Stockyard, Washington	21.20	20.80	19.50	19.00
NE Ga. L/S Auction Barn, Athens	21.00 21.50	20.00	20.00 22.00	18.00 20.00
Ragsdale-Long Comm. Co., Lakeland	20.25	19.41	18.80	18.60
Union Stockyard, Albany	19.95	19.20	19.20	19.55
Turner Co. Stockyard, Ashburn	20.20	19.65	19.95	
November 5				
Sumter L/S Assoc. Inc., Americus	20.35	19.25	19.40	20.40
Farmers L/S Co., Douglas	19.90	19.41	18.76	19.05
Pelham Stockyards, Pelham	19.75	19.76	19.44	
Seaboard Stockyard, Colquitt	20.01	19.96	19.10	19.10

EXPORTS, IMPORTS AND TAXPAYERS

(Continued from page 1)

national finance and industry could favor such a measure. It is understandable how a man like Mr. Allen Klein, President of the National Farm Bureau, being a member of the Federal Reserve Board in Chicago and closely identified with the Internationalists, might be in favor of such a measure. Just how any actual dirt farmers could endorse Reciprocal Trade Agreements is beyond understanding. Nevertheless, through all these years, farm organizations have sent regularly their representatives to Washington to endorse the extension of this anti-American measure.

Whenever a farmer votes for or endorses trade agreements, he is voting to put himself out of business.

TOM LINDER
Commissioner of Agriculture

PECAN AND OTHER FRUIT TREES FOR SALE

Fig bushes, 25c, 50c, $1. sizes. Mrs. W. E. Wooten, Camilla.

Crabapple, red, yellow plum, cherry, hickory nuts, 6, $1.; Muscadine vine, 25c ea.; Purple and celestial figs, 50c—$1. ea.; Blackberry, dewberry, gooseberry, huckleberry, 75c doz. Add postage. Exch. for sacks; Also Garlic Bulbs, 50c doz. Mrs. Grady Brewer, Toomsboro, Rt. 1.

Sugar June Pear Bushes, 3, $1.75. Mrs. L. E. Sanders, Buchanan, Rt. 2.

Catnip, and Sage, 6 bunches, $1.; Crabapple, May Cherry Trees, Beechnut and Hazelnut Bushes, ea. 6, $1. Add postage. Mrs. Mae Turner, Gainesville, Rt. 6.

HAY AND STRAW (WHEAT, OATS, ETC.) FOR SALE

Lespedeza Hay also 65 bales Crab Grass Hay (approx. 225 bales of both), 85c per bale at farm. Ross Maddox, Winder, Rt.

HOGS FOR SALE

Good OIC Hog, about 250 lbs., for sale or trade for young fresh in milch cow. Roy West, Newman, Rt. 4, Box 237.

OIC Pigs, from reg., short nose, blocky type stock, reg. buyer's name, treated, shipped, $20. ea. Plus shipping chrgs. Some cheaper at my farm located 5½ mi. N. Commerce. Paul J. Cain, Commerce, Rt. 1.

OIC pigs, 8 wks. old, choice breeding stock, reg. buyer's name, short nose, blocky, treated, from prize winning stock, $20. ea. Mack Patrick, Voc. Ag. Teacher, Rabun Gap.

SHEEP AND GOATS FOR SALE

Saanan Milk Goat, hornless, gentle, good milk, now giving one quart, never goes dry, ready to breed. Sacrifice for quick sale. G. T. Durham, East Point, 3467 Whipple Ave. CA-6277.

Milk Goats, all bred, start freshening in Dec. for sale. Karl Dayhoof, Hamilton, Rt. 1.

RABBITS AND CAVIES FOR SALE

Guaranteed Chinchillas not rabbits). Pedigreed, NCBA registered, young pairs, proven pairs, singles (Not rabbits). L. L. Hudson, Savannah, 1910 E. Macon St.

2 ped. Dutch Bucks, 4½ mos. old, from good strain, 1 brown and white, $3.25; 1 Black and White, $4.50. Both good markings. R. Lamar Brantley, Wrightsville, Rt. 2.

2 nice Buck Rabbits, 8 mos. and 14 mos. old, one tan, other white, for sale or exch. for 2 bred mother rabbits, Belgium Gray or Red Rufers. Mrs. N. T. Ryan, Tallapoosa.

About 8 White Rabbits, $1.25 ea.; Also 2 White Ducks, $1.50 ea. at my place. Otis Barnett, Atlanta, 613 Glenwood Pl., S. E. Di-3119.

FARM HELP WANTED

Want good 2 H farmer on 50-50 basis with his own equipment. Good 4 R house, elec., school and mail rt. Tobacco, cot-

FARM HELP WANTED

Wanted experienced reliable truck farmer. No drinkers, colored; Share 50 pct. Furnish 5 R house, water, elec., mule and tools. Near good trucking center. Good propasition if can qualify. Phone day El. 9190; Night De. 1975, or write. E. T. Brown, Avondale Estates, P. O. Box 123.

Want white or colored family with 2 adult men for 2 H crop on halves; work when not in crop; Extra good land. 5 R house wired for elec. Stove, mail and bus line in front of door. White community. Will pay for looking after 30 head cattle. W. T. Ray, Athens.

Want man to operate cattle farm for $100.00 monthly and house. See. Johnson Usry, Stapleton.

Want col. man and wife, without children preferably, to work on farm, near Atlanta. House with lights and water. 50-50 basis. Must have good references, as to ability and character. Dr. Robt. E. Latta, Atlanta, 905 Medical Arts Bldg. Tel. La. 1666.

Want good farmer on 50-50 basis, 3-3/4 A tobacco, about 30

POSITIONS WANTED

Want single man, 60 yrs. old, wants job on farm raising cattle or chickens, repairing barns and farm houses, for room, board, salary. Bona Overby, Buford, Rt. 3.

Man and Wife want 1 H farm on 50-50 basis. Prefer South Ga. Experience in tobacco, corn, cotton, etc. Chas. T. Adams, Atlanta, 782 Central Ave., S. W.

Man with wife, 3 children, wants job milking 35-40 cows. Desire place where I can have hogs, and raise small crops. 12 yrs. exp. dairying. Have to be moved. Come see at Ed Knights Dairy. J. M. Price, Ellijay, Rt. 3.

Want job on farm, preferably dairying, 4-5 R house for self, my mother, and 2 small children. W. M. Johnson, Griffin, Rt. 4, Box 41C.

Want job on farm looking after chickens, hogs, and cattle. Also do carpenter and garden work. J. A. White, Atlanta 866 Argonne Ave., N. E. At. 6558.

Want fram for 1954 for standing rent, within 25 mi. radius of Macon or Atlanta. Consider poultry farm. John B. Horne Eastman.

Also Guinea Bunny, see doz. Mrs. Grady Brewer, Toomsboro, Rt. 1.

Sugar June Pear Bushes, 3, $1.75. Mrs. L. E. Sanders, Buchanan, Rt. 2.

Catnip, and Sage, 6 bunches, $1.; Crabapple, May Cherry Trees, Beechnut and Hazelnut Bushes, ea. 6, $1. Add postage. Mrs. Mae Turner, Gainesville, Rt. 6.

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Lespedeza Hay also 65 bales Crab Grass Hay (approx. 225 bales of both), 85c per bale at farm. Ross Maddox, Winder, Rt. 4.

500 bales hay, baled without rain, combination Bermuda, Dallas Grass, Lespedeza and Ladino Clover, $25.00 ton. Trade for reg. polled Hereford bull. H. J. Parham, Newnan, Rt. 2. Tel. 1989M2.

Baled Bermuda and Lespedeza Hay, $35.00 ton. L. P. Singleton Fort Valley, Rt. 3. Phone 772.

Standard size Lespedeza-Bermuda Hay, highly fertilized, 80c per bale, or priced reasonably by ton. Dr. Eugene Mather, Athens, Rt. 3. Tel. 3869M.

Lespedeza, Sericea and baled Oat hay, 80c per bale, also oat, wheat and rye straw, 50c bale. FOB Farm, 6 mi So. Royston. See, P. S. Cape, Royston, Rt. 2. (Olin W. Guin, Owner).

HOGS FOR SALE

Reg. Tamworth boars for Service. Belfair King, Production Record sire, and Belfair Jack, younger herd sire; also production Record litter of 11 Reg. Tamworth pigs for sale. John P. Demsey, Rome. Belfair Farm, Rt. 2.

OIC Pigs, 8 wks. old, choice breeding stock, reg. in buyer's name, short nose, blocky, treated, from prize winning stock, $20. ea. Mack Patrick, Voc. Ag. Teacher, Rabun Gap.

Hampshire Boar and Gilt Pigs, out of Marietta Girl No. 1513936 (she's from litter of 14 from Model Farm Peer 547215, and Gay Peggy 1062710), good foundation stock, ready Dec. 30th., $27.50 ea. Reg. buyer's name. Clyde Blaylock, Marietta, Rt. 2.

One Reg. Prize Winning Black Poland Boar, 8 mos. old, 250 lbs., cholera immune, $100.; also 10 wks. old, pigs $25. ea. Come see. Will ship. J. R. Mullis, Cochran.

Reg. SPC Fall Boars and Gilts, by The Skyper, service boars and bred gilts, by Master Grand, by Grandmaster, bred to Commanda by Enchanter, satis. guar. Quitman Barrs, Eastman.

OIC pigs, 8 wks. old, choice breeding stock, reg. buyer's name, short nose, blocky, treated, from prize winning stock, $20. ea. Mack Patrick, Voc. Ag. Teacher, Rabun Gap.

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Milk Goats, all bred, start freshening in Dec. for sale. Karl Dayhoof, Hamilton, Rt. 1.

2 young Milk Goats, already bred, $30. for both; 1 Billy, very gentle, $10.; Also Guinea Pigs for sale. Lockard Bell, Atlanta, 2677 Pharr Rd., N. E. Cr. 4390.

About 150 bred Ewes, beginning to lamb, common grades averaged 5 lbs., wool per head at shearing, $12. ea. Sell all or none. E. F. Dean, Odum.

4 dairy goats, 2 Togs. milking (sell one), 2 dry, one white due to freshen Dec. 1st., other a Tog. about ready to breed, sell either; Also Tog. Buck for service. Consider trade. No shipments. Letters ans. 1 mile So. on Hwy. 29. G. P. Cochran, College Park, Rt. 3, Box 224.

RABBITS AND CAVIES FOR SALE

40 or 50 Rabbits, mostly purebred NZW, NZR, (Red, White, Blue Registration), and Champagne; About 3 Chinchillas, 2 Californians, for sale. Contact. H. L. Corbett, Atlanta, 366 Inman St., S. W. RA-1760.

NZW Bucks and Doe Rabbits, 4-12 mos. old, for sale or exch. for 1 good buck not related to mine. C. W. Page, Atlanta, 149 N. Ave., N.E. At. 6452.

Rabbits: 1 Sr pair Giant Chichilla (doe bred) $10.; 1 Sr. NZW Doe, bred, $5.; Sr. Angora Does, gred, $7.50; Angora Bucks, $7. ea. Ship anywhere. John Fields, Griffin. 1018 W. Poplar St.

65 mixed grown rabbits, mostly does, and 17 friers, for sale cheap. Y. W. Phillips, Roberta, Rt. 2.

Purebred 1 NZW Giant Doe with 10-2 wks. old young, 1 pr. 9 mos. old NZW Giants, 1 Pr. 9mos. old Gray Giants, large, $12. Exch. for Buff Cochin or White Silkie Bantams. Cannot Ship. 3 mi. Marietta. Harold Rich, Marietta, Rt. 6, Mitchell Dr. Tel. 8-0686.

Nice purebred Grey Giant Chinchilla Rabbit Does, 8 mos. old, $3.50 ea.; 3, $9. FOB. Write. J. O Adams, Ty Ty

ings. R. Lamar Brantley, Wrightsville, Rt. 2.

2 nice Buck Rabbits, 8 mos. and 14 mos. old, one tan, other white, for sale or exch. for 2 bred mother rabbits, Belgium Gray or Red Rufers. Mrs. N. T. Ryan, Tallapoosa.

About 8 White Rabbits, $1.25 ea.; Also 2 White Ducks, $1.50 ea. at my place. Otis Barnett, Atlanta, 613 Glenwood Pl., S. E. Di-3119.

FARM HELP WANTED

Want good 2 H farmer on 50-50 basis with his own equipment. Good 4 R house, elec., school and mail rt. Tobacco, cotton, peanut allotments. Contact. Mrs. D. L. Glausier, Doerun, Rt. 1, Box 140.

Want good settled white or colored woman unencumbered to live in farm home of eldely white lady, and do light fram chores on farm for board, room, small salary. See Mrs. Ora Cain, Buford, Rt. 2.

Want good man for good pebble farm on 3rds. and 4ths. basis, 17 A peanut allotment, good cotton allotment. Located near Hatley. Mrs. A. M. Adams, Cordele.

Want colored man with wife to help farm for wages; Man to farm with tractor 30-60 A corn, cotton, peanuts, tobacco, shares or wages. Good house and lights. No drunks. Start December. W. M. Gay, Abba.

on halves; work when not in crop; Extra good land. 5 R house wired for elec. Stove, mail and bus line in front of door. White community. Will pay for looking after 30 head cattle. W. T. Ray, Athens.

Want man to operate cattle farm for $100.00 monthly and house. See. Johnson Usry, Stapleton.

Want col. man and wife, without children preferably, to work on farm, near Atlanta. House with lights and water. 50-50 basis. Must have good references, as to ability and character. Dr. Robt. E. Latta, Atlanta, 905 Medical Arts Bldg. Tel. La. 1666.

Want good farmer on 50-50 basis, 3-3/4 A tobacco, about 30 A farm land, about 3000 turpentine cups or more. E. A. Powers, Blackshear.

Want reliable, sober person for farm, 63 A, water, pasture, large fruit orchard. 2 houses (large, and small). Standing rent. Mrs. Roy Conner, Atlanta, 2535 House Circle, N. E. Tel. Ex. 5739.

POSITIONS WANTED

Single man, past 50, wants job on farm working with poultry, or as caretaker. T. E. Smith, Atlanta, 1048 Allene Ave., S. W.

Man wants work on farm for rest this year and 1954. Experienced. Can operater tractor, tend hogs and cattle, etc. Desire year around job. O. C. Foskey, Vienna, Rt. 3.

Man with wife, 3 children, wants job milking 35-40 cows. Desire place where I can have hogs, and raise small crops. 12 yrs. exp. dairying. Have to be moved. Come see at Ed Knights Dairy. J. M. Price, Ellijay, Rt. 3.

Want job on farm, preferably dairying, 4-5 R house for self, my mother, and 2 small children. W. M. Johnson, Griffin, Rt. 4, Box 41C.

Want job on farm looking after chickens, hogs, and cattle. Also do carpenter and garden work. J. A. White, Atlanta 866 Argonne Ave., N. E. At. 6558.

Want fram for 1954 for standing rent, within 25 mi. radius of Macon or Atlanta. Consider poultry farm. John B. Horne Eastman.

Want job raising broiler chiskens from 10,000 to 30,000 depending on kind of equipment used. Prefer on 50-50 basis. Experienced, white. Letters ans. Doyal Ferguson, Stockbridge, Rt. 1.

49 yr. old man wants good wage job on farm; or good 2 H farm on halves. Have wife, 2 small children, 1 boy 18 yrs. old Ready to move. Milton Mitchell, Vienna, Rt. 1.

Want 2 H farm for next year on 50-50 basis. Have 3 plows to plow. Dovie Clay, Bowdon.

Man and wife, with 13yrs. exp. in milking 50-75 cows day and other dairy work, wants job on dairy. Ref., and good workers House, and reasonable salary. Contact. Ira Smith, Dublin, Rt. 5, Box 244.

Cattle Prices Paid at Georgia Markets

Grade	Thomaston 11-2	Atlanta 11-3	Athens 11-4	Rome 11-4	Atlanta 11-5	Gainesville 10-30
STEERS & HEIFERS						
Good	15.00-18.50	15.25-18.00	15.75-17.75	15.75-18.00	15.50-18.25	-
Coml.	12.50-15.00	13.00-16.00	12.00-13.75	12.50-14.00	13.00-15.75	14.10-
Utility	9.50-12.50	9.50-12.50	9.00-12.00	9.00-11.00	9.50-12.50	9.50-11.25
Cutters	8.00- 9.50	9.00-11.00	8.00- 9.50	8.75-10.25	8.60-10.50	7.75- 8.50
CALVES						
Good & Choice	13.00-17.75	13.50-18.50	12.75-17.75	13.00-15.00	13.50-17.00	12.75-14.75
Util. & Coml.	9.00-13.50	9.00-14.00	8.75-13.50	9.00-13.25	9.00-14.00	9.00-13.00
COWS						
Utility	8.50-10.25	8.50-10.50	8.75-10.75	8.50-10.00	9.00-10.50	8.50- 9.80
C. & C.	6.00- 8.50	6.00- 8.75	7.00- 9.00	6.00- 8.50	6.50- 9.00	6.00- 8.50
BULLS						
Util. & Coml.	10.00-11.80	10.00-12.75	9.50-12.30	9.75-11.50	10.00-11.50	-
Cutters	8.00- 9.30	8.75-10.00	8.00- 9.80	8.50- 9.75	8.50-10.00	8.00- 9.25
STOCKERS						
Steers & Heifers	9.00-14.60	9.00-17.25	9.00-16.25	9.00-12.00	9.00-14.50	8.50-10.50
Calves	9.00-15.00	8.75-17.00	8.50-14.75	9.00-15.00	9.50-14.75	9.00-15.75

Source of Information
Federal State Market News Service
50 Seventh Street, N. E., Atlanta, Ga.

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This Generation's

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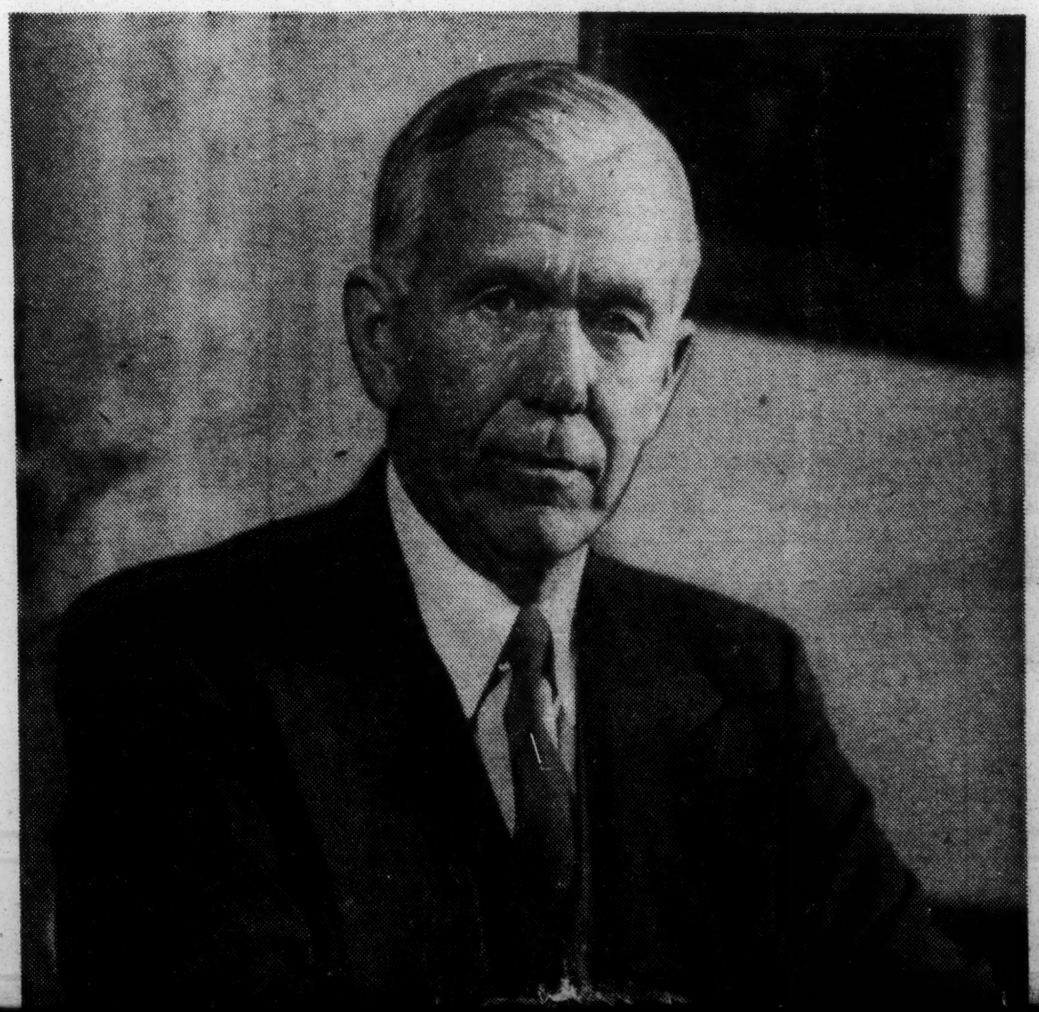

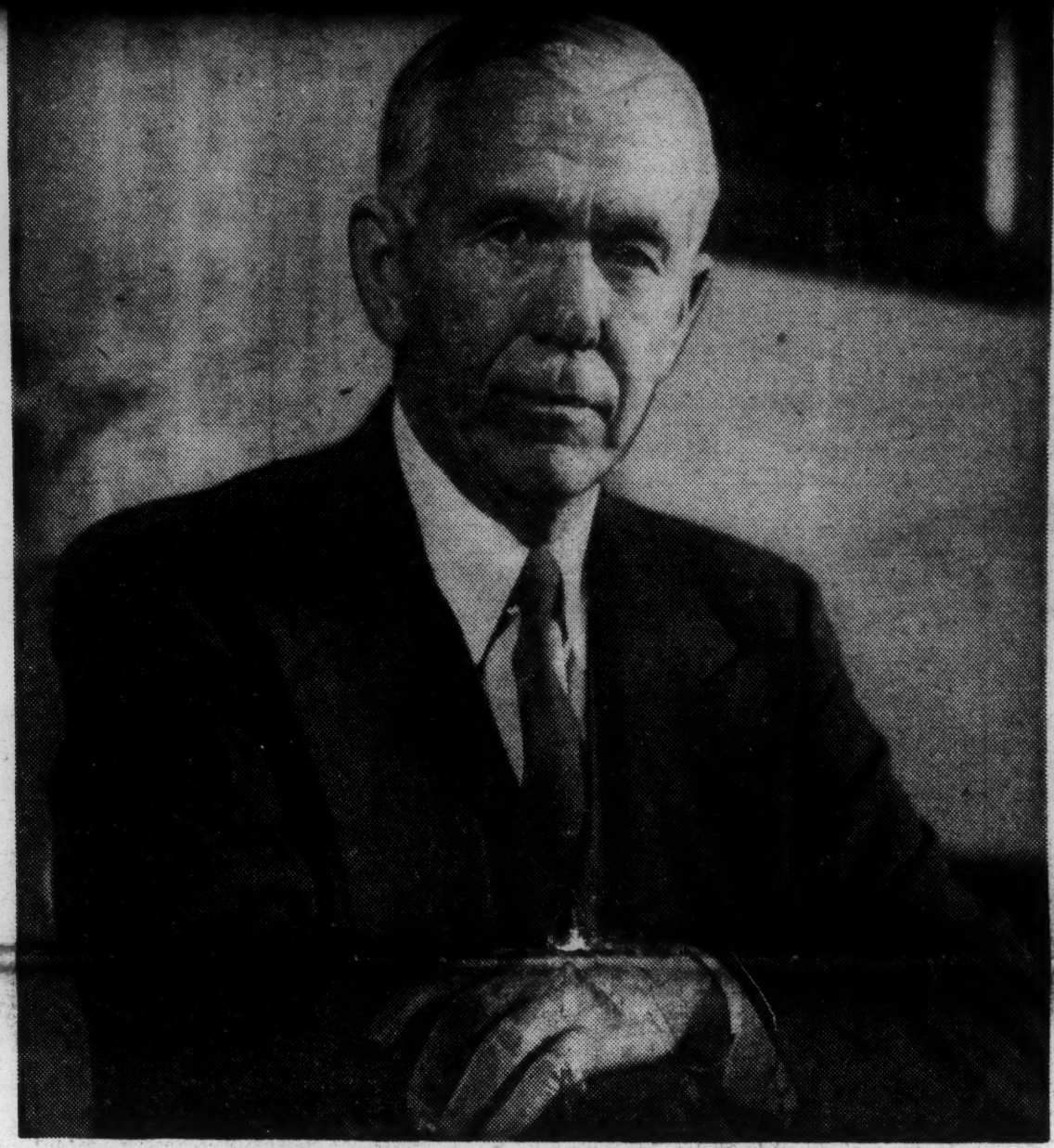

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'The Marshall Plan'

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A Presentation of the Issues by

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and

The Washington Post

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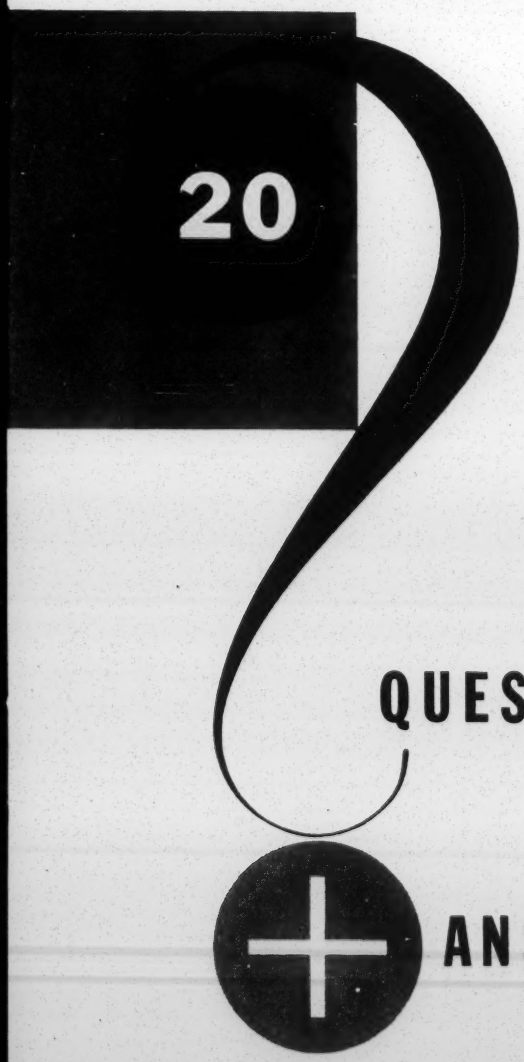
THE MARSHALL PLAN



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May 3, 1945

FORMAL DEMAND MADE FOR RACE EQUALITY AT SAN FRANCISCO PARLEY

American Delegation Asked by Consultants to Press Also for End of Colonial System and for International Bill of Rights

- - - - - - - - - -

San Francisco, Calif.--A formal statement that "the main groups of mankind, commonly called races, are essentially equal in capability of progress and deserve equality of treatment" was presented to the American delegation at the World Security Conference here May 1 by the NAACP consultants Walter White, Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, and Dr. W. E. B. DuBois.

The statement was presented not only to the American delegation but to all other consultants sent here by 42 organizations designated by the State Department.

Branding the colonial system of government as "undemocratic, socially dangerous and a main cause of wars" the statement called upon the United Nations to see that at the "earliest practical moment no nation or group shall be deprived of effective voice in its own government." The complete text of the statement, drafted by Dr. DuBois, reads:

"The main groups of mankind, commonly called races, are essentially equal in capability of progress and deserve equality of treatment, opportunity and respect in the eyes of both science and religion. All men are brothers with rights to freedom of thought, belief and expression; freedom of domicile movement and communication; justice before the courts and equal civil, economic, political and social rights.

"The first duty of civilization is to see to it that no human being is deprived of these rights because of poverty, disease or ignorance. The colonial system of government, however deeply rooted in history and custom, is today undemocratic, socially dangerous and a main cause of wars. The United Nations, recognizing democracy as the only just way of life for all peoples, make it a first statute of international law that at the earliest practical moment no nation or group shall be deprived of effective voice in its own government.

"An international colonial commission on which colonial peoples shall have representation should have power to investigate the facts and implement this declaration under the security council."

Mrs. Bethune and the two NAACP officials are consulting with various foreign delegations, enlisting wherever possible their support for a strong racial equality provision, for an international bill of rights with machinery to implement it, and for the abolition of colonialism.

Some members of the American delegation are favorable to the general idea, but seem reluctant to press vigorously for specific and decisive action.

On May 1, also, all the American consultants drafted a statement to present to the American delegation which contained the phrase "the nations are to assure justice to peoples of their lands." It was read by Dr. Nolde, consultant from the Federal Council of Churches, and was supported by Judge Proskauer of New York, a consultant of Jewish groups.

Immediately Walter White secured the floor and stated that the NAACP consultants and others wanted to make it clear that this phrase should apply to colonial peoples as well as citizens within the home countries.

It becomes apparent, now that the organization problems of the conference are out of the way, that the issues of race equality and of colonial policy are the dramatic ones before the conference, challenging the moral strength of the powers who declare their belief in democracy. It is equally clear that whereas more delegates are coming to recognize the importance of these issues, the inclination among the Americans and the British is to dodge and not meet them head-on.

Telegrams from individuals and interested groups to Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., chairman of the American delegation in San Francisco, urging a strong race equality plank and the abolition of the colonial system, with substitution of an international trusteeship for dependent peoples, will aid the cause.

The NAACP consultants are also holding frequent conferences with many Negro observers here including the Fraternal Council of Negro Churches, Elks and others. In addition, the NAACP is receiving suggestions from 151 Negro and interracial organizations who were invited by Dr. DuBois to submit ideas which could be presented to the American delegation.

ARKANSAS TEACHERS
TAKE SALARY FIGHT TO
U. S. APPEALS COURT

5/3/45

St. Paul, Minn.--The fight of Negro teachers in Little Rock, Arkansas, for equal salaries was carried to the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals for the 8th Circuit here Monday, May 7.

The Little Rock teachers filed their original suit February 28, 1942. They charged that Negro teachers with the same training and experience, performing essentially the same duties, are paid less than white teachers of the same grade and experience, and that this differential is due solely to race and color.

The case was tried on its merits September 28, 1942, in the U. S. court for the Eastern district of Arkansas and on March 10, 1944, Judge Trimble decided against the Negro teachers and gave judgment for the defendant school board.

From this decision the teachers are appealing, and their case was presented to the Circuit Court of Appeals here by J. R. Booker of Little Rock, and Thurgood Marshall, special counsel of the NAACP in New York.

As examples of unequal salaries the lawyers set forth in their brief that a Negro teacher with 32 years of experience and an AB degree is receiving $884, whereas a white teacher with 30 years of experience and a BS degree is receiving $1634. Other differentials are cited between the white and colored teachers with from one to twenty years of experience, in both elementary and high school.

The Little Rock board of education maintains that all the teachers are paid on an individual basis pursuant to a system of merit and responsibility, but the schedule of salaries shows a sharp break on the basis of race and color.

The Little Rock case is the second one in the past seven or eight years that the NAACP has been handling these cases in which a school board has chosen to go as high as the Circuit Court of Appeals, which is second only to the U. S. Supreme Court. In the other case, arising in Norfol, Virginia, the Circuit Court of Appeals branded unequal salaries on the basis of race as being unconstitutional. This decision raised the salaries of Norfolk Negro teachers a total of $129,000

annually. The decision has been recognized as the ruling opinion in practically all states and many boards of education have been advised by their lawyers not to fight cases in the courts because of this clear-cut precedent.

The Little Rock board of education refused to admit that the Norfolk opinion applied to the local situation and elected to fight it out into the high courts. The Negro teachers are equally confident and determined. If the Circuit Court of Appeals here should decide for the Negro teachers, legal circles believe that the principle will have been so firmly established that equalization of salaries will follow generally throughout the South.

NAACP YOUTH GROUPS
BACK RACE EQUALITY 5/3/45
AT SAN FRANCISCO

New York, N.Y.--Resolutions urging a declaration of racial equality by the San Francisco conference, a permanent FEPC, and non-discriminatory treatment of returning veterans were adopted by the advisory council for youth groups of the NAACP which met here April 28-29. Representatives came from ten communities and colleges as far west as Langston university in Oklahoma, and as far south as Paine college, Augusta, Georgia.

The delegates also voted to hold an essay contest next fall on the subject "Problems of Minority Youth in Our Community and the Solutions." Prizes are to be war bonds and stamps. The meeting was held in the Church of the Master, 122nd street and Morningside avenue, and arrangements were made by Mrs. Ruby H. Hurley, NAACP secretary for youth work.

TRUCK COMPANY
SENDS NAACP $670 5/3/45

New York, N.Y.--Memberships and contributions in the amount of $670 were sent to the NAACP by the 3990th Quartermaster Truck company through Cpl. Theodore Lester. This is the second remittance from this company which sent the NAACP $211 last August.

CONNECTICUT SENATE PASSES
FEPC BILL; GOP Opposes 5/3/45

Hartford, Conn.--A state FEPC bill was passed here last week by the Connecticut state senate by a vote of 25-10. The ten votes against it were cast by Republicans, but five Republicans were among the 25 voting for the bill. The bill now goes to the lower house where the Republicans are in the majority and the prospects are not regarded as bright, although not hopeless. Negro Republican leaders are gloomy, declaring they cannot hold their people in line for the party if the GOP defeats the FEPC bill.

File: San Francisco Conf.

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May 17, 1945

NAACP SEES DANGER TO U. S. MINORITIES AND COLONIALS IN INTERVENTION CLAUSE

San Francisco -

During the next week or ten days will be decided the fate of the proposals which the NAACP consultants, along with many others, have been urging. Very substantial progress has been made in that the Big Four--United States, Britain, Soviet Union and China--are jointly sponsoring some 20 amendments which will be voted upon in plenary sessions by representatives of the 49 nations. These include the following:

An amendment to Chapter I stating the purposes of the International Organization, reading, (the underscored is new material)

> To achieve international cooperation in the solution of international economic, social, cultural and other humanitarian problems and promotion and encouragement of respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, language, religion or sex.

An amendment to Chapter 5 specifying the functions and powers of the General Assembly. (The underscored is new material)

> The General Assembly should initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of promoting international cooperation in political, economic, social and cultural fields to assist in the realization of human rights and basic freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, language, religion or sex and also for the encouragement of the development of international law.

An amendment to Chapter 9 dealing with "Arrangements for International Economic and Social Cooperation", reading,

> The Economic and Social Council should set up commissions in the fields of economic activity, social activity, cultural activity, promotion of human rights and any other field within the competence of the Council.

The Social and Economic Council will be the administrative agency of the Security Council and of the Assembly.

Consultants Contend For Specific Definition of Safeguards at San Francisco Conference

A limiting clause considered dangerous and unfortunate, and which NAACP consultants are working assiduously to eliminate or drastically modify reads: "Nothing contained in this charter shall authorize the Organization to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the State concerned

or which requires the members to submit such matters to settlement under this Charter."

The United States delegation has proposed an amendment to Chapter V dealing with the functions and powers of the General Assembly which some contend will give the International Organization the right to inquire into "domestic" matters despite the amendment quoted above dealing with principles prohibiting intervention in matters "which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the State concerned." The United States proposal provides, "Subject to the provisions of paragraph I of this Section, the General Assembly should be empowered to recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of any situation, regardless of origin, which it deems likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations, including situations resulting from a violation of the Purposes and Principles set forth in this Charter." But it is the contention of the NAACP consultants that this does not sufficiently empower whatever international organization is set up to intervene in what some countries might claim are "domestic matters", but which do endanger peace.

The NAACP consultants have pointed out vigorously that under such a provision, England might, for example, say that conditions in India or Nigeria or the British West Indies are exclusively domestic matters, or the United States might say that the perpetuation of lynching or segregation, which cause colored peoples of the world today to distrust the United Nations, are exclusively domestic matters. To take it out of the realm of race, another Hitler might arise using anti-Semitism or some other form of bigotry and elevate himself to power and thus endanger peace by bringing about another war by claiming that this was purely a domestic matter. NAACP consultants are urging that this section either be eliminated altogether or very greatly modified by a specific but unequivocal definition of what is termed domestic and what is termed a situation affecting world peace.

One of the high points of the meeting of consultants was on May 15th when Mrs. Bethune made a most moving appeal that the future of not only American Negroes but all oppressed peoples must be one of the paramount concerns of the International Organization.

WHITE TO ADDRESS
MEETINGS IN EAST 5/17/45

San Francisco, California - Walter White, NAACP secretary and consultant to the American delegation at the San Francisco Conference, left May 15 by plane to fill speaking and other engagements in the east. Roy Wilkins, NAACP assistant secretary, will substitute until Mr. White's return.

DECISION PENDING IN SOUTH CAROLINA
TEACHERS' SALARY CASE 5/17/45

Columbia, S.C.--In the teachers salary case of Albert Thompson vs the Richland County School Commissioners, NAACP attorneys Edward R. Dudley and Arthur D. Shores of Birmingham, Alabama, brought out under cross examination of board members and the superintendent of schools that despite abolition of differentials based on color in 1941, such schedules still obtain today. The case was taken under advisement by Federal Judge J. Waties Waring in the United States Western District Court of South Carolina.

Thompson, a teacher in the Booker Washington Heights elementary school filed a class suit against the Board in February seeking a declaratory judgment and injunction restraining the board from paying less salary to Negro school teachers and principals possessing substantially equal qualifications, experience and training than to white teachers solely on account of race and color. During the trial of the case, Superintendent Flora admitted that prior to 1941 there was a difference in salaries based upon race with Negroes getting less. However he attempted to justify the present difference in salary on the basis of teacher availability.

The school board maintained that the salary schedule based on race was abolished in 1941 and since that time all teachers were paid on an individual basis. Attorneys Dudley and Shores brought out the fact that no matter how qualified were Negro teachers and principals, salaries were always far below that of less qualified whites. Salaries of $437 per month for white principals and $288 per month for assistants were cited in contrast to $260 per month for a Negro principal

holding a Masters degree from Columbia with over 20 years teaching experience. No assistants were provided in the latter instance.

The recertification plan recently passed in South Carolina governing teachers salaries is based on: (1) years of experience; (2) educational qualifications; (3) teachers' rating on the national teachers examination, mandatory now by statute. The good faith in which the plan is being administered, was questioned by Dudley.

BOSTON PRINTERS DISCONTINUE
OBJECTIONABLE POSTCARDS 5/17/45

Washington, D.C.--Tichnor Brothers, Inc., of Boston, Massachusetts, printers of post cards showing local views has advised the NAACP that it will discontinue printing post cards entitled Whipping Post, Dover, Delaware. The objectionable card printed in color, shows a Negro being lashed at the whipping post while a number of men and teen-age white boys look on.

In a letter requesting discontinuance, Leslie Perry of the Washington Bureau NAACP said, "I think you will agree that whipping as a means of punishment is shocking to the present generation of Americans who deeply resent the infliction of cruel and unusual punishment. In these circumstances it is understandable that the use of a Negro whippee in this picture is doubly revolting to the Negro servicemen and women fighting and dying for democracy."

After explanation of the company policy of filling orders for local scenes furnished by the customer, Arthur Tichnor, president of the firm replied, "we certainly are in hearty agreement with you regarding the particular subject you mention showing the whipping post, Dover, Delaware. This is to advise that as far as we are concerned, we will not reproduce this subject again and will advise our customer in Dover, accordingly."

WHITE AND DU BOIS WRITE
ON COLONIAL PROBLEMS AT
SAN FRANCISCO PARLEY 5/17/45

San Francisco, Calif.--Widely discussed articles of particular interest to the foreign delegation attending the San Francisco Conference are those appearing now in the New York Post by NAACP consultants Walter White and Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, dealing with the major issues of Colonial trusteeship, human rights and the race question in general. The articles are credited with an important role focusing attention on the final problem of the World Security machinery relative to colonial peoples and strategic bases.

In the series which will be available later in pamphlet form, White and Du Bois reveal the negligible practices of purported democracies toward peoples and colonies under their control, which in no wise can be reconciled with the objectives of World War II being fought in the name of "Freedom for all men everywhere."

On the question of the necessity for heavily dominated bases in the Pacific, Walter White queries their need and establishment and challenges the validity of such claims as follows (May 3, issue of New York Post) "How much need will there be for heavily armed bases in the Pacific if (a) all the Allied nations, especially Great Britain and Russia, join in rendering Japan as impotent as they are now rendering Germany, and, (b) if an honest peace which will assure the freedom of men and women of every race, creed, color and national origin throughout the world is drafted and enforced and thereby makes war less necessary and inevitable.

"The second question deals with the mechanics of establishment of such bases not only in the Pacific but at Singapore, Hongkong, the Suez Canal, Manchukuo or the Caribbean. The U. S. Army and Navy, backed vigorously by the Hearst press and certain other organs, are reputedly urging a policy of telling the existing colonial powers that they can do what they will with their colonies--past, present or future--if, in return, they abstain from interfering with American dominance in Pacific bases believed to be necessary to protect the American mainland.

"If it is necessary to ensure world peace by fortification," he says, "why should not their creation and maintenance be entrusted to

whatever association of nations may be devised instead of to individual nations? We are doing precisely that in our plans for four-power control of occupied Germany. Why not similar and expanded joint cooperation action in other areas of the world, based upon whatever association of nations which must follow the end of the wars if civilization is to survive?"

Colonials Must Be Heard

Facts and figures to refute the theory that in reality dictatorships were bitterly aligned against democracies in World War II, are impressively presented by Dr. Du Bois (May 4 issue) in pointing out the true status and limitation of the democratic idea. The NAACP Director of Special Research states: "Nor can it be reconciled with any philosophy of democracy that 50,000,000 white folks of the British empire should be able largely to control the destiny of 450,000,000 yellow, brown and black people. And again, inside the same Empire, it is both astonishing and discouraging to find among the leading 'free nations' battling for 'democracy' the Union of South Africa, where 2,000,000 white folk hold 8,000,000 natives and colored folk in a subordination unequalled elsewhere in the world.

"To this we may add the fact that before the present war 73,000,000 Japanese ruled 80,000,000 peoples in Manchukuo, Formosa and other territories without giving them any decisive voice in their government. In France 38,000,000 whites rule 71,000,000 colored peoples in Africa and Asia. Portuguese with 7,000,000 rule 10,000,000 Africans and the United States of America rule 19,000,000 colored people in Alaska and the Philippines."

Moral Power May Be Affected

In essaying the need for effective international machinery to outlaw for all times imperialism and the seeds of bitterness breeding a World War III, Walter White warns (N.Y.Post, May 5)" If the San Francisco conference dodges the issue of freedom for colonial peoples and of colored populations in the United States, West Indies, South America and other parts of the world or if racial imperialism based on 'mandates' and 'protectorates' is perpetuated, the conferees here will merely lay the groundwork for a third and even more disastrous war instead of carving out a durable peace.

"This does not mean a world racial war, at least within measurable time. It will more likely mean a resumption of bitter struggle between the existing nations for air and sea trade routes, raw materials, manpower and spheres of influence, particularly in the colonies.

"That is why the adoption of an International Bill of Rights and the establishment of machinery to make it effective are a basic necessity before the San Francisco delegates. Such a Bill of Rights must be one of the instruments to revise concepts of race theories like Nazism which are almost as current in the United States and Great Britain as they were in Hitler's Germany."

Lynching

1946 saw eight Negro citizens of the United States die at the hands of lynching mobs. Two of the victims were women, while three wer veterans of World War II with overseas service. The NAACP feels duty bound to point out however, that although the lynching record shows eight victims, there is much evidence pointing to the fact that there actually have been many more. These lynchings, taking place in remote southern areas where the residents are terrorized into maintaining silence, are never reported in the press. The Association's investigators are now attempting to clear up the circumstances surrounding several of these "deaths from unknown causes" and it is feared that their findings will increase the 1946 lynching toll.

Lynching Record for 1946

July 20: Rupert's District, Taylor County, Georgia:
MACIO SNIPES, veteran, the only Negro to vote in the Georgia primary from Rupert's District, was shot and killed on the porch of his home by ten white men who pretended they had come to collect a $10 debt.

July 24: Lexington, Mississippi:
The lynching of LEON McTATIE, whose body was found by a Negro fisherman in a Sunflower County bayou, occured on or about July 24. McTatie had been accused of stealing a saddle, a fact later disproved. He was set upon and beaten by six white Mississippi farmers when he denied knowledge of the theft. Sheriff W. L. Murtagh said "it was evident" that McTatie had been thrown into the bayou from a car and that he was dead at the time. His attackers have been apprehended. They deny all knowledge of his death.

July 25: Monroe, Georgia:
ROGER MALCOLM, GEORGE DORSEY, a veteran, together with their wives, WILLIE MAE and DOROTHY, were dragged from a car and shot to death by an unmasked band of twenty white men. Loy Harrison, a well-to-do white tenant farmer who allegedly needed their labor on his farm drove to Monroe on July 25 with three of them to make bond for Roger Malcolm. Malcolm had been jailed in Monroe on a charge of stabbing his former employer, Barney Hester, during a quarrel which arose over the undue attention being paid Mrs. Malcolm by the latter. Malcolm's temporary release was obtained. As the five were returning to Harrison's farm they were halted by a mob. Harrison was held at gun point while the Negro couples were lined up and shot. The coroner reported that at least sixty bullets were used to riddle the victims. Their mutilated bodies, scarcely recognizable, were found sprawled beside a clump of bushes on a lonely road.

August 3: Gordon, Georgia: (NAACP INVESTIGATOR)
JOHN J. GILBERT, participant in unionizing activities of chalk mines, died of "gunshot at the hand of unknown parties" on the morning of August 3rd, about 500 yards from his home while on his regular route to work at 5:30 in the morning. It was rumored in Gordon that his death came as a result of making enemies among the whites by his union activity.

August 8: Minden, Louisiana:
JOHN C. JONES, 28, discharged veteran of European service was found dead two miles from Minden in Dorcheat Bayou. His body had been horribly beaten with "some flat object--such as a wide leather belt or a thick plank", his face and body burned with a blow torch so that his eyes were "popped" out of his head and his light complexion seared dark. His wrists were mutilated with a cleaver and he had been partially castrated. He and his 17 year old companion, Albert Harris, were turned over by the sheriff to a mob in two cars, containing white men and one woman, a few minutes after their release from Minden parish jail, where they had been confined a week for allegedly attempting to break into the house of a white woman who refused to press charges. Jones and Harris were driven to the bayou, where Jones was tortured and killed and Harris beaten and shot in the shoulder. Left for dead, Harris managed to escape, however. Jones, who had brought a German automatic from Europe, had been told by a white neighbor that he would get Jones' gun if he had to kill him to do it.

PRESS SERVICE OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

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FOR RELEASE - July 18, 1947

FLAWS REVEALED IN MASSACRE REPORTS

July 18, 1947

Brunswick, Ga., Jul 16th--Investigators from the Brunswick NAACP branch, working quietly in an attempt to assemble the actual facts leading up to the mass murder of seven Negro prisoners at the state prison camp near here, today indicated that they had uncovered several details of a rather sensational nature which varied considerably from reports already published on the Nation's latest anti-Negro outrage. Although a full report has not yet been completed by officials and attorneys of the branch, several facts which are considered highly authentic, have been relayed to NAACP national headquarters in New York City.

According to NAACP investigators, who were rushed to the death camp immediately following the shooting in which six prisoners were killed outright and seven seriously wounded, there had been no sit-down strike of prisoners as originally reported. The men had simply refused to go into the rattle-snake infested swamp waters without boots. They demanded a meeting with the warden where they could explain their objections but this demand was refused by armed guards who were in charge of the work gang. When the men refused to enter the swamp they were told to sit in the road while one of the guards returned to the camp to report the situation to the warden. Only two guards remained with the men who were perfectly aware of the fact that there were fifteen heavily armed guards back at the camp. It was pointed out to the investigators by one of the prisoners, that if an escape had been contemplated it would have been more feasable with only two guards over them than later, when they'd been returned to camp in trucks, under the guns of seventeen guards.

The trucks carrying the prisoners back to camp was followed by the warden, who requested county police who were met on the road, to follow the caravan.

The Negro prisoners were unloaded in front of the barracks where the warden ordered five prisoners to "step out". This the men refused to do when it was obvious to the tightly packed group that the warden was reeling drunk. The warden then ordered 'Pee Wee' Willie Bell to step out "because I'm going to kill you." When Bell refused this order the warden sent for some pick handles. A few minutes later the intoxicated warden spoke to County Police Chief Henderson, who got into his car and drove to Brunswick, sixteen miles away, returning with a sub-machine gun. During all of this time the prisoners made no attempts to escape.

When the police chief returned with the machine gun, the warden reeled into the packed prisoners "holding his pistol with both hands" to get Pee Wee. A few moments later the shooting began. The survivors insisted that the police took part in the shooting. This has been denied by the police. One investigator was certain that the machine gun had been used against the helpless prisoners.

C. M. Moore, president of the local NAACP branch, discussing the "shot while attempting to escape" massacre, stated, "We are not upholding wilfull law violators, but so many rumors have been circulated since this unfortunate affair, we feel that a full sifting of the incident should be made."

Published reports reaching the outside world from the death camp

(Continued)

gave a considerably different picture from the NAACP findings. One of the first versions appeared in a local paper where it was reported... "When Warden H. G. Worthy of State Highway Camp No. 18 strode into a group of unruly Negro convicts at about 4:30 o'clock yesterday afternoon, Willie Bell, a long-timer and reported trouble-maker lunged at him. The warden shot Bell with his pistol and immediately half a dozen other armed prison guards opened fire on the convicts with shotguns and pistols.

"A few seconds later the firing had ceased and five of the colored convicts lay dead, eight others were wounded, one dying during the night at the city hospital. Bell received only a minor wound in the leg.

"Witnesses said at the first shot by Warden Worthy, the prisoners broke in all directions, men scrambled under the nearby bunk house. Three of the dead Negros lay where they fell in front of the bunk house. Another was killed under the house and had to be dragged out, and the fifth managed to crawl under the house to a 10-foot wire fence on the other side. He was shot climbing the fence and fell dead on the outside.

"The wounded lay where they fell, some under the bunk house building, others sprawled in front of it. Fourteen of the group of 27 prisoners in the group were not hit by the bullets and crouched or lay still on the ground as guards rounded them up and herded them into the bunk house."

CONGRESS URGED TO PROBE
REAL ESTATE INTERESTS July 18, 1947

Washington, D.C., Jul 16th--The Washington Bureau NAACP asked the Congressional leaders to institute "a searching investigation of real estate and mortgage investment interests of this country." This request follows close on the heels of President Truman's message to Congress in which the real estate lobby was described as "one of the most stubborn obstacles in the way of any constructive housing program."

In letters to Senator Robert A. Taft, Chairman of the Republican Policy Committee, Senator Charles W. Tobey, Chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee, and Senator Alben W. Barkley, Democratic Minority Leader, the NAACP urged hearings on Senate Resolution 139. This resolution, introduced by Senator Glen H. Taylor (D., Utah), would authorize the Senate Banking and Currency Committee to spend up to fifty thousand dollars to completely investigate the activities and methods of real estate groups which have fought rent control and the construction of urgently needed homes for veterans and others.

The letters signed by Leslie Perry declared:

"The Congress should investigate not only the operations of the real estate lobby in Washington but should make a painstaking and searching inquiry into restrictive practices of real estate and mortgage investment interests nationally.

"The opposition of these groups to decent, unsegregated homes has been the greatest single factor in confining Negro citizens to the slums and ghettos. The result has been," Perry wrote, "that the Negro pays more for his home in relation to what he gets, a higher rate of interest, and has the least freedom of choice in buying and renting than any other group in America."

He referred to statements which came out of the 43rd annual convention of the New York State Association of Real Estate Boards held June 28 to the effect that many large investors refused to build moderate-rental housing projects for low income or white collar groups simply because New York City has an ordinance which prohibits condemnation benefits or tax exemptions to any project which discriminates against tenants solely because of race, color, or religion. The fact that the New York Association of Real Estate Boards also adopted a resolution opposing the enactment of local non-discrimination laws was called to the attention of the senators.

"In practically every other city and state in the United States," the letters continued, "these rapacious interests are able to manipulate the real estate market so as to effect wholesale discriminations against Negro home-seekers Now that they are no longer able to legally follow their usual undemocrat c practices in New York City, tney stage a sit-down strike.

(Continued)

"In the best interest of millions of American families of all races, colors, religions, and nationalities," the NAACP letters concluded, "we believe that the Congress should immediately inquire into the overall real estate situation."

ANTI-LYNCH DRIVE
LAUNCHED IN HOUSE July 18, 1947

Washington, D.C., Jul 16th--Following the introduction last week of Discharge Petition #9 on the Case Anti-Lynch Bill, H.R. 3488, the Washington Bureau NAACP launched a full-scale drive to secure the necessary 218 signatures to bring the bill to the House floor before the Congress adjourns for the summer.

NAACP officials said that there are more than a hundred members in the House today who had joined in signing a similar discharge petition during the 79th Congress. With the support of these members, together with the large number of newly-elected representatives, the NAACP is hopeful of getting speedy action on the bill.

In direct appeals to more than 200 legislators for action on the anti-lynch bill, the NAACP called on them to "help outlaw lynching by signing Discharge Petition #9."

No figures on the number of Congressmen who signed the petition during the first week have been made public, but it is understood that the response has been good.

JIM-CRO HOSPITAL
UNDER NAACP FIRE July 18, 1947

New York, Jul 17th--The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People restated its uncompromising opposition to any attempts to establish Jim-Crow veterans' hospitals today when Roy Wilkins, NAACP assistant secretary, notified Rep. Edith Nourse Rogers (R-Mass.) of the Association's stand.

In a message wired to the congresswoman, who is chairman of the House Veterans' Affairs Committee, Mr. Wilkins stated, "The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has noted in the press that the House Veterans' Affairs Committee has approved a bill to establish a hospital for Negro veterans in Franklin County, Virginia. We wish to reaffirm our opposition to the policy of setting up of hospitals for veterans segregated on the basis of color. The United States Army hospitals are on a non-segregated basis. The hospitals on the fighting fronts during wartime were non-segregated. If all men who fought and were wounded for their country during wartime could be treated without segregation surely our Government should not adopt a policy of separating them on the basis of color in veterans hospitals during peace time. We believe that such a policy nullifies the goal which the allied countries fought to achieve namely the destruction of the armies dedicated to the master race theory. We urge your Committee to reconsider its action and to disapprove any policy calling for the segregation of veterans on the basis of race and color."

UMT HEARINGS CLOSE,
ACTION PROTESTED July 18, 1947

Washington, D.C., Jul 17th--The NAACP, through its Secretary of Veterans' Affairs, Jesse O. Dedmon, requested permission to testify before the House Committee on Armed Services holding hearings on Universal Military Training, and upon being denied the right to be heard, the following telegram was sent to Representative W. G. Andrews, Chairman:

"Information received by National Association for the Advancement of Colored People that House Committee on Armed Services of which you are Chairman plans to close hearings on U.M.T. Bill without permitting our organization to appear before said Committee. Our organization made request to appear before this Committee and testify against this most vital piece of legislation and said request has not been acknowledged by your office or Committee. We strongly urge that before your Committee stops hearings on this piece of legislation that our organization be permitted to testify."

SOUTH CAROLINA JUDGES
OPINION HAILED BY NAACP

July 18, 1947

New York, Jul 17th--With editorial comment in the Nation's press, following the recent NAACP victory over South Carolina's Democratic Primaries sleight-of-hand attempt, running the gamut of optimistic applause in the liberal publications to outraged warnings of "social revolution" in Southern journals, NAACP officials were generally agreed that the opinion handed down by Federal Judge J. Waties Waring, of Charleston, S.C., completely exposed bigoted Southern attempts to uphold the theory of white supremacy in a democracy while at the same time it effectively blocked any further attempts to evade the 1946 decision of the U. S. Supreme Court in respect to the so-called Democratic 'White Primaries'. In another opinion Judge Waring aroused the ire of white supremacists when he ruled that South Carolina must admit Negroes to its University Law School unless a separate law school with equal facilities be set up by September. Both cases were brought into the South Carolina courts by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Although the Charleston News and Courier in a series of alarmed editorials warned that the "fundamental rights of all American citizens under the guise of helping a few" were destroyed when Judge Waring ruled that the South Carolina Democratic "club" could not prohibit citizens the right to vote because of race or color, his opinion is considered remarkably democratic. In one section the Federal judge labels hypocrisy when he states..."And so we are faced with the final decision as to whether or not the present Democratic Pary of South Carolina, because it is no longer governed by State statutes, is a private organization and (as was said in argument) must be treated as a private, business or social club, with which the State and National Governments have no concern; or is it after all the determining body in the choice of National and State officers in South Carolina, or to use the old homely illustration, is it the same horse although of a somewhat different color?"

In another section Judge Waring continued..."In these United States the time has passed for a discussion of whether we should have universal suffrage, irrespective of our views as to its desirability. The Constitution and laws of the United States provide for it and forbid discrimination because of race or creed. A free ballot to be freely exercised by all the citizens is the established American way of government."

Completely exposing the bigotry of his section of the nation Judge Waring stated in conclusion..."Since the Classic case Negroes are voting in the Louisiana Primaries. Since Smith vs. Allwright, Negroes are voting in Texas, and even in Georgia since Chapman vs. King Negroes vote in the Democratic Primaries. I cannot see where the skies will fall if South Carolina is put in the same class with these and other states.

To - Dr. Charles S. Johnson with friendly greetings - Oakley C. Johnson

Law Enforcement of Penalties by Law

Oakley C. Johnson
3564 Virgil Blvd.
New Orleans 22, La.

IS THE PUNISHMENT OF RAPE EQUALLY ADMINISTERED TO NEGROES AND WHITES IN THE STATE OF LOUISIANA? *

A Study by Oakley C. Johnson

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For convenience, this Study is presented under five heads, as follows:

Exhibit I. Statistical: The official figures of executions in Louisiana for rape from 1900 to 1950; and some data from old prison records (1866 to 1889) at the Louisiana State Penitentiary, Angola, La., for comparison. The question posed.

Exhibit II. Legal: Territorial and state laws; pre-Civil War laws; the Black Code; later statutes.

Exhibit III. The Constitutions of Louisiana, territorial, pre-Civil War, Reconstruction, post-Reconstruction.

Exhibit IV. The Social Background in this State with respect to segregation of races, lynching, police brutality.

Exhibit V. The Special Category implicitly reserved for white rapists. Reply to the question posed in Exhibit 1.

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* Prepared for Attorney Louis Berry, and for Attorneys Alvin B. Jones and Leroy White, in cooperation with the Louisiana Civil Rights Congress. Occasion for this Study was the case of Paul Washington, Jefferson Parish, La., 24-year-old World War 11 veteran, sentenced to die in the electric chair for alleged rape committed March 15, 1948. He was arrested shortly after his discharge from the Army after 21 months overseas, and has been confined in the death cell of the Jefferson Parish jail in Gretna, La., since that time. Washington maintains his innocence...Not only did Paul Washington fight in World War 11, but his five brothers also--every one of them!--served in the armed forces...His wife, Velma, and his 3-year-old daughter, Ella Mae (born two weeks after he was jailed), staunchly defend him...Velma Washington's brother Leonard was lynched in 1941.

JUN 7 1951

EXHIBIT I. Crime Statistics

According to the census of 1940, the population of Louisiana was 2,363,880, including 849,303 Negroes, the latter constituting 35.9% of the total.[1] While we cannot draw from population statistics exact mathematical conclusions about the extent of crime in any section of the population, we are nevertheless justified in assuming that, by and large, the proportion of crime among whites and Negroes, and the corresponding punishments, would roughly correspond to their proportion of the population. This would be modified by the relative social conditions of the two groups, and perhaps other factors; but if Negroes constitute 35.9% of the population, they would commit a not too disproportionate share of the crimes perpetrated, and would receive a not too disproportionate share of the punishments therefor.

In the attached list of persons punished for rape in this state for the years 1900 to 1950, inclusive--a full half-century--there have been, according to the records in the office of the Secretary of State at Baton Rouge,

1) The 1950 census gives Louisiana a total population of 2,683,516, but there is no breakdown into racial categories. That is why the 1940 census figures are used here. There is no reason to suppose that the percentages in the recent census would differ materially from the 1940 census.

exactly 39 executions for rape (hanging up to 1941; electrocution thereafter). Of those put to death, all but two have been Negro. One white man, who confessed to the rape of a 17-year-old white girl who had been crippled from birth, was a railroad worker, Thomas Brady, not a native of Louisiana, and was hanged in 1906; the other white man was a foreigner, Lazar Mehogrvich, hanged in 1907 for the rape of a white woman. Since 1907, a period of 43 years, not one white rapist has been put to death, though 29 Negroes have been.

Of the convicted rapists sentenced to death whose sentence was commuted to life imprisonment, two white men--one-half of all the white rapists sentenced to death--had their death sentences commuted to life imprisonment. It is very difficult to secure commutation for a Negro convicted of rape: The 17-year-old Negro boy, Lewis Young, in the parish of St. John the Baptist, was hanged on October 11,1907,regardless of his youth. Furthermore, the punishment for "aggravated rape" is meted out no matter how supposititious the charge: Sam Wright, a Negro, was hanged in 1900 for "Breaking and entering in the night time,and with a dangerous weapon, and assault with intent to commit rape;" and Bob Burton, also a Negro, was hanged in 1905 for "Breaking and entering dwelling house in night time with intent to commit rape." Similarly with George Stewart (1907), Tobe Stevens (1908), Emanuel Johnson (1909), Henry Slaughter (1914), Jimmie Johnson (1929).

In addition to the number of Negroes officially put to death by the State of Louisiana, there were three others put to death in this state by the United States Government, during World War 11, in 1942: Corporal John Walter Bordenave, 29; Private Lawrence Mitchell, 18; and Private Richard Philip Adams, 25. They are added to the total in the attached list because their punishment took place on Louisiana soil and by means of the state's portable electric chair, loaned for the purpose. These three make a total of 40 Negroes put to death for rape in this state since 1900, as compared to 2 white men.

The QUESTION is: Can we find an explanation for this surprising difference by studying the legal, constitutional, and social history of this state?

Addendum: Following the table of executions for rape during 1900-1950 is a selection of old rape records from the period 1866-1889 of the Louisiana State Penitentiary at Angola, La.. The following facts are clear from an examination of these old records:

1) From Civil War days until the consolidation of white political control, punishment for rape was imprisonment only, never death; pardoning was frequent; and a differentiation was made between "rape" and "intent to rape".

2) Race differences were noted for the purpose of description, but had not yet hardened into caste differences. 3) After the solidification of white rule politically, the setting up of the death penalty for rape gave opportunity to return to virtual implied re-enactment of the Black Code with its differentiation between punishment for whites and punishment for Negroes.

WHITES Convicted of Rape & Sentenced to Death

(From recorded death warrants in the office of the Secretary of State at Baton Rouge)

NAME	PARISH	DATE SET FOR EXECUTION	COMMUTED
James Hebert alias Frederick Hebert	Cameron	9/11/1903 (Not hanged)	10/27/1903 Life imprisonment
Thomas Brady alias Thomas C. Braden	Rapides	Hanged 12/7/1906	
Lazar Mehogrvich alias George Norris	Orleans	Hanged 8/9/1907	
William Braxton	Beauregard	6/14/1918 (Not Hanged)	6/14/1918 Life imprisonment

Total Number of Whites

Executed: 2 Commuted: 2

NEGROES Convicted of Rape & Sentenced to Death

(From recorded death warrants in the office of the Secretary of State in Baton Rouge)

NAME	PARISH	DATE SET FOR EXECUTION	COMMUTED
Sam Wright	Jefferson	Hanged 2/9/1900	
Will Farmer	Caddo	Hanged 9/7/1900 (After one reprieve)	
Moses D. Lewis	Orleans	Hanged 9/23/1904	
Amos Holmes alias Oliver Holmes	Iberia	Hanged 7/7/1905	
William Young	Richland	Hanged 5/11/1906	
Bob Burton	Lincoln	Hanged 8/4/1905	
Ed Williams	Ascension	Hanged 2/2/1906	
George Stewart alias Montgomery	St. Tammany	Hanged 7/19/1907	
Lewis Young	St.John the Baptist	Hanged 10/11/1907	
Tobe Stevens	Calcasieu	Hanged 4/24/1908	
Charles Madison	Calcasieu	Hanged 3/5/1909	
Squire Hawkins	Rapides	10/15/1909 (Not Hanged)	11/9/1909 Life Imprisonment
Emanuel Johnson	Vermilion	Hanged 10/8/1909	
Bud Davis	Ouachita	Hanged 12/17/1909	
Henry Slaughter	Allen	Hanged 10/2/1914 (After one reprieve)	
George Cotton	Calcasieu	Hanged 11/6/1914	
Peter Bouy	Avoyelles	Hanged 12/17/1915	

NAME	PARISH	DATE SET FOR EXECUTION	COMMUTED
Summa Levine	Vermilion	Hanged 11/2/1917	
Preston Miles	West Feliciana	Hanged 6/28/1918	
Lucius Brown	Terrebonne	Hanged 8/8/1919	
Arthur Williams	Rapides	12/24/1920 (Not Hanged)	10/26/1920 Life imprisonment
Laodis Lincoln	Vermilion	Hanged 2/25/1921	
Gus Bracy	Vernon	Hanged 4/22/1921	
Willie Johnson alias Willie Kelly	Orleans	Hanged 8/6/1926	
Jimmie Johnson	Natchitoches	Hanged 7/26/1929	
Edward McKay	Orleans	Hanged 10/4/1929	
William Irwin Virgeto	Orleans	Hanged 10/4/1929	
Henry Wilson	Richland	Hanged 1/3/1930	
John Henry Lee alias Buddy Lee	Catahoula	Hanged 1/29/1932	
Jim Edwards	Jefferson Davis	1/29/32 (Not Hanged)	1/21/1932 Imprisonment Hospital for Criminal Insane
Levi Hicks	East Baton Rouge	Hanged 10/19/1934	
Dave Johnson	East Baton Rouge	Hanged 3/31/1939	
Willie Larkin	Madison	Electrocuted 9/9/1942	
William Hamilton	Caddo	Electrocuted 12/3/1942	
Anthony Wilson	Orleans	Electrocuted 3/6/1944	

NAME	PARISH	DATE SET FOR EXECUTION	COMMUTED
William Ayers	Winn	Electrocuted 6/28/1946	
Jesse Perkins	East Baton Rouge	Electrocuted 7/18/1947	
Edward Spriggs, Jr.	Iberville	Electrocuted 6/25/1948	
L.C. Loyd ,	Tangipahoa	To have been Electrocuted 3/11/1949 (Found dead in cell, a supposed suicide)	
Edward Sanford	East Baton Rouge	Electrocuted 12/1/1950	

Total Number of Negroes

Executed: 37 Commuted 3

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Corporal John Walter Bordenave, 29	New Orleans, La.	Electrocuted 10/30/1942 (At U.S. Army camp)
Private Richard Philip Adams, 25	Columbus, Ohio	Electrocuted 10/30/1942 (At U.S. Army camp)
Private Lawrence Mitchell, 18	Baldwin, Mich.	Electrocuted 10/30/1942 (At U.S. Army camp)

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Total Number of Negroes

Executed in Louisiana

during 1900-1950

for alleged rape: 40

SUPPLEMENT from old Angola Prison Records: Notes from the "Register of Convicts Received" from Feb. 13, 1866, to Dec. 29, 1889, listing 9,073 Convicts.

Following are only a selection of typical rape cases, taken first from 1866-7, then from 1876, then from 1885, and finally from 1889 (omitting the intervening years). The crime is either "rape" (not labeled in this list) or "Assault with intent to commit rape". Note difference in punishment between the two.

NAME	DESCRIPTION	DATE SENTENCED & PUNISHMENT	PARDONED
Jesse Wiley	Black	11/9/1866-Life	5/5/1873
Edward Hague	Black	12/10/1866-2 yrs. ("Assault with intent")	
Theodore Coppersmith	Fair	7/22/1867-Life	4/25/1871
Thomas May	Fair	7/22/1867-Life	7/25/1871
Adolph Withman	Fair	7/22/1867-Life	7/25/1871
Henry Graham	Black	1/29/1868-Life	3/8/1884
Henry Clay	"Grieffe"	3/9/1868-Life	3/8/1878

.....

Nicholas Anderson	Mulatto	6/2/1876-2 yrs. ("Assault with intent")	
Owen Scott	Black	6/4/1876-Life	
Paul Charles	"Dk. Mulatto"	6/16/1876-2 yrs. ("Assault with intent")	
William Alonzo	Black	6/20/1876-2 yrs. ("Assault with intent")	

.....

NAME	DESCRIPTION	DATE SENTENCED & PUNISHMENT	PARDONED
John Jones alias Jack Jones	Black	4/30/1885-Life	6/19/1891
Henry Williams	Black	5/5/1885-1 year ("Assault with intent")	
Julien Moses	Black	6/19/1885-6 months ("Assault with intent")	
John Baptiste	Black	6/19/1885-Life	
Young McIver	Black	8/14/1885-10 years	2/25/1893

.....

William Josephine	Black	3/15/1889-6 yrs/1 mo. ("Assault with intent")	2/15/1891
Charles Alexander	"Dk Griff"	4/13/1889-Life	9/30/1899
Frank Reed	Mulatto	10/20/1889-2 yrs. ("Assault with intent")	
Pat Scott	"Dk. Griff"	10/20/1889-2 yrs. ("Assault with intent")	
Henry Stokes	Fair	11/2/1889-2 yrs. ("Assault with intent")	
Henry Miller	Black	12/14/1889-1 yr. ("Assault with intent")	
William Johnson	Black	12/14/1889-2 yrs. ("Assault with intent")	

.....

EXHIBIT II. LEGAL HISTORY

The present statutes defining and providing for the punishment of rape have a long legal history. On the surface, they provide uniform punishment for aggravated rape; simple rape; and "carnal knowledge of a juvenile" who is more than 12 and less than 17. But there was once a code for the punishment of Negro slaves which was different from that for the punishment of whites; today, the careful classification of "rape" as "aggravated" for Negro offenders and "simple" -- or merely "carnal knowledge" --for white offenders provides the mechanism for carrying on what was formerly explicitly provided by law, namely, the inflicting of severer penalties on black men than on white. Verbally, the laws have changed; but the old practice of differential punishments, having become well established for more than a century, now continues under the disguise of verbal equality.

Louisiana as a colony was at various times under French and Spanish domination, and these colonial regimes have left legal imprints on the law of this state. Louisiana was discovered first by the Spanish in 1541 but settled by the French around 1682, and Negro slaves were imported on or before 1719. By 1724, Louisiana had its Black Code, set up by Governor Jean Baptiste le Moyne de Bienville. Louisiana became a territory of the United States in 1805 and a state in 1812, but it kept its Black Code.

In Orleans Laws, 1804-05, and the Acts of Louisiana, 1806-07 (Louisiana State Law Library), we have the "Acts passed at the First Session of the Legislative Council of the Territory of

Orleans," which provide for the punishment of rape: "every person ...duly convicted of any manner of rape" shall suffer "imprisonment at hard labor for life," and any accessory to this crime shall "suffer the same kind of punishment" as the "principal offender." (Pp. 416-454, Chapter 50, An Act for the Punishment of Crimes and Misdemeanors.) Section 33 provides that procedure be "according to and in conformity with the common law of England." (My emphasis.-OCJ.) But Section 47 of this same Act (P. 450) specifically states "That nothing herein before contained shall be construed to extend to any slave or slaves, but that every slave accused of any crime shall be punished according to the laws of Spain for regulating her colonies." (My emphasis.-OCJ.)

The Acts of Louisiana, 1806-07, Chapter 33, P. 150, contain what is called the "Black Code, An Act Prescribing the rules and conduct to be observed with respect to Negroes and other Slaves of this Territory." Section 18 of this Act declares "That the condition of a slave being merely a passive one, his subordination to his master and to all who represent him is not susceptible of any modification or restriction." The slave "owes to his master, and to all his family, a respect without bounds, and an absolute obedience."

The Laws of Spain used in Louisiana Colony were translated and codified in Lislet and Carleton's Partidas, Vol. I and Vol. II, 1820 (Louisiana State Law Library), and contain that portion of La Siete Partidas "considered as having the force of law in Louisiana." In Title 2, Law 8, p. 30, we learn that "a slave cannot legally appear in court, as he has no control over himself, but is under the domination of his master, who is above

him." The master "may chastise him by words or blows." In Title 21, Law 6, p. 584, we learn that the master ought not to kill a slave or "cause him to perish by hunger, unless he has found him with his wife, or daughter, or had committed some other similar offense; for then he may kill the slave." (My emphasis.OCJ)

After Louisiana became a state, the provision is put into Article 7, Section 4, of the first state constitution[2] that "All laws now in force in this territory, not inconsistent with this constitution, shall continue and remain in full effect until repealed by the Legislature." The Black Code was not repealed, but remained "in full effect." On March 9, 1827, for example, in the Acts of Louisiana, 1825-27 (Louisiana State Law Library), we find an Act is passed "to amend the thirty-eighth article of the Black Code."

It is particularly notable that Section 40 of the Black Code (Acts of Louisiana, 1806-07, page 188) states: "That free people of colour ought never to insult or strike white people, nor presume to conceive themselves equal to the white; but on the contrary that they ought to yield to them in every occasion, and never speak or answer to them but with respect, under the penalty of imprisonment according to the nature of the offence." This has the very plain meaning that even free Negroes were subject to the Black Code and that they constituted a type of inhabitant midway between Negro slaves and free whites. It is worth noting today, in the 20th century, that the entire Negro people in Louisiana are "free people of colour," and, in

2) The state constitution of that time is given in Acts of Louisiana, 1828-30, Louisiana State Law Library.

the view of those who inherit the Black Code state of mind, are to be punished in a different way if convicted of crime.

Following the Civil War, as shown in Acts of Louisiana, 1869-70, pp. 49-51 (Louisiana State Law Library), a new statute provided that rape and other crimes should be punished by imprisonment "at hard labor not exceeding two years nor less than six months, and fined not exceeding two thousand dollars nor less than $500, at the discretion of the court." It was under such a rather liberal statute, and later ones, that the sentences were meted out to the inmates of Angola penitentiary in the examples given previously from the years 1866 to 1889.

When political domination was "restored" to whites after the Rutherford B. Hayes election in 1876, the Black Code was quietly put back into operation in all but name. As the editor of the Louisiana Almanac and Fact Book, 1949-1950, puts it, "Fortunately for the whites and home rule, the Federal troops did not come to the aid of the Radicals as they had before. A sort of bargain between the forces of presidential candidate Hayes (who needed the Louisiana electoral vote to defeat his opponent Tilden) and the state's conservatives," resulted in Hayes backing the white supremacist politicians in Louisiana. "Reconstruction was over," continues the Louisiana Almanac and Fact Book. "...A strong court system was also provided to prevent a repetition of the disregard for law which characterized the previous decade," that is, to prevent the disregard for the Black Code which was thenceforth to be the

unwritten constitution of Louisiana courts of justice.

The way Louisiana law became twisted to suit the descendants of slaveholders is very interesting. Jefferson Davis, head of the Confederacy, found New Orleans a congenial place to settle in after his rebellion was defeated; he lived here until his death in 1889, and doubtless was happy that white political rule was set up before his passing. It was a former Confederate general, Francis Tillou Nicholls, who became governor of Louisiana in 1876 when President Hayes made the "sort of bargain" spoken of above. Thomas J. Semmes, a New Orleans lawyer who before the Civil War was an Attorney General of Louisiana, and who-- according to Dr. Mitchell Franklin[3] --was the theorist of Secessionism, settled down after the Civil War to practice law in New Orleans in his own white supremacist way, and eventually became president of the American Bar Association. And Judge John A. Campbell, who while on the U.S. Supreme Court before the Civil War concurred in the Dred Scott decision, devoted himself after the War, as a New Orleans lawyer and jurist, to partially successful efforts to nullify the 14th Amendment.

The career of Alabama-born Judge Campbell is traced in Dr. Mitchell Franklin's article, "The Foundations and Meaning of the Slaughterhouse Cases."[4] Campbell left his U.S. Supreme Court job to support the seceding slave-holding Confederacy,

W. R. Irby

3) Dr. Mitchell Franklin is professor of [redacted] law at Tulane University

4) Tulane Law Review, October & December, 1943 (Vol. XVlll, Nos. 1 & 2). Quotes are from the December, 1943 issue, pp. 227, 229, 237, 245

17. and, like Jefferson Davis, found after the Civil War that New Orleans was a congenial place to live. As the article states, "The task of John A. Campbell...was to overcome the defeat suffered by the southern slaveholders in the Civil War." Campbell attempted "to overcome the 14th Amendment by veering it about to the advantage of the defeated South." Dr. Franklin points out, in discussing the legal controversy over the Slaughterhouse monopoly: "At the very moment Campbell was contending in the Louisiana courts that the 14th Amendment had the broadest possible meaning and hence protected the rights of the anti-monopolists of pursuing their calling, he was also defending the right of a New Orleans theatre to segregate Negro opera-goers, despite a statute of Louisiana which then forbade that form of racial discrimination."

Dr. Franklin points out that the 14th Amendment, which he describes as the "sleeping giant" of the United States Constitution, was in effect put to sleep by the legal trickeries of such ex-Confederate pro-Slavery jurists as Judge Campbell, who not only led Louisiana law in the direction of separate but unequal justice for the Negro but also inspired to a great extent federal coyness in enforcement of the 14th Amendment.

EXHIBIT III. Constitutional History

Louisiana has had nine different constitutions in its history, and what they contain--and what they leave out--explain in part the continued existence of the Black Code as Louisiana's underground constitution.

Huey P. Long, Louisiana's cleverest demagogue, published the texts of all nine of Louisiana's constitutions, so arranged that the reader can compare them article by article, in his Compilation of the Constitutions of the State of Louisiana, 1930. Particularly interesting are the first constitution, that of 1812; the fifth constitution, adopted in 1868, which was the first and last state constitution to contain the full Bill of Rights; the sixth constitution, adopted in 1879 under the leadership of the Ku Klux Klan forces who deleted the most vital parts of the Bill of Rights; and the latest constitution, that of 1921, which is a polished version of the original KKK constitution.

Huey P. Long knew the meaning of the various constitutions. "The Bill of Rights first found its way into the Constitution of Louisiana after the Civil War," he wrote, in his introduction, "in the Constitution of 1868. It was after human slavery had been abolished that the Louisiana Constitution contained certain lines of the Declaration of Independence, reading: 'All men are created free and equal, have certain inalienable rights; among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. To secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.'"

Long continued: "But when the white Southern manhood gained the upper hand in the control of the State's affairs, and convoked the Constitutional Convention of 1879, the lines of Jefferson, in the bill of rights, were changed for words otherwise considered more appropriate and certain for the causes and purposes intended and desired." It is perfectly clear what "purposes" were "intended and desired."

The 1868 Constitution provided, in Article 13, that public conveyances, and places of business and public resort, "shall be opened to the accommodation and patronage of all persons, without distinction or discrimination on account of race or color." This article was taken out of later Louisiana constitutions.

The 1868 Constitution also provided that all children of the state should be admitted to the public schools or institutions of learning "without distinction of race, color, or preious condition." It added: "There shall be no separate schools or institutions of learning, established exclusively for any race by the State of Louisiana."

In place of this we now have, in the 1921 Constitution, Article 12, a provision that "Separate free public schools shall be maintained for the education of white and colored children between the ages of six and eighteen years."

Among the "purposes...intended and desired" by the 1879 Constitution was that of neutralizing and reducing the Negro vote and depriving Negroes of any share in the government.

The constitution of 1898 carried the plan further by introducing the "Grandfather Clause" which for a couple of generations destroyed every Negro citizen's right to vote, or to hold office.

But most effective of all was the tight control of the courts of justice put into the hands of anti-democratic white reactionaries. This was the Black Code, wearing a cloak of invisibility but as powerful as it ever was in pre-Emancipation days.

The chronology of the march of white supremacy and unequal justice may be indicated as follows: In 1876 the unholy alliance of President Hayes and Southern white reactionaries was consummated; immediately began the consolidation of white political power, culminating in the 1879 constitution which in effect nullified the Bill of Rights and the 13th and 14th Amendments; in 1892, the statute providing death as a punishment for "aggravated rape" (i.e.,in practice, of white women and Negro men) went into effect; in 1894, intermarriage between Negroes and whites was prohibited by statute; in 1898, the "grandfather clause" was put into the sonstitution; in 1921, segregation in education,already in effect, was put into the constitution; in 1942, "miscegenation" was defined so as to emphasize the 1894 statute on intermarriage and further facilitate differential punishment for rape.

It is contended here that this development is incompatible with federal constitutional and legal provisions for equal justice; that it is a violation of these provisions; and that persons affected by this violation suffer denial of Constitutional and legal rights.

EXHIBIT LV. Social History

It was in 1867 that the Knights of the White Camelia, an organization to enforce white supremacy, was formed at Franklin, Louisiana, and in 1874 that a similar organization, the White League, was formed at Opelousas, Louisiana. These groups had virtual private armies which fought the Reconstruction government forces and-- with the backing of President Hayes-- defeated the government and set up a "white man's" rule in the state, which exists to this day. The cornerstone of white supremacy is segregation of the races.

Segregation: Since the end of the Reconstruction period and the adoption of the KKK-sponsored Constitution of 1879, segregation of the white and black races has been the law in this state, enforced by constitutional provision, legislative statute, and local regulation, requiring separate schools, separate restaurants, separate toilets and drinking fountains in public buildings, separate seating in trains and buses. In addition, marriage and even co-habitation of Negroes and whites is forbidden by statute.

This separation has made easy the almost complete denial of the vote and of public office to the entire Negro people in this state, 35.9% of the population. The virtual denial of the vote and of public office carries with it the virtual denial of the right to sit on juries, and

hence the virtual denial to a Negro defendant of the right of trial by a jury of his peers. It is a serious question whether <u>any</u> trial of a Negro for crime in the prevailing mil ieu of this state could be considered a fair trial.

<u>Lynching</u>: No people can be held down undemocratically through use of democratic political forms except through terroristic tactics, and this is the raison d'etre for lynching. Louisiana members of Congress have steadily opposed anti-lynching legislation. In Lousiana 335 recorded lynchings of Negroes took place between 1882 and 1948, a period of 66 years; a quarter of these lynchings were due to allegations of rape. It is a serious question whether <u>any</u> trial of a Negro for crime by a state which has permitted 335 lynchings of Negroes in 66 years can be considered fair. It is apparent that the 335 Louisiana extra-legal killings of Negroes and the 40 Louisiana legal executions for "rape" are both parts of a system of Black Code justice quite out of keeping with the Federal Constitution and Federal civil rights.

<u>Police Brutality</u>: A natural result of segregation and of white supremacy is police brutality exercised primarily against Negroes, particularly those arrested and charged with crime. Negro newspapers have spoken out against police brutality time and time again.

In its issue of June 19, 1926, the <u>Louisiana Weekly</u> editorialized under the title of "Bullies in Uniform": "Two

New Orleans policemen arrest Negro woman in her home, drag her half-dressed from bed, beat her to pulp and throw her in jail without medical attention." In the issue of December 7, 1929, under the title, "Police Brutality", the same paper said editorially: "Time after time the Louisiana Weekly has called the attention of the authorities to the fact that patrolmen oftimes use Negro suspects and prisoners with utter contempt, treating them worse than one would a stray mongrel dog. Beat them like they were something inanimate." Ten years later, February 11, 1939, under the heading, "No Excuse for Police Brutality," the same paper declared: "Once again New Orleans Negroes and those of human hearts belonging to other races are caught in a dragnet of fear at the animal-like savagery with which Negroes so unfortunate as to be caught in the toils of the law or the long arm of policemen, are being treated. Almost daily, stories of horrible examples of what physical brutality the sworn protectors of the law wreak upon hapless, helpless individuals are brought before the public which, however skeptical, cannot refute the evidence as offered by men's bruised and scarred bodies."

And in the current period, May 13, 1950, right after the election of the Mayor and city officials of New Orleans, the Louisiana Weekly warned editorially: "The members of the Commission should know that Negroes will expect them to be concerned about their welfare during the next four years as they were about the votes in January. ...Should know that Negroes are alarmed and displeased at the readiness of local

police to use their clubs and their pistols, frequently without provocation....Negroes do not expect this coroner to find citizens to have died from 'natural causes' where undertakers and private physicians find such persons have been shot through the head or the back." And the paper adds, ironically, in another editorial two months later in a comment on "Those Police Investigations" (July 29, 1950): "If there is anything that is a greater farce than the police department's investigation of its police, we would like to know..."

In a sharply worded editorial August 12, 1950, the Louisiana Weekly indicates the connection between police brutality and Black Code mentality by saying: "Last week we published an excerpt from a letter written over the signature of Criminal Sheriff Grosch. In this letter Mr. Grosch advises his readers that: 'I recently chartered the John J. Grosch Democratic Organization, a political and civil organization. The organization is organized principally to further the cause of white supremacy.'"

The Negro press is right in seeing a connection between segregation and white supremacy on the one hand, and police brutality on the other, and right to see a connection between both and those rape trials in which the death sentence is reserved for Negroes.

As implied in the May 13, 1950, editorial quoted above, police in this state carry brutality to the point of killing

at the slightest provocation, and sometimes with no provocation at all. Attention is called to the shooting of Roy Cyril Brooks by Patrolman Alvin Bladsacker in Gretna on February 27, 1948; the killing, before his father's eyes, of the young veteran, Chrispin Charles, in New Orleans, July 4, 1949, by New Orleans policemen Sahuc and Landry; the beating to death of war veteran Eugene Jones by West Bank police in the early morning of Saturday, November 5, 1949, as the man lay handcuffed in a Gretna jail cell; the shooting to death of Eugene Johnson, 24, on So. Rampart St., New Orleans, December 27, 1948, by Officer David Mark of the New Orleans police force; and the shooting and severe wounding by Deputy Sheriff Anthony J. Licciardi, St. Bernard Parish, of U.S. Army Pvt. Matthew Peterson, Jr., as he lay in bed in Meraux, La., on March 8, 1951.

These examples are taken from New Orleans and vicinity, and New Orleans is without doubt the most enlightened and most nearly democratic place in the state. When one goes to those many parishes where not one single Negro dares register to vote, he will find still worse conditions.

It is a serious question whether <u>any</u> trial of a Negro for crime can be considered fair when those who make the arrests, collect the evidence, and keep suspects confined are guilty of so much brutality in the exercise of their routine duties.

EXHIBIT V. Special Category for White Rapists

Very interesting are the comparative facts about the punishment of Negroes accused of rape and of white rapists, particularly white rapists of Negro women or Negro girls.

John E. Rousseau in the Pittsburgh Courier (Louisiana Edition) of March 10, 1951, presents a comparative study of two contemporary rape cases, one in which a Negro rapes a white girl baby-sitter of 13 years of age, and another in which a white man rapes a Negro girl baby-sitter 12 years of age. The Negro, Walter Bentley, 28, of 2013 Marigny St., New Orleans, was found guilty on February 19, 1951, of "aggravated rape" (Article 42), and has been sentenced to death in the electric chair. The white man, Steve Cangelosi, 36, of 228 Brooklyn St., in Jefferson Parish, who pleaded guilty, was sentenced October 27, 1949, for "carnal knowledge of a minor" (Article 80) to one year in the Parish prison.

In opening his article on these two typical cases, Mr. Rousseau asks: "Is Article 42 of the Louisiana Criminal Code designed to protect all females in this state, or does it protect only those females who are members of the white race?" The answer lies not only in the obvious practice of the courts, but in the concealed Black Code which is designed to follow up the segregation of Negroes from whites with the dealing out to Negroes of a separate kind of justice.

The Bentley-Cangelosi contrast is not an isolated example, but it is an unusually public one. There are scores of other more or less hidden instances that, with effort, could be brought to light.

Statutes on intermarriage have further emphasized the survival of slave regulations. In 1825, under slavery, not only was marriage between free persons and slaves forbidden, but also marriage "between free white persons and free persons of color" (Art. 95, Civil Code, 1825). This provision was repealed during Reconstruction, but in 1894, with the revival of white man's rule, a statute (Act 54 of 1894, amending Art. 94, Revised Civil Code, 1870) forbade marriage "between white persons and persons of color." In 1942 (No. 43, Art. 79), this rule was strengthened by defining "miscegenation" as "marriage or habitual co-habitation, with knowledge of their difference in race, between a person of the Caucasian or white race and a person of the colored or Negro race" (Dart's Louisiana Code of Criminal Law & Procedure, 740-79). The 1942 statute thus illegalizes interracial "co-habitation" (common law marriage) as well as formal marriage, that is, it makes any kind of sex relationship between whites and Negroes--with emphasis on white women and Negro men--a <u>criminal offense</u>.

This limitation of marriage provided a new gimmick for carrying out the original White League plan of Black Code justice. It meant that, while a sex relation of a white

man with a white woman could be either voluntary or at the worst simple rape, and of a white man with a Negro woman "probably" voluntary but sometimes simple rape, a sex relation of a Negro man with a white woman had no legal standing at all: it must be, in practice and in logic, aggravated rape. The gimmick thus provided a concealed legal foundation for the Special Category of White Rapists, virtually guaranteeing that in practice a white rapist would not receive the death penalty.

The hidden Black Code is the theoretical basis for an unequal administration of justice in Louisiana. The explanation of a ratio of 40 death sentences for rape by 35.9% of the population, during a half-century, to 2 death sentences for that crime by the remaining 64.1%, lies in the Black Code mentality of Louisiana courts and government.

The former legal differentiation between punishment of white criminals and punishment of Negro criminals, which existed in pre-Civil War days, established a practice of unequal justice; this practice was re-established and continued with the setting up of post-Reconstruction "white man's rule"; the practice of unequal administration of the criminal statutes, particularly that providing for the punishment of rape, backed and protected as it is by the segregation and political subjugation of the Negro people in this state, and facilitated by legal and constitutional ambiguities, still continues in all state and local courts.

8/12

THE TROUBLE WITH JOHNNY

TIME: 20 minutes
CAST: 6 or more characters

* * *

Through Johnny's bitter experience, a school group learns that it is each student's responsibility to practice democracy in daily living.

* * *

For additional copies of this play, write to:

Southern Regional Office
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
11 Pryor Street, S.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

"THE TROUBLE WITH JOHNNY"

*

A Play in Two Scenes

CAST:

JOHNNY
JOAN
BOB
GEORGE
MISS REYNOLDS, the principal
MISS SMITH, Miss Reynolds' secretary
FOUR GIRLS
FOUR BOYS

This play is designed for presentation either in an auditorium or in a classroom. Though two scenes are called for, they require only the simplest of properties and may be adapted easily for performance with the most limited stage facilities. A change of scene will, of course, offer no problem at all if the play is produced on the stage of the school auditorium. If presented in an ordinary classroom, however, the absence of a curtain may make the change an awkward business; continuity of the play will undoubtedly suffer if scenery has to be moved about in full view of the audience. To avoid this, it is suggested that, space permitting, both the front and rear of the classroom be utilized for playing space. The first scene can be played in the front of the classroom; when the scene changes, the audience can simply turn around in their desks and watch scene two enacted in the rear.

Scene 1

A corner of the school lunchroom. Three tables, each designed to accommodate four persons. The two tables upstage (farthest from the audience) are occupied, each with two boys and two girls, all of whom are eating quietly. At the table downstage Bob and Joan are seated opposite each other. They are eating slowly and do not appear to be very happy. Offstage is the babble of voices and the clatter of dishes. The noise dies away as Joan speaks.

JOAN: (BANGING MILK GLASS DOWN ON TABLE; PEEVED) Well, I don't care what they say, Bob. George Kennedy couldn't help it if we lost the game!

(JOHNNY ENTERS STAGE RIGHT. HIS CLOTHES ARE CLEAN BUT SHABBY, AND THEY IMMEDIATELY STAMP HIM AS A BOY WHO COMES FROM A FAMILY WHERE EVERY PENNY COUNTS. THE CONTRAST BETWEEN HIS CLOTHES AND THOSE OF BOB'S IS NOTICEABLE. JOHNNY IS CARRYING A TRAY OF FOOD; A BOWL OF SOUP, A SANDWICH, AND A GLASS OF MILK. HE LOOKS AROUND, SPIES BOB AND JOAN UP FRONT, CROSSES STAGE TO JOIN THEM.)

BOB: Of course he couldn't, Joan. And I don't think anybody blames him, really. We were just up against a tough team, that's all. Even the coach admitted that.

JOHNNY: (STANDING BESIDE TABLE, STILL HOLDING TRAY) Aw, what does that guy know. He's as dumb as the team.

BOB: (SARCASTICALLY) Well, well, look who's here. Big-mouth Canetto!

JOHNNY: Yeah. Mind if I sit here? (NOT WAITING FOR AN ANSWER, HE PUTS TRAY ON TABLE, TAKES SEAT BETWEEN THE TWO, HIS FACE TOWARD AUDIENCE.)

JOAN: (INDIGNANTLY) If I were you, Johnny Canetto, I'd be careful what I said about Coach Watson!

JOHNNY: (ABOUT TO PUT SPOONFUL OF SOUP IN MOUTH. CONTEMPTUOUSLY) Why should I? He's nothing to me! I don't run around licking his boots like mosta these fellows. I don't play on his team.

BOB: I'll say you don't. He wouldn't have ya.

JOAN: (NODDING HER HEAD EMPHATICALLY) You said it, Bob. The coach wouldn't stand for him.

JOHNNY: Oh, yeah? Why wouldn't he stand for me?

JOAN: Because you're a trouble-maker, that's why. Always getting into fights. Everybody in school knows what you are.

JOHNNY: (LAUGHING DISDAINFULLY) But I <u>win</u> the fights I get into. That's more than you can say for George Kennedy. The way he blew up yesterday and lost that game for us ---

JOAN: (VERY ANGRY, SHAKING FORK AT JOHNNY) That's not true, and you know it. George did not blow up. He did his very best, and it was no fault of his we got beat.

JOHNNY: (SARCASTICALLY) Look who's talking. Of course you'd say that. You think everything George Kennedy does is wonderful--perfect!

JOAN: George Kennedy is a gentleman! That's more than I can say for you!

JOHNNY: Oh, so you think George Kennedy's better than I am. I'm not as good as George, huh? Is that what you think?

JOAN: I don't think it. I know it. You prove it every time you open your mouth!

JOHNNY: (DETERMINEDLY) Well, maybe I'll show you how good I am.

JOAN: (SUSPICIOUSLY) What do you mean?

JOHNNY: (VAGUELY, WITH A SWAGGERING GESTURE OF THE SHOULDERS) Oh...you'll find out.

BOB: (IMPATIENTLY) Oh, don't pay any attention to him, Joan. He just likes to hear himself talk!

JOAN: (TURNING BACK TO HER FOOD) I guess you're right. But Johnny makes me mad! (TO JOHNNY) Who do you are anyway, talking about George Kennedy like that?

BOB: (HALF-RISING IN HIS CHAIR AND LOOKING OFFSTAGE RIGHT, AND LEFT) I wonder what's keeping George. He said he would join us for lunch.

JOAN: He will. He had to see Coach Watson first. Something about next week's game.

BOB: (SITTING DOWN AGAIN) Well, anyway, Joan, we certainly had a turnout yesterday. Can't say the team doesn't have the school behind it.

JOAN: How many you suppose were there?

BOB: Oh, 500 or more, all told.

JOHNNY: (DISDAINFULLY) I wasn't there. You didn't catch me there.

JOAN: You're never there! Don't you ever want to see the team play?

JOHNNY: (DISDAINFULLY) Those guys? Naw..I've got better things to do.

JOAN: (SHRUGGING, TO BOB) Miss Reynolds never misses a game. Have you noticed?

BOB: Yeah. Boy, she's always there, cheering with the rest of us.

JOAN: I think we're real lucky, having a person like Miss Reynolds for principal.

BOB: Yeah....(HE RISES IN HIS SEAT AGAIN AND LOOKS OFFSTAGE RIGHT, SEARCHING. SUDDENLY HIS FACE SMILES IN RECOGNITION. HE WAVES) There's George now. (CALLS) Oh, George!

GEORGE: (OFFSTAGE RIGHT) Be with you in a minute.

BOB: (SITTING BACK DOWN AND TURNING TO JOHNNY) Since you dislike George Kennedy so much, I don't suppose you'll be wanting to sit at the same table with him. Why don't you go eat someplace else?

JOHNNY: (RESENTFULLY) I know you want to get rid of me! But I'm staying, see?

JOAN: (SHRUGGING) Here comes George now.

BOB: (FOLLOWING HER GAZE) Golly, he's got enough food on that tray to feed an army.

GEORGE: (CLOSE OFFSTAGE) Gangway everybody! This tray is heavy. (ENTER GEORGE STAGE RIGHT. NEAT, WELL DRESSED BOY--THE SON OF A WELL-TO-DO, PRIVILEGED FAMILY. SMILING. HE COMES ON STAGE IN BACK OF JOHNNY, MOVING TOWARD TABLE)

BOB: Here, George, come around here. (GESTURING FOR GEORGE TO COME AROUND JOHNNY AND JOAN AND TAKE SEAT OPPOSITE JOHNNY. GEORGE STARTS TO DO AS BOB SUGGESTS, GETS HALFWAY AROUND THE TABLE WHEN HE TRIPS AND FALLS TO THE FLOOR. THERE IS THE CRASH OF BREAKING DISHES, ETC. BOYS AND GIRLS AT OTHER TABLES TURN ROUND IN THEIR CHAIRS, COMMENT EXCITEDLY.)

BOYS AND GIRLS: (AD-LIBBING) What happened? Did you see that? He was tripped. I know he was. I saw him fall. Who is it? Who? George Kennedy?----etc. etc.

JOAN: (AS GEORGE RISES TO HIS FEET. DISTRESSED) Oh George, did you hurt yourself? And just look at your shirt! (FOOD HAS SPILLED ALL OVER GEORGE'S SHIRT FRONT) It's ruined!

BOB: (HELPING GEORGE UP) What made you trip, George?

GEORGE: (BREATHLESS BUT ANGRY) You...wanta know...what made me trip? Well, I'll tell you. (POINTS TO JOHNNY) He...Johnny...that dirty rat tripped me. He deliberately stuck out his foot so I'd fall over it!

CROWD: (AD LIB REMARKS) Johnny Canetto! That guy again! Won't he ever learn! What a dirty trick! Etc. Etc.

JOHNNY: Could I help it if you don't know how to put one foot after the other?

GEORGE: (FURIOUS) Are you gonna sit there and tell me you didn't trip me. Why, you sorry...(MOVES MENACINGLY TOWARD JOHNNY. JOHNNY RISES) I'll knock your ugly teeth in---JOHNNY PUSHES BACK HIS CHAIR, COMES ROUND TO MEET GEORGE. GEORGE SWINGS, JOHNNY DUCKS. THEY TUSSLE, FALL TO THE FLOOR TOGETHER. CROWD FORMS AROUND THEM.)

JOAN: (ALARMED) Oh, Bob, make them stop!

BOB: Not yet. Let George get a good sock at him first.

JOAN: But I'm afraid George'll get hurt.

BOB: Don't worry. George can take care of himself. (SUDDENLY LOOKS OFFSTAGE LEFT, GROWS PANICKY, SUCKS IN BREATH QUICKLY) Uh-oh. Here comes Miss Reynolds.

MISS REYNOLDS: (AS SHE ENTERS STAGE LEFT) What in the world is going on here? (CROSSING STAGE QUICKLY) Get up off that floor this instant. The idea! (GEORGE AND JOHNNY GET TO THEIR FEET, PANTING AND SOMEWHAT SHAMEFACED)

JOHNNY: (DEFENSIVELY) George hit me first!

MISS R: (DISAPPOINTEDLY) Oh, Johnny Canetto! Again, Johnny? I thought, after the last time.....

JOHNNY: But I didn't start the fight, Miss Reynolds. George did!

GEORGE: Yes, Miss Reynolds. I started the fight...after he'd upset me with a tray full of food.

JOAN: That's right, Miss Reynolds! We saw it. George is right.

MISS R: Well, we'll get to the bottom of this in my office. Come along with me, Johnny! (MOVING OFFSTAGE RIGHT) I want you too, George. And Joan....you and Bob better come along. I'll want to hear your side of the story, too. (SHE EXITS, FOLLOWED BY JOHNNY, GEORGE, BOB, AND JOAN. BOYS AND GIRLS RESUME SEATS AT LUNCHROOM TABLES, EXCITEDLY DISCUSSING INCIDENT, AS CURTAIN FALLS.)

* * *

SCENE TWO

Office of the principal, Miss Reynolds, a few moments later. A desk is just offstage center. Behind it is a chair, and beside it, to stage right, another chair. Three more chairs are arranged close to the desk, or against the wall, at stage left. On the desk are a 3x5 card file, assorted books, papers, etc. As curtain rises, door at stage right opens, enter Joan, followed by George, Bob, and Johnny. Miss Reynolds speaks behind them.

MISS R: You all find seats, please. (SHE ENTERS, CLOSES DOOR BEHIND HER, SITS IN CHAIR BEHIND DESK. JOAN, BOB, AND GEORGE CROSS TO STAGE LEFT, MOVE CHAIRS ABOUT TO SUIT THEMSELVES, TAKE SEATS TO STAGE LEFT OF MISS REYNOLDS' DESK. AFTER THEY'RE SEATED, JOHNNY SITS IN THE LONE CHAIR AT STAGE RIGHT. IMPRESSION FROM STAGING IS THAT THE GROUP HAS CHOSEN UP SIDES--JOHNNY AGAINST THE OTHER THREE. MISS REYNOLDS' DESK SHOULD BE SLIGHTLY TO STAGE RIGHT SO AS TO PRESERVE BALANCE

IN STAGE COMPOSITION, BEFORE SPEAKING, MISS REYNOLDS LOOKS FROM JOAN, BOB, AND GEORGE ON HER LEFT, TO JOHNNY ON HER RIGHT. SHE REFLECTS A MOMENT, THEN SPEAKS)

MISS R: I don't do this very often. I usually like to talk to my bad (SMILES) boys individually. (TO JOHNNY) But I've talked to Johnny by himself before--several times. (SHE SHAKES HER HEAD DESPAIRINGLY) I thought it might be good this time for a few of us to talk it out together.

JOAN: (POUTING) I don't see why, Miss Reynolds. It wasn't our fault.

MISS R: (POINTEDLY) No? (PAUSE) Well, it's certainly no secret what a problem we've got here. Johnny, how many times have you been sent to my office since you entered this school?

JOHNNY: (SULLENLY) I dunno. A good many times I s'pose.

BOB: He's been nothing but a trouble-maker ever since he came here.

JOHNNY: (QUICKLY. TO BOB) Nobody has to make trouble around this school. Not with guys like you asking for trouble all the time.

MISS R: (SEVERELY) Let's not have that kind of talk. (SILENCING THEM WITH A LOOK. PAUSE) Now how shall we begin? First thing, maybe a look at the record would be of help. (SHE PULLS OPEN 3x5 CARD FILE, THUMBS THROUGH A NUMBER OF CARDS, PULLS OUT ONE AND EXAMINES IT) According to this, Johnny, you came here last September from New Orleans.

JOHNNY: That's right. We moved here when daddy got a job in the new mill.

MISS R: (STILL STUDYING CARD) Since you enrolled here, you've been reported for bad conduct on an average of twice a month. (READS) September 27 -- starting fight in locker room -- Oct ----

GEORGE: (INTERRUPTING) I remember that fight. (TO MISS REYNOLDS) Some of the boys were getting dressed, just talking together and minding their own business, when all of a sudden Johnny comes tearing out from the next row of lockers and lights into the whole pack of 'em.

JOHNNY: (ANGRILY) That's not true. Maybe if you'd been there, you'd know it's not true.

MISS R: What do you mean it's not true? You did have a fight in the locker room, didn't you?

JOHNNY: Sure, there was a fight, but -- (SHRUGGING, SITTING BACK DISGUSTEDLY IN CHAIR) Oh, what's the use.

MISS R: (RESUMES READING) October 9 -- breaking window in Miss Blake's room -- October 24 -- disturbance in assembly -- November 4 -- disorderly conduct at football game -- November 20 -- damaging apparatus in science room -- December 6 -- starting fight at club meeting -- January 13 -- (PAUSES, REGARDS JOHNNY REFLECTIVELY) Shall I go on?

JOHNNY: That's enough.

MISS R: Well Johnny, if the record means anything, that makes you the worst boy in school.

JOHNNY: (DEFIANTLY) All right! So I'm the worst boy in school!

MISS R: It's nothing to brag about, Johnny. In some schools you'd be expelled for a record like that.

JOHNNY: Go on and expel me, why don't you? I hate this school anyway.

MISS R: (QUIETLY, WITH GREAT EFFORT TO BE PATIENT) I'm not going to expel you, Johnny. The other boys and girls get along in this school. You can too. Now, I think it's time we found out what the matter is. (PAUSE) Why do you think you get in so much trouble?

JOHNNY: (PROMPTLY) I lose my temper.

MISS R: Why, Johnny?

JOHNNY: They just make me mad, that's all.

MISS R: The other students make you mad? Do the other students say things you don't like?

JOHNNY: Sometimes they do.

MISS R: What sort of things, Johnny?

JOHNNY: Oh...lots of things. They call me names. (GETTING ANGRY; GESTURING TOWARD BOB, JOAN AND GEORGE) Well, just look at 'em. They think they're better than I am. They say I'm not good enough for 'em.

JOAN: (INDIGNANT) Why, I've never said anything like that in my life!

JOHNNY: Oh no? Well, you might as well have, the way you talk. It's very clear what you think of me.

BOB: Well, suppose it is! It's true. You're not as good as we are.

JOHNNY: (RISING MENACINGLY) I am, see. I'm as good as any of you. (CLENCHING FISTS AND TAKING STEP FORWARD) And I'll fight anybody who says I'm not!

MISS R: (RAPPING DESK LOUDLY WITH RULER) Boys! Boys! (THEY QUIET DOWN. SHE REGARDS THEM ATTENTIVELY FOR A MOMENT, AND THEN SPEAKS AFTER SOME DELIBERATION) Tell me, Johnny. How did you get along in school before you moved here?

JOHNNY: Fine. I got along swell. I had lots of friends in New Orleans. Mike Frazetti for instance. Mike and I used t'play on the baseball team together. He played second base and I played shortstop.

GEORGE: (INCREDULOUS) You played baseball? Why didn't you come out for the team here, then?

JOHNNY: (COLDLY) I did try out -- (PAUSE) -- once.

GEORGE: But why --? (GIVES IT UP, SHAKES HIS HEAD, LOOKS TO MISS REYNOLDS)

MISS R. Excuse me a moment. (SPEAKS IN DIRECTION OF DOOR) Oh, Miss Smith.

(ENTER MISS SMITH STAGE RIGHT. SHE STANDS WITH DOOR AJAR.)

MISS SMITH: Yes, Miss Reynolds?

MISS R: Bring me the transfer record on Johnny Canetto, will you please?

MISS SMITH: Just a minute. (SHE EXITS, CLOSING DOOR AFTER HER)

JOHNNY: (MORE TO HIMSELF THAN TO ANYBODY IN THE ROOM) I had lots of friends in New Orleans.

MISS R: I seem to remember that you made fairly good grades in New Orleans, too.

JOHNNY: (SUDDENLY IMPATIENT) Oh Miss Reynolds, this isn't doing us any good. Why don't you go ahead and do what you're going to do and get it over with?

MISS R: (WITH A FRIENDLY SMILE) It won't take long, Johnny..... Tell me about your friends in New Orleans.

JOHNNY: There's not much to tell. We went to school together. Went to the same church, most of us. And we used to play together almost every afternoon.

MISS R: I suppose you miss them very much.

JOHNNY: I'll say I do.

(ENTER MISS SMITH)

MISS SMITH: (CROSSING STAGE TO PUT FILE FOLDER ON MISS REYNOLDS' DESK.) Here's the record on Canetto. Will that be all?

MISS R: (OPENING FOLDER AND BEGINNING TO SCAN CONTENTS) Yes, thank you.

(EXIT MISS SMITH. MISS REYNOLDS READS SILENTLY FOR A MOMENT, HER FACE GRADUALLY ASSUMING AN EXPRESSION OF SURPRISE AND INCREDULITY. AS SHE READS FURTHER, SHE SAYS "MY, MY" TO HERSELF EVERY NOW AND THEN. FINALLY, SHE LOOKS UP AND SHAKES HER HEAD IN WONDER. WHILE THIS IS GOING ON, JOHNNY SITS RESENTFULLY IN HIS CHAIR; JOAN, BOB, AND GEORGE EXCHANGE EXPRESSIONS OF CURIOSITY.)

MISS R: I think you'll be interested in this. It's the report the school in New Orleans sent on Johnny when he transferred here last fall.

JOAN: (SARCASTICALLY) Does that include a report on his manners?

MISS R: No, Joan. But if I were keeping a record on <u>your</u> manners, <u>you</u> wouldn't look very good today.

JOAN: (BLUSHING) Excuse me.

MISS R: (DROPS HER EYES TO THE FILE FOLDER, BEGINS TO READ FROM RECORD) Johnny averaged excellent in all his studies. Excellent in general science, excellent in Latin, excellent in French, excellent in algebra, very good in English ---

JOAN: (TAKEN ABACK) Why Miss Reynolds, Johnny's hardly passing those same subjects here.

BOB: I bet that school in New Orleans was easier.

MISS R: (SHAKING HER HEAD) No. If anything, the schools in New Orleans are harder.

GEORGE: I don't understand. (TO JOHNNY) Why were you so smart in New Orleans but so -- so dumb here?

MISS R: Johnny not only made good grades, George. Listen to this. (RESUMES READING) "He was president of the chemistry club, secretary of the student body, shortstop on the baseball team, and he won a gold medal for debating. His home room teacher has written this comment: "Johnny has been a splendid student and a most cooperative citizen of our school." (LOOKS UP FROM JOHNNY'S TRANSFER RECORD, STUDIES THE THREE BEFORE HER. PAUSE) ... Well, what do you think of that?

GEORGE: (ASTONISHED) I don't know what to think. That doesn't sound like the Johnny Canetto who tripped me a half hour ago.

JOAN: (WONDERING) I can't believe it.

GEORGE: It's not the same boy, that's all. (TO JOHNNY) What's happened to you, Johnny? Why've you changed so?

JOAN: Are you sick, Johnny? Have you been sick since you moved here? Sometimes people get sick and ---

GEORGE: (RUBBING HIS JAW AND SMILING RUEFULLY) He doesn't fight like a sick man.

JOHNNY: (ANGRY AGAIN) There's nothing wrong with me. It's y'all. (SNEER) You all think you're so smart.

MISS R: Well, obviously, Johnny, you're not very happy here. You were happy in New Orleans, though, and that must account for your excellent record there. Johnny, I really want to help. (PAUSE) Try to to tell me why you're not happy here.

JOHNNY: (EMBARRASSED SLIGHTLY) I don't know. I guess I just don't feel like I belong here. They treat me like dirt.

MISS R: How, Johnny? What do you mean?

JOHNNY: It's the way they talk about me. (TURNING TO JOAN, BOB, AND GEORGE) Don't think I haven't heard you.

MISS R: What do they say about you, Johnny?

JOHNNY: Oh, they say I'm not worth bothering with. They say my father is a dirty, sneaking foreigner and we oughta go back where we came from.

MISS R: (ASTONISHED) They do! (TO BOB, JOAN, AND GEORGE) Is this true?

GEORGE: (EMBARRASSED) You know how people talk, Miss Reynolds. Sure, some of 'em have been talking like that about him.

MISS R: (FIRMLY) Have you?

GEORGE: Well -----

MISS R: (SADLY) How terrible! George, how could you.....

BOB: But golly, Miss Reynolds. What'd you expect us to say after the way Johnny's been acting?

JOHNNY: Whatta you mean -- after? Miss Reynolds, they started talking about me like that the first week I came here. I didn't do a thing. I wanted to be friends but they wouldn't let me....Look....I, oh what's the use. I'll never get along in this school.

MISS R: (WITH GREAT SYMPATHY) What were you going to tell us, Johnny? Something happened during the first week you were here?

JOHNNY: That's right. That fight in the locker room. (TO GEORGE) Just listen now; this is how it really happened, if you want to know. (TO MISS REYNOLDS) It was about me joining the Science Club. I wanted to join, but the members had to vote on me. They were talking about me one afternoon in the locker room. They couldn't see me -- I was over dressing in the next row of lockers -- but I could hear everything they said. One guy was repeating my name.....(SNEERINGLY) "Johnny Canetto." -- like that. "Johnny Canetto," he says. "Sounds like a foreigner to me. Where'd he come from anyway?" And then another boy says, "Out of some gutter. Have you seen the kind of clothes he wears? They look like he picked 'em up off some garbage heap." And then this third boy says, "Oh, I ---"

JOAN: (INTERRUPTING) Your clothes never made any difference to me. The reason I didn't like you was you were always getting in fights, and it looked to me as if they were all your fault.

JOHNNY: Well, that's what these guys were saying about me. This third boy, he ---

MISS R: (INTERRUPTING) Just a minute Johnny. Who were these boys?

JOHNNY: (EMBARRASSED) Oh just some of the crowd...Nobody in this room.---You don't want me to tattle, do you Miss Reynolds?

MISS R: No Johnny. Never mind. Go on.

JOHNNY: Well, then another guy said, "Oh I know about him. His old man works in the thread mill. My daddy hired him last week. Runs a loom or something." "Well," says this first boy, "I don't know what you think, but I'm not voting him into our club. I don't like greasy foreigners." "Me neither," says another one. "There's something sort of sneaky about 'em. Besides, whatta we know about Johnny Canetto? Anybody with a name like that!"

MISS R: (TOUCHED) That was the way that they were talking about you, was it?

JOHNNY: Almost word for word. I stood there listening to them, getting madder all the time, and finally I couldn't stand it any longer. I went over and told 'em what I thought. That's how the fight started.

GEORGE: (CONTRITE) Gee, I didn't know that, Johnny.

BOB: Me either. I always thought -----

JOHNNY: Well, that's how it was, Miss Reynolds --- right from the beginning. Even before they knew me, they were saying I was no good. I had a foreign sounding name, I had just moved to town, and my daddy works in a factory. So right off the bat, they decided I was beneath them.

MISS R: I'm ashamed, really ashamed. I didn't think my children <u>could</u> behave like that.

JOAN: It doesn't make sense, when you come to think of it. To judge a person by the sound of his name, or by what his father does for a living. Oh Johnny, I'm so sorry.

BOB: I'm sorry, too. Maybe if we hadn't fallen for all that junk about your being a foreigner -- maybe if we'd given you a chance -- we'd have a decent shortstop.

GEORGE: (TO JOHNNY) Is that why you never came back for another tryout?

JOHNNY: Sure. They made it pretty clear I wasn't wanted. You think I wanted to hang around and be insulted?

MISS R: About today, Johnny. Did you trip George? Or did he merely stumble over your feet?

JOHNNY: I tripped him.

MISS R: Why?

JOHNNY: The same old business. Joan and Bob kept talking about how wonderful George was, and how no account I was. George is so handsome, George is so perfect. Joan kept saying how wonderful George is till I couldn't take it any more.

JOAN: I never realized ----

MISS R: So you decided to show George up? Make him look silly?

JOHNNY: (NODDING) Something like that.

MISS R: I know how you must have felt, Johnny. But do you think you were helping the situation by acting like that?

JOHNNY: How do you think I should have acted?

MISS R: Johnny, they have treated you very badly. There's no doubt about that. But fights don't help. That one in the locker room -- that fight didn't make you feel any better, did it? You've gone around with a chip on your shoulder ever since -- daring people to knock it off. You got into more and more fights and made more and more enemies.

JOHNNY: (BITTERLY) It's easy for you to talk, Miss Reynolds. You don't know what it is to move to a new town and be lonesome and want to make friends in school. You can't understand how it feels not even to be given a chance -- to have people call you names and say you're no good.

MISS R: I know. I know. But don't you see -- you made things worse instead of better by getting into trouble all the time? You made people believe you really were good-for-nothing by the way you acted.

JOHNNY: What would you have done, Miss Reynolds?

MISS R: Well, I hope I'd have said to myself, "These people are being stupid and unfair. But I'll show them I'm just as good as they are. I'll prove it by getting good marks and volunteering for school activities and by keeping a good conduct record."....If you'd done that, actually you would have proved yourself better than they. Because you'd have been behaving like an intelligent adult while they were acting like bad-mannered, not-too-bright children.

JOHNNY: You think if I'd have done that, they would've learned to like me?

MISS R: I'm sure of it.

JOHNNY: (DOWNCAST) Well, I guess it's too late now.

GEORGE: (RISING AND WALKING CROSS STAGE TO THE RIGHT OF JOHNNY'S CHAIR. ADDRESSING JOHNNY) No it isn't, Johnny. Not for you, it isn't....Look, I'm sorry those guys in the locker room gave you such a raw deal, and got you started off here that way. I'm sorry I didn't have any better sense than to go along with the things they said about you. I'm just as sorry as I can be.

JOHNNY: I'm sorry, too. I'm sorry I tripped you.

GEORGE: Look Johnny -- I know I don't deserve it, but will you forgive me? Will you forgive us all? Will you give us another chance?

JOHNNY: What do you mean?

GEORGE: I mean another chance to be friends with you.

JOHNNY: (BEWILDERED) Sure, I ---

GEORGE: I know you have every good reason not to want to be friends with us now, but -- Joan, Bob, and I -- we know how silly and unfair we've been -- and we're going to see to it that everybody else in this school realizes what a bad mistake they've made.....I'll, I'll -- I know what I'll do. I'll see that you're elected to the Science Club. I'll submit your name at the next meeting and tell everybody how awful we've behaved, and if they won't let you in then, I'll resign. I don't want to be in any Science Club that judges people so unscientifically

BOB: And I'll resign with you, George.

JOHNNY: No....don't do that. I don't want the guys to think I'm a --- (PAUSES, CONSIDERING) On the other hand Miss Reynolds, maybe that would be a good place to start, huh? If I got in the Science Club and worked hard, maybe I could begin to make people change their minds about me.

MISS R: (SMILING) That's an excellent idea.

JOHNNY: (SMILING) Gee, thanks, George. Thanks a lot.

JOAN: (CALLING QUIETLY) Johnny.

JOHNNY: Yes?

JOAN: The girls' Home Ec Club is having a party next week. You'll come, won't you Johnny?

JOHNNY: You want me to come? (JOAN NODS; JOHNNY BLUSHES) Sure, I'll be there. (SMILES HAPPILY)

MISS R: (LOOKING AT WRIST WATCH) It's almost time for your next class, you all.....I think we know what's been causing Johnny's trouble -- and I think we know what to do about it....You can go now.

(JOHNNY, BOB, AND JOAN RISE, MOVE TOWARD THE DOOR WITH GEORGE)

JOHNNY: Thank you, Miss Reynolds.

BOB: Thank you, Miss Reynolds.

GEORGE: Thank you, Miss Reynolds.

(MISS REYNOLDS NODS TO EACH AS HE EXITS. JOAN PAUSES AT DOOR, TURNS, COMES BACK HALFWAY TO MISS REYNOLDS' DESK)

JOAN: Miss Reynolds?

MISS R: Yes, Joan.

JOAN: (HALTINGLY) This taught me a lesson -- all this. I feel so awfully ashamed...You know, I really didn't know how Johnny's trouble got started...I didn't realize how mean we were being to him ----- (SHUDDERS) We've been dreadful! Why, we condemned him even before we got a chance to know him -- all because his skin was dark and he has a foreign-sounding name.....What silly reasons!

MISS R: Yes they are silly, Joan. But some people are judging other people in just that fashion all the time. Nobody knows how much heartsickness -- how much hatred ---- they must cause.

JOAN: (WITH DECISION) Well, I've learned <u>my</u> lesson. Hereafter, I'm going to take people one by one, just as they come. And I'm going to judge 'em for themselves. I'm going to like 'em or dislike 'em for what they <u>are</u>-- not for what their parents might be, or what their religion is, or anything like that. (PAUSE) I'm going to remember that each human being is a very special individual.

MISS R: (SMILING VERY WARMLY) You've got the right idea. Just remember that part of our American heritage is respect for individual worth.

JOAN: What about Johnny, Miss Reynolds? Do you think he <u>will</u> change for the better now?

MISS R: Change, Joan? I'm sure of it. He'll change -- and he'll change faster as the group warms up toward him... I think in no time at all Johnny Canetto will be the same splendid, cooperative person he was in New Orleans-- especially if you and Bob and George do all you say you're going to do. (PAUSE) I think years from now, when people ask me about Johnny, I'll be able to say, "Johnny Canetto? Why, he was one of the <u>best</u> boys in school."

(CURTAIN)

ous generalizations regarding the Negro's behavior during the Civil War. Historians, if at all mentioning the Negro in their accounts of the war, describe him as an "element of strength" to the Confederacy, as "patiently submissive" (Rhodes, Phillips), as having "supported unanimously" the slavocracy (Cotterill).

But the facts contradict these fables. For two hundred years the American Negro people waged a persistent struggle against the diabolical system of chattel slavery, which was devised and continued for their super-exploitation. For sheer courage and ingenuity this conflict has never been surpassed in all the vast history of man's revolutionary struggles. In this desperate battle the Negroes carried on agitational and propagandistic work; they committed sabotage, they mutilated and killed themselves and their children rather than submit; they fled wherever there was a promise of freedom; they poisoned their masters, set fire to plantations, assassinated their oppressors; they conspired and rebelled, they waged guerrilla warfare, they gave up their lives fighting for the freedom of their people. And they eagerly grasped the opportunity offered by the Civil War to accentuate their struggles.

It is important to observe that at no period were these rebellious activities more widespread, and of deeper political significance (very often involving poor whites and even, at times, calling for a redistribution of the land, work animals and tools, as well as the end of slavery) than during the ten years immediately preceding the outbreak of the Civil War. It is beyond the scope of this brief study to recount the numerous plots and revolts which occurred. However, as an example, let us mention the events of this nature which took place in 1860, the last year before the slaveholders' rebellion.

Early in July fires swept over and devastated many cities and counties in northern Texas. Slaves were imme-

diately suspected and arrested. They were beaten, tortured and executed by the scores. *White men were invariably reported as being implicated,* and there were frequent notices of their being beaten and executed together with the slaves. Listing the counties in which plots were reported, cities burned and rebels executed will give an idea of the extensive character of the trouble and help explain the abject terror it aroused: Anderson, Austin, Dallas, Denton, Ellis, Grimes, Hempstead, Lamar, Milam, Montgomery, Rusk, Tarrant, Walker and Wood. The reign of terror in Texas lasted for about eight weeks.

Before it was over, reports of disaffection came from other areas. In August a conspiracy among the slaves, again with white accomplices, said to have been inspired by a nearby band of outlawed runaway slaves, was uncovered and crushed in Talladega county, Alabama. About one hundred miles south, in Pine Level, Montgomery county, of the same state, in that same month, the arrest of a white harness-maker was reported for "holding improper conversation with slaves." Within five months serious trouble was reported from that region.

Meanwhile, still in August, plots were uncovered in Whitfield, Cobb and Floyd counties in northwest Georgia. Said the Columbus, Georgia, *Sun* of August 29: "By a private letter from Upper Georgia, we learn that an insurrectionary plot has been discovered among the Negroes in the vicinity of Dalton and Marietta and great excitement was occasioned by it, and still prevails." The slaves had intended to burn Dalton, capture a train and crash on into Marietta some seventy miles away. Thirty-six of the slave leaders were imprisoned and the entire area took on a war-like aspect. Again it was felt that "white men instigated the plot," but, since Negro testimony was not acceptable against a white man, the proof against them was here felt to be insufficient for convictions. An-

January 26, 1861, declared that "Disunion [would be] the doom of slavery," while the Louisville *Daily Journal* of the same day felt that "Disunion [was] the necessary antecedent of abolition." Two weeks later the Raleigh, North Carolina, *Standard* warned that in a civil war the slaves "will become restless and turbulent. . . . The masses will at length rise up and destroy everything in their way. . . . The end will be—Abolition!"

In other words, certain leaders within the South were aware that docility and contentment were not characteristic of the Negro slave. And these men accurately foretold the future: the slaves did, in the Civil War, find and grasp their great opportunity to achieve that for which they had always fought—freedom.

Let us examine in detail the methods by which the Negro people helped to achieve this great end.

II. NON-SLAVE STATES

Notwithstanding the strategic declaration of the Republican Party that an intact union was the sole aim in the Civil War, Abolitionists, both Negro and white, promptly saw that the slaveholders' rebellion was the slaves' great opportunity. They therefore immediately agitated for the right of the Northern Negro to take an active, direct part in the destruction of the Confederacy. In 1861, Negroes in New York City formed themselves into a military club and held regular drill, until stopped by the police, in anticipation of fighting with the Federal forces. In Pennsylvania Governor Curtin refused an offer from free Negroes to go into the South and stir up slave revolts. It is certain, too, that some Negroes, passing themselves

off as whites, served and fought with the Union armies from the opening of the war.

Just a few days after the fall of Fort Sumter, a free Negro of Washington, D. C., Jacob Dodson, offered his services and those of three hundred other Negroes for the Union army, but this was refused (April 29, 1861). Later during the same year another Negro, a physician of Battle Creek, Michigan, G. P. Miller, made a similar offer, but it also was rejected.

The presence and agitation of the Negroes was proving embarrassing to certain Republican leaders who were intent upon preventing open rebellion among Northern Democrats and border state inhabitants; therefore, propaganda in favor of Negro colonization in Africa became very prominent. Indeed the government set up a colonization department to carry through the idea. But, as earlier in our history, the movement collapsed because of the hostility of those who were to be colonized. Robert Purvis, a Philadelphia Negro, declared in August, 1862, that the Negroes would not leave:

> ...we were born here, and here we choose to remain.... We were coaxed and mobbed, and mobbed and coaxed; but we refused to budge...this is our country as much as it is yours, and we will not leave it.

However, Purvis added, the Negroes were ready and eager to fight for their country.

It was in that same month, August, 1862, that the Federal government made its first hesitating movements towards the enlistment of Negroes. And, notwithstanding very considerable discriminations, to be detailed elsewhere, over eighty-two thousand Northern Negroes fought for the Union forces.

Negroes were the leaders in the recruiting of their own people. An Ohio Negro leader, John M. Langston, de-

were free) lived within the Confederacy and, indeed, formed over forty per cent of the total population. It is impossible to understand the outcome of the Civil War without examining the behavior of that forty per cent, and the behavior of the Confederate government with regard to it.

WAS THE SOUTH UNPROTECTED?

Let it be immediately understood that the conventional story about the unprotected condition of the slave South is utter poppycock.

Slave laws and customs provided for division between domestic and field slaves, and between the field drivers or foremen and the rank and file workers. No slave could testify against a white, no slave might resist a white, no slave might go anywhere, or buy anything or sell anything without his owner's written permission. No slave was to carry arms of any kind. No slave was to be taught or learn how to read or write, and all writing and talking with a "tendency" to create disaffection was strictly forbidden. No assembling of slaves was allowed without express permission from the authorities, who uniformly required whites to be present. Every plantation with a certain number of slaves (varying from twenty to about fifty, according to place and time) was to have at least one adult white male upon it, and every rural district within the South was to be patrolled at stated periods (usually once in two or four weeks) by bodies of armed, mounted men. Every city had its patrol and guard and Negro curfew hour. Militia and volunteer military groups of a high degree of efficiency pervaded the slave area and saw frequent service in suppressing or overawing slave rebelliousness. The old Southern titles of Colonel and Major were not used merely for euphony or from politeness, but

represented real military proficiency. Espionage and a religion with one message—docility—aided in the enslavement of the Negro people.

All this, in tightened form, and more, prevailed throughout the Confederacy during the war years.

The slavocracy invoked its religion with redoubled assiduity and warned its victims time without number of the dire sin of flaunting its rule; be meek and obedient. The whites attended the open religious meetings of the slaves and were pleased to hear prayers for the Confederacy, uttered, as the slaves knew, with tongue in cheek. Once when a Negro preacher prayed for the slavocracy with marked vehemence and apparently with great sincerity, his slave brethren, after the services, reproached him as a traitor. He replied: "Don't worry children; the Lord knew what I was talking about." But in the depth of the night and within their hovels, the slaves prayed for, and indeed, often to, Abraham Lincoln, so that, as a Negro remarked, "If the prayers that have gone up for the Union army could be read out you would not get through them these two weeks."

The favorite espionage method among the Confederates was for men to dress in the uniform of the Federal army and go among slaves asking for aid or information. And, too often, the slave would be deceived and furnish either or both, whereupon he would, most unceremoniously, be hanged.

Safeguards prevalent in the pre-war South were added to and strengthened. In the first conscription act of the Confederacy, passed in 1862, a provision exempted one adult male, owner or overseer, for every twenty slaves. In March, 1864, notwithstanding the fact that man-power was then Secessia's crucial problem, it was found necessary to exempt one white male for every fifteen slaves. These provisions not only weakened the Confederacy by

This will account for the boldness and celerity of the enemy's movements."

In 1864 the Confederate General Winder urged severe punishment for a captured Negro guide because: "It is a matter of notoriety in the sections of the Confederacy where raids are frequent that the guides of the enemy are nearly always free Negroes and slaves."

Two of the most famous of these Negro spies and guides were James Lawson and that almost incredibly courageous woman, Harriet Tubman, both of whom time and again went into Confederate territory and returned with invaluable information and, often, more fugitive slaves.

Some of the fugitives, particularly those from fortification work, escaped with valuable goods, such as tools, horses, or even guns and ammunition. Indeed Charleston fugitives in May, 1862, presented the Union forces with a completely equipped Confederate gunboat. The leader in this exploit, an exploit that captured the attention of the nation, was a slave pilot, Robert Smalls. With eight comrades and five women and three children, he stole onto an unprotected gunboat, the *Planter,* in Charleston harbor, and piloted it past the port's batteries by giving the proper signals. They then avoided bombardment from the blockading Union fleet by raising a white flag. The gunboat fought for the Union, and Robert Smalls' professional skill as a pilot, acquainted with Southern waters, was also of great value to the same cause.

THE NEGROES AS SOLDIERS

In August, 1862, a vacillating Federal government, bombarded by appeals from white and Negro leaders—like Wendell Phillips, Elizur Wright, Frederick Douglass, Robert Purvis—seeing slavery disappearing from the loyal border states, and appreciating the great military signifi-

cance of thousands of strong black arms, initiated the enrollment of Negroes as soldiers in the Army of the Republic. One hundred and twenty-five thousand Negroes from the slave states served in the Federal armies. They, together with the eighty thousand from the North, fought in four hundred and fifty battles, with an inspiring and inspired courage that was of the utmost importance in bringing about the collapse of the Confederacy and the abolition of slavery.

For here were over two hundred thousand armed Negro men fighting within a state built upon and dedicated to the proposition that the Negro was, if at all a human being, an innately and ineradicably inferior one, fit only to be a slave. This was why—as the genius of Karl Marx early saw, "A single Negro regiment would have a remarkable effect on Southern nerves"—200,000 armed Negroes shattered the slavocracy's morale and tore away its foundation.

And the Negro soldiers of the Republic fought notwithstanding shameful discriminations and disadvantages. White soldiers received thirteen dollars a month, Negroes received but seven dollars (until July 14, 1864, when the pay was equalized, retroactively to January 1, 1864); there were enlistment bounties for white recruits, none for Negroes (until June 15, 1864); and there was no possibility for advancement into the ranks of commissioned officers for Negroes. Moreover, the military policy of the terrified Confederate government was particularly brutal against its Negro adversaries. The Confederacy never recognized captured Negro soldiers who had been slaves as prisoners of war, and did not accord this status to captured free Negroes until October, 1864. The Negroes were either killed, returned to slavery, or confined at hard labor.

The Confederate General Mercer reported the capture in November, 1862, of four Negro soldiers and suggested

as well as at the South, he was largely shut out of remunerative avenues of industry and of opportunities to improve his mental, moral and material condition. He was kept under a social ban and was not recognized as being equal in any respect to his fellow-man of a different complexion. After thus suffering for generations it could hardly be expected that he would feel much enthusiasm in the cause of popular liberty, restricted to the enjoyment of the tyrant race.

But notwithstanding this the Negro accepted the situation in silence, and, with an intense religious fervor, displayed a love for freedom, a willingness to fight and make sacrifice for the common cause of liberty, a valor and intrepidity, even when his own prospect of sharing in it was not promising, that have not been paralleled by any race, under similar conditions, in the history of the world.

From the 5th day of March, 1770, when Crispus Attucks, a Negro, led the American patriots into the main guard of the British line on King Street, Boston, Massachusetts, the Negro has been conspicuous in every movement in which patriotism and courage are essential requisites.

At the battle of Bunker Hill, Major Pitcairn was killed, which proved to be a very serious loss to the British. It was he who was the chief commander of the forces that went out to Lexington and Concord at the time of the famous fight there. He fell at the hands of Private Peter Salem of Colonel Nixon's regiment of the Continental army. This Negro soldier's claim to this honor could not be disputed. There was another Negro soldier who distinguished himself, named Salem Poor, who demonstrated such great courage that fourteen American officers called the attention of Congress to his merits. The memorial was dated at Cambridge,

December 5, 1775, and stated "that under our own observation, we declare that a Negro man called Salem Poor, of Colonel Frye's regiment, Captain Ames' company, in the late battle at Charlestown, behaved like an experienced officer as well as an excellent soldier. The reward due to so great and distinguished a character we submit to the Congress."

The army organized at Cambridge under General Washington had from the start Negroes in it. The historian Bancroft states that free Negroes stood in the ranks by the side of white men.

At the battle of Long Island, in 1776, Negroes fought bravely. Theodore Parker, once alluding to the discovery of the remains of these, remarked: "Now after seventy-five years have passed by, the bones of the forgotten victims of the Revolution are shovelled up, carted off, and shot into the sea, as rubbish of the town. Had they been white men's bones, how they would have been honored with sumptuous burial anew, and the purchased prayers and preaching of Christian divines! Now such relics are but rubbish of the streets."

In the War of 1812 the Negro performed heroic service on land and sea. Commodore Perry said the Negroes in the navy seemed to be absolutely insensible to danger. He solicited and welcomed them into the service of their country. In September, 1814, he issued a proclamation, which contained the words: "As sons of freedom, you are now called upon to defend our most inestimable blessing. As Americans your country looks with confidence to her adopted children for valorous support."

In the War of the Rebellion the Negro performed a very prominent and heroic part. This furnished on a large scale an opportunity to show his loyalty and cour-

age, and he met the highest expectations of his friends. For two years the war had been carried on by the North on the principle of saving the Union without interfering with the institution of slavery, which was really at the bottom of the whole trouble, and while that policy was pursued the prospect of success was dark; but after the proclamation of emancipation was issued, victory seemed almost at once to turn on the side of the Union forces.

By the North, Negroes were not allowed for some time to shoulder the musket in behalf of the cause of freedom. Some predicted that if so allowed they would not begin to compare in efficiency with the white man. But the experiment proved a grand success.

Generally the Negro troops acquitted themselves most creditably as soldiers. Mr. Stanton, then Secretary of War, said of them at Petersburg, Virginia: "The hardest fighting was done by the black troops. The parts they stormed were the worst of all. After the affair was over General Smith went to thank them, and tell them he was proud of their courage and dash He says that they cannot be exceeded as soldiers."

In the War of the Rebellion there were in all 178,975 Negro soldiers in the United States Volunteers, and of these 38,847 were killed, wounded and missing. They took part in 449 battles. Besides the large military force there were 150,000 Negro laborers in other departments. Of the brilliant achievements of Robert Small, of whom the New York *Tribune* said:

"To this colored man was the nation indebted for the first vindication of its honor on the sea," much might be said. General Benjamin F. Butler, who at first opposed the idea of admitting Negroes into the army, took occasion to say on the floor of Congress: "It became my painful duty to follow in the track of

the charging column, and there, in a space not wider than the clerk's desk, and three hundred yards long, lay the dead bodies of three hundred and fifty-three of my colored comrades, slain in the defense of their country, who laid down their lives to uphold its flag and its honor as a willing sacrifice; and as I rode along among them, guiding my horse this way and that way lest he should profane with his hoofs what seemed to me the sacred dead, and as I looked on their bronzed faces upturned in the shining sun as if in mute appeal against the wrongs of the country for which they had given their lives, and whose flag had only been to them a flag of stripes on which no stars of glory had shone for them —feeling I had wronged them in the past, and believing what was the future of my country to them—among my dead comrades there I swore myself a solemn oath: 'May my right hand forget its cunning, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if I ever fail to defend the rights of those men who have given their blood for me and my country this day, and for their race forever,' and God helping me, I will keep this oath."

A radical change of sentiment has taken place in recent years as regards the capabilities and possibilities of the Negro. This sentiment is favorable to him and this is largely due to his honorable record as a soldier and his very successful exploits in the far West in conflict with the hostile Indians and his enviable record made at San Juan Hill and El Caney in Cuba.

attempted to justify the government's reliance upon him.

It is fortunate that the average Negro in the regular army is intelligent and fairly well educated.

Horace Wayman Bivins, son of Severn S. and Elizabeth Bivins, was born in Pungoteague, Accomack County, Virginia, May 8, 1862. He spent his early childhood on his father's farm. At the age of fifteen he was put in charge of an eight-horse farm one mile from Keller Station, Va. His father is a farmer, but has spent much of his time in religious and educational work. He advanced money in 1862 to build a church and schoolhouse at Pungoteague. These were the first buildings erected on the eastern shore of Virginia, for that purpose. Prejudice was so great in that section that the day that the schoolhouse was completed it was reduced to ashes before 10 o'clock that night, and a notice was placed upon his father's door notifying him to leave the country within five days or else he would be hanged by his d——d neck until dead. The following day the old gentleman received information that the Yankees were at Drummondtown, but twelves miles away. He rode to headquarters and reported the transaction to the division commander. He at once sent a part of his staff to investigate the matter. The result was in Mr. Bivins' favor, and he was successful in establishing a school and had it opened the following Monday.

The following narrative was written by Sergeant Bivins while in the Cuban campaign, and it shows that he is a careful observer and faithful historian:

"I entered Hampton School, June 13, 1885, at which place I received my first military training. Having a very great desire for adventure and to see the wild West, I enlisted in the United States army, November 7, 1887, at Washington, D. C. Ten days later I was

sent to Jefferson Barracks, Missouri. After receiving a few lessons in mounted and dismounted drill I was assigned to Troop E, Tenth Cavalry. Major Kelley was then captain of the troop. I joined my troop at Fort Grant, Arizona Territory, June 19, 1888. In a few days my troop was ordered to take the field. It was reported that some Indians had left the San Carlos Reservation and were *en route* to Old Mexico.

"We scouted along St. Pedro River east and west. For thirty days we were searching for Indian trails, but found none. We then returned to the post. On February 22, 1889, my troop was ordered to San Carlos, Arizona Territory. We arrived there after four days' hard march. Our camp was established on the north side and along the Gila River. I was detailed as lineman. I had to ride and keep the telegraph line in good repair between Camp Carlos and Globe, a mining camp about thirty-five miles from San Carlos.

There were two troops of the Tenth Cavalry, F and E; G Troop of the Fourth Cavalry and companies C and G of the Twenty-fourth Infantry. There were several thousands of Indians on this reservation. I often had to ride the line alone, and had to pass within two miles of a band of hostile Indians who had intrenched themselves on the heights opposite Benson's Camp, within twelve miles of Carlos.

"Churchana, an Indian chief, had established his headquarters near Benson's Camp and defied the government to arrest him. We kept a detail of twelve men and one noncommissioned officer at Benson's Camp, two miles from the hostile intrenchment. It was a very unpleasant duty that I had to perform, as often I had to pass this camp in the night.

"April 9, 1889, Lieutenant (now Captain) Watson, Lieutenant Dade and Lieutenant Littebrant of the

Tenth, with three troops and sixty Indian scouts, surrounded the hostile camp and demanded their surrender, which was accepted on conditions. The Indian chief was to identify and turn over all the murderers and the government was not to prosecute him. When the fact became known among the Indians that the chief was going to surrender they mutinied, and in the fight four were killed, and the chief was stabbed in several places and was admitted in the government hospital. Lieutenant Watson at daybreak planted two Hotchkiss guns, six hundred yards east of their fortified position, and trained the guns on their works, and thus effected the surrender.

"These same guns helped to form our battery before Santiago, and of which I was gunner.

"After the surrender of the Indians my troop was ordered to change stations with troop I of our regiment. We arrived at Fort Apache, Arizona Territory, October 17, 1889, after a seven days' march over a rough and rocky road. I was detailed as clerk in the regimental adjutant's office, November 10, 1889, and served until made corporal, June 15, 1890. My first target practice with the rifle was at San Carlos. I stood No. 2 in the troop of sixty men although it was the first time that I had ever shot a rifle. I was made sharpshooter in that year, 1889, and have ever since led my troop in marksmanship. I represented my troop in 1892, '93, and '94, winning eight medals and badges at the department competition. I also in 1894 won three gold medals when I represented the Department of the Dakotas at the army competition at Fort Sheridan and carried off the first gold medal.

"Our regiment was ordered to Chickamauga, April 14, 1898. My troop, G, at this time, was in the field. First Lieutenant W. H. Smith and Second Lieutenant

Johnson and thirty-eight enlisted men had been ordered to do patrol duty in the Blackfeet Reservation, which the government had announced would be thrown open for settlement on the 15th of April, 1889.

"When the order came for us to go South, General Henry sent a telegram for the troop to report at the post as soon as possible. The troop arrived at post at 2:30 p.m. on the 16th, looking very much fatigued, having patrolled the Canadian line, a portion of the Rocky Mountains and St. Marys Lake; a part of the time wading through mud and water from two to three feet deep and more than half of the time without anything to eat.

"We left Fort Assiniboine, Montana, April 19th. We were delayed near a little town in Wisconsin about twenty-two hours on account of the burning of a bridge just before we reached it. It was thought that it was burned on purpose to have us lie over there.

"We received great ovations all along the line. Thousands of people were thronged at the places where we would stop and we were treated royally; at Madison, Wisconsin, we were presented with enough flags to decorate our train and were given cigars and many other pleasantries. Our band would play in response to the ovations that were given us from time to time.

"After reaching Illinois we received both flags and flowers from the ladies and sentimentals. I planted one of the flags given me on the crest of San Juan Hill, July 1, 1898. As we neared the South, the great demonstrations became less fervent. There were no places that we arrived in where we were courteously treated.

"The signs over the waiting room doors at the Southern depots were a revelation to us. Some read thus: 'White waiting room.' On the door of a much poorer room we read: 'Niggers are not allowed inside.' We

White, Walter

How Far the Promised Land. New York: The Viking Press, 1955.

Its headline was printed in bold type, and read: HOMES OF EIGHTEEN NEGROES BOMBED BY KU KLUX KLAN IN BIRMINGHAM, ALA., U.S.A. A member of our party who represented influential business interests looked at it, then turned to me in deep discouragement and remarked, "We're wasting our time here. We might just as well take the next plane out and turn Asia over to the Communists."

Later we talked about what would happen to the American industrial civilization should it become impossible for the Western world to import from Asia those minerals and other materials so essential to our own industrial and military production—tin, rubber, tungsten, cobalt, uranium, and so forth, to say nothing of the moral as well as military catastrophe that would accompany loss of the friendship and faith of more than a billion Asians. Someone mentioned the grave danger that, if this happened, Africa would swiftly follow Asia into the orbit of the Soviet Union. But at the time we first saw the headlines we were not able fully to discuss this situation, because we could hear the highly animated talk of the journalists who awaited us inside the club. None of our party needed to be told that the two front-page stories would be the taking-off-point for an interview in a continent where color consciousness runs high, particularly where the United States is concerned. We had learned that a few days before in Pakistan, when lurid stories had come over the cables about the rioting at Peekskill, New York, involving Paul Robeson.

Our fears took no longer to materialize than the time it took for the amenities of introductions. My wife and I remembered the warning that Madame Vijayalakshmi Pandit, sister of the great Pandit Nehru and at that time Ambassador of India to the United States, had voiced to us before we left New York. "You'll find India at its hottest and worst in August, and you'll encounter some of the most persistent and skeptical newspaper correspondents in the world."

We found her admonition an understatement. The questions asked in crisp British accents softened somewhat by Urdu or Hindustani tumbled over one another in a bombardment that neither the heat nor the hum of ceiling fans nor the street noises lessened.

There were questions about Kashmir; about the American attitude toward Communist China; about Point Four aid and its motivation; whether the North Atlantic pact with Europe signified American backing of colonialism in Asian areas such as Indochina and Indonesia; whether the United States planned to use the atom bomb only against dark-skinned peoples. A few of the queries revealed obvious pro-Communist and anti-American convictions or sympathies; most of them, however, were clearly motivated by an honest desire to get at the facts. It was very clear that our questioners were implacable in their hostility to any and every form of condescension or exploitation of Asia by the white Western world and that they were passionately devoted to the social revolution that Gandhi had started and that their beloved Nehru was continuing.

The most persistent and difficult questions were those about the status of the Negro in the United States. These bowled over many in our party. The Indian newsmen appeared to possess encyclopedic knowledge of lynching, disfranchisement, segregation, Senate filibusters against such civil-rights legislation as Fair Employment Practices Committee bills, and the anti-Negro speeches of Americans such as Bilbo, Rankin, Talmadge, and Byrnes. Some of them appeared to be convinced that every one of the fifteen million Negroes in the United States had to get off the sidewalk when a white man came near, lived perpetually in terror of lynching, and generally occupied lower status than the Untouchables of their own country.

George Denny, the leader of the Round the World Town Meeting, turned over the questions regarding race to me as Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, about which, fortunately, some of the journalists had read. It was not an easy assignment. I remember particularly one tart-tongued man who apparently had memorized every detail of every race riot and lynching that had ever occurred in the United States, including some that I had personally investigated. I had to rack my memory to match his familiarity with the facts. There was little effort to

conceal his conviction—which some of the other reporters shared —that America is barbarous in its treatment of all non-white human beings.

All of us were handicapped and embarrassed because the facts were indisputable. Some of our party were angered but tactfully reserved their most vigorous comments until later, when we were alone. One American was particularly bitter as he asked, "What business have they attacking us for a few lynchings when they have a caste system here which is worse than our racial discrimination at home?" When I pointed out that the government of India had outlawed discrimination based on caste or religion while our Senate had successfully blocked anti-discrimination laws through filibusters, his anger against our Indian critics was such that he appeared to see no relevance in the comparison.

What appalled us most was the almost total absence of information concerning the hard-won progress that had been made in the fight for racial equality in the United States. All of the newsmen had read of the notable work of Dr. Ralph J. Bunche as mediator in Palestine. Joe Louis as world heavyweight champion was known, though some were interested in him chiefly because the fact that he was permitted to fight and beat white men puzzled them, being a contradiction of what they believed the Negro's status to be. Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt's consistent, lifelong opposition to prejudices of every sort was familiar to some of the journalists, but they made it clear that they did not believe her to be typical.

Even the presence in the Town Meeting party of Mrs. Edith Sampson, a successful Negro woman lawyer from Chicago, who was to serve later as a member of the United States delegation to the United Nations, and myself, as Secretary of the NAACP, seemed to have little immediate effect in dispelling the journalists' concepts of the inferior status of the Negro in America. We answered the avalanche of questions as factually and as honestly as we could. It would have been absurd to deny the truth. Bigots had built over the years too damning a record, and that record was better known to our inquisitors than it was to many in our own party. All of us were

decent Americans well informed on a variety of subjects, ranging from banking and agriculture through education and fraternal organizations to human rights. Most of the group had left the United States believing that the race problem, if not minor, was at least merely one of a number of questions facing the world. It had been a jolt of considerable proportions for the white members of the group to find themselves in a world where their faces were tiny pale specks among millions of dark faces.

We met the issue by saying something like this: No honest American denies the existence of racial and religious bigotry in the United States, any more than any honest citizen of the Commonwealth of India denies the fact that caste discrimination has not entirely been eliminated in India. Thoughtful Americans are not only heartily ashamed by the continuation of prejudice in their country, but many of them are effectively doing something about it. A few are doing much, more are doing a little, some are doing nothing or are actively working to perpetuate prejudice. In a democratic society where there is freedom of the right to protest against even the government itself, some progress toward abolition of the color line in jobs, voting, the armed services, and education is being made. Not enough of course. But with all its shortcomings a democracy does permit dissent, which is not possible in dictatorship of either left or right. Where all power is vested in a dictator or a small clique, however benevolent its announced objectives, protestants against government usually wind up, I reminded the newsmen, in prison or facing a firing squad.

Another episode that indicated the need to tell the true story of race occurred at a dinner party in Karachi given for us by the vivacious wife of a high government official. Both of them were widely traveled in Asia and Europe but at the time had not visited the United States. With tact and delicacy they and the other Pakistani guests approached questions about race they obviously were eager to ask. Their curiosity and perplexity were measurably heightened by stories in the Pakistan newspapers that my wife and I were an interracial couple, the possibility of such a marriage in the

United States being totally at odds with all they had heard. Confusion was compounded for them, apparently, by the fact that my wife is a brunette and I am blond. As we watched the eyes of the guests shift in increasing puzzlement from my wife to me and back again it was apparent that they were trying to figure out which of us was colored.

When finally our hostess accepted me as a Negro, she asked if I would be willing to answer some quite personal questions. I told her she could ask any question she wished.

"How did you obtain an education in the United States?" was her first query.

I told her how, with the aid of my parents and through working during summer vacations, I had paid for the modest formal training I possessed.

Impatiently she brushed aside my reply. "I know all about the Horatio Alger rags-to-riches tradition of you Americans," she told me. "That isn't what I meant at all. What I want to know is how you *as a Negro* got an education, since it is well known that Negroes in the United States are not permitted to go to institutions of higher education."

I told her about the establishment of Atlanta, Fisk, and Howard Universities after the Civil War, to give Negroes higher education.

She politely cut short my explanation. "Oh, what I meant was that you have laws and customs prohibiting Negroes from attending schools with whites."

Had our hostess been less well informed on a variety of subjects, her incomplete knowledge would have been understandable. But because she represented the best-informed opinion of Pakistan, her views were both disconcerting and startling in revealing American failure to tell the facts about the issue that creates more doubt than any other about America's sincerity among the two-thirds of the world's people who are non-white.

We told her and the other guests that Negroes were barred from tax-supported and private colleges and professional schools only in

the South. One of the guests who had been in the United States asked somewhat acidly about the quota system affecting Negroes, Jews, and other minorities, and the domination of campus life by fraternities and conservative boards of trustees. We had to admit that such handicaps to democratic education exist.

But when we told them of the series of legal cases which were even then being carried to the United States Supreme Court—decisions which we were certain would lead to the admission of Negro students to state colleges in Southern States—there was incredulity on the faces of our audience. The following year we could have informed them that ten state universities in the South were open to students on a non-segregated basis, and that Negroes were faculty members of seventy-two non-segregated colleges and universities.

In India, Pakistan, Malaya, and the Philippines we found a willingness to listen to the facts. But when one encounters men and women from the Soviet Union or her satellites, there is usually found belligerent denial that treatment of Negroes in the United States is ever anything but foul. Here is the story of one such encounter.

In 1948 I attended in Paris the meetings of the General Assembly of the United Nations as one of the non-governmental-organization representatives. Of all the issues on the agenda, the most hotly debated were genocide and human rights. I was invited to do a world-wide broadcast over the UN radio on how the efforts for a human-rights covenant and a genocide convention appeared to an American Negro. I gladly accepted, and showed up at the agreed time at the broadcasting station in the labyrinthian bowels of the vast Palais de Chaillot. As I was about to begin, the argumentative chief of the Polish delegation, Juliusz Katz-Suchy, stormed into the studio to demand that he record a broadcast immediately. It seemed that he had been detained from keeping his appointment, which had been scheduled a half-hour ahead of mine. He was told politely that because he was tardy preparations had been made to permit me to do my chore.

uttered by American white people are these: "Sure, I like so and so" (a Negro whom the speaker happens to know); "he's different from most of them," and, "Not that I have any prejudice, but I wouldn't want to have a Negro live next door to me because it would lower the value of my property." In those exceptional cases in which Negroes have moved into white neighborhoods without violent opposition, the coldness and passive hostility that have greeted them on arrival has often changed to warm friendliness and respect, once acquaintance has been established and ignorance dispelled. In such cases it is evident that the prejudice-revealing statements made by whites before any real acquaintance with Negroes are mere unthinking, parrot-like repetitions of a policy line established by leadership often unrecognized and unacknowledged by those who follow it.

The past fifteen years have seen full integration in the armed services of the United States, the Supreme Court's decision against segregation in the public schools, a vastly improved status for the Negro in employment and trade-union relations, increase in the life expectancy and general health of American Negroes—in short, remarkable progress toward full democratic equality in all fields save one, where progress has been spotty and isolated, and where the reactionary enemies of enlightenment seemingly remain firmly intrenched. This field, in which it is difficult to see much concrete evidence that any general advance has been made, is housing.

Why?

Back of the blind, unreasoning prejudices, and the oft-repeated clichés by which they are rationalized, lies a story of careful planning and propagandizing of which many Americans are unaware. Throughout the 1930s and 1940s, when enlightenment was slowly spreading and affecting public opinion to the point at which the long-overdue improvements previously mentioned could be made, in real estate, a strong reactionary force dedicated to segregation in the sacred cause of "keeping property values up," was building up its power. Before 1930 real-estate selling and management were largely unorganized affairs, in which real-estate agents and

property owners operated individually or through local associations. With the formation and continuously growing strength of the National Association of Real Estate Boards (NAREB), which consisted in 1950 of eleven hundred member boards with 45,539 members paying annual dues of $420,000, the situation changed markedly.

Associated with the NAREB are such organizations as the United States Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Home Builders, the United States Savings and Loan League, the National Association of Lumber Dealers, and others. In combination they have set up what President Truman called the most dangerous lobby in Washington.

Radio and television, the press, college textbooks on selling real estate, "city planning" and real-estate management, the real-estate lobby's incessant pressure on federal legislation—all constantly and without compromise, though often subtly, reiterate the sacred principle that members of "undesirable races" shall never be allowed to live in "good" neighborhoods inhabited, or suitable for habitation, by whites.

Such passages as this occur in texts used in training courses.

> Sometimes a relatively poor location may be so improved and restricted as to greatly enhance its natural value. It is a matter of common observation that the purchase of property by certain racial types is very likely to diminish the value of other property in the section.[1]
>
> Residential values are affected by racial and religious factors. . . . A home utility seeks location near people . . . but always near persons of the same social standing, same races . . .[2]

The prospective buyer might be a bootlegger who would cause considerable annoyance to his neighbors, a madame who had a number of call girls on her string, a gangster, who wants a screen for his activities by living in a better neighborhood, a colored man of means who was

[1] *The Principles of Real Estate Practice*. Ernest McKinley Fisher. New York: Macmillan, 1923. Quoted by Charles Abrams in *Forbidden Neighbors*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1955. Mr. Fisher was, at the time the book was published, Assistant Executive Director of NAREB.

[2] *The Appraisal of Real Estate*. Frederick M. Babcock. New York: Macmillan, 1924. Quoted in Abrams, *op. cit.*

giving his children a college education and thought they were entitled to live among whites. . . . No matter what the motive or character of the would-be purchaser, if the deal would instigate a form of blight, then certainly the well-meaning broker must work against its consummation.[3]

In what charming company are we classed by NAREB!

A realtor should never be instrumental in introducing into a neighborhood a character of property or occupancy of any race or nationality . . . which will clearly be detrimental to property values in that neighborhood.[4]

Real-estate agents who have been adjudged to have violated this rule by selling property to members of "undesirable" races have been expelled from the Association.

This is but a mild sampling of the solemn poison that is served to students eager to earn the right to call themselves "realtors," a title that is copyrighted by NAREB and may be used only by its members. Many more examples could be cited—this, for instance:

There is a natural inclination of the colored people to live together in their own communities. . . . Property values have been sadly depreciated by having a single colored family settle down on a street occupied exclusively by white residents. . . . Segregation of the Negro population seems to be the reasonable solution. . . . Frankly, rigid segregation seems to be the only manner in which the difficulty can be successfully controlled. . . . The colored people certainly have a right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, but they must recognize the economic disturbance which their presence in a white neighborhood causes, and forego their desire to split off from the established district where the rest of their race lives.[5]

[3] "Fundamentals of Real Estate Practice." National Association of Real Estate Boards, 1943. Quoted in *Equality of Opportunity in Housing*, New York: National Community Relations Advisory Council, 1952, and in Abrams, *op. cit.*

[4] "Code of Ethics." National Association of Real Estate Boards, 1950. Quoted in Abrams, *op. cit.*

[5] *City Growth and Values.* Stanley L. McMichael and R. F. Bingham. Cleveland: The Stanley McMichael Publishing Organization, 1923. Quoted in Abrams, *op. cit.*

And this:

Southern cities have by hard experience evolved a method of handling the situation which may appear objectionable but which seems to be effective.[6]

One text earnestly lists what might be called "the pecking order" —that is, the degree of undesirability of national and racial groups in a white American neighborhood. In this weird classification there are ten categories, listed in a descending scale of desirability. English immigrants have the honor of being classed as the least undesirable, Mexicans are most to be avoided, and Negroes are listed next to Mexicans in undesirability.[7]

According to Herbert U. Nelson, Executive Vice-President of NAREB (as quoted by Charles Abrams in *Forbidden Neighbors*), there are now some eight hundred books on the subject. In none which Mr. Abrams examined was he able to find any deviation from NAREB's anti-Negro policy. Courses in real estate, NAREB has announced, are now given in one hundred sixty-five universities and colleges, forty of which have majors in the subject. It is from the classrooms in which these courses are taught that many of today's and tomorrow's "realtors" come, thoroughly indoctrinated with the evils of racism.

The policy of NAREB, thoroughly and constantly reiterated by the real-estate lobby, has been tragically reflected in official government policy by the Federal Housing Administration, which, ever since its formation in 1934, has openly held to a policy of segregation in housing, and has been a staunch protector of the all-white neighborhood. It has published several manuals, which echo the policies of NAREB in such passages as these:

The Valuator should investigate areas surrounding the location to determine whether or not incompatible racial or social groups are

[6] *Real Estate Fundamentals*. Charles T. Male. New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1932. Quoted in Abrams, *op. cit.*

[7] *One Hundred Years of Land Values in Chicago*. Homer Hoyt. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1933. Cited by Abrams, *op. cit.*

present. . . . A change in social or racial occupancy generally leads to instability and a reduction in values. . . . If a neighborhood is to retain stability, it is necessary that properties shall continue to be occupied by the same social and racial class.[8]

Thus, during the decade and a half in which the American Negro was, in most fields, making the most signal advances in his history, his natural desire for a decent home of his own was continuously thwarted by shortsighted economic interests, with the blessing of an agency of the federal government of the world's most powerful democracy.

A number of simple subterfuges have been found that have made it possible to use zoning laws against Negroes, in spite of the illegality of racial zoning. Zoning commissions are given a certain latitude of interpretation and the power to make exceptions. Rules that make building economically impractical, or even impossible, for all save the extremely wealthy may be inserted into the ordinances. Some of these rules may be waived when a builder for whites applies for relief from them, and strictly enforced if the building is for Negroes or members of other unwanted minority groups. Or zoning ordinances may suddenly be changed when it becomes known that "undesirables" plan to build in a neighborhood. In Miami and near Philadelphia formerly residential property was quickly rezoned for industrial use when there was intimation that it was to be used for Negro dwellings. In Birmingham, in 1949, after several Negro houses had been dynamited, a fifty-foot strip of land six blocks long, between Negro and white residences, was zoned for industrial use. In Michigan, after a group of Negroes had bought land on which to build, a suddenly passed zoning ordinance prohibited their building a house on less than a twenty-acre parcel of land!

It may seem out of place, in a book which has been written in order to record the advances made by Negro Americans during

[8] *Underwriting Manual.* Washington: Federal Housing Administration, 1938. Quoted in Abrams, *op. cit.*

the last fifteen years, to record in such detail and so positively the sordid story of reactionary attitudes and their baleful influence on Negro housing.

Two considerations impel me to do so. One is that the report of most heartening advances toward true emancipation for the American Negro would be unconvincing and distorted unless it included this unhappy story of one of the most important fields of Negro life, in which the slow rate of advance has not by any means kept pace with advances in other fields. The other consideration is more complicated, and perhaps more important.

In judging any movement, two often seemingly separated factors must be taken into consideration. One is the complex of physical facts. The physical facts of most Negro housing are still distressingly bad, partly, as we have seen, because of the determined and intensive efforts of a powerful minority of real-estate and associated interests. The other factor is composed of the changing attitudes of many people, who are influenced by related changes. In this aspect there is no question that the Negro's prospects of better housing have improved tremendously, along with his prospects in other fields. The outlawing of segregation in schools by the Supreme Court, the general smoothness with which integration in the armed services has worked, the steady decrease of discrimination in unions and employment, the acknowledged rise of Negro political power—all point to an inevitable eventual breaking down of housing segregation. The policy of NAREB has outlived its time, and public opinion will inevitably overcome it.

Some evidences of this may be discovered in by-products of some of the most horrible stories of violence in the housing situation that the past decade has produced.

Consider, for instance, the story of the Harvey Clarks of Cicero, Illinois. In the details of force and destructiveness, mob psychology, and support by police of lawlessness rather than decency, law, and order, it is one of the most revolting episodes in American race relations. It would be difficult for a skilled writer of creative

fiction to make it seem worse than it was. Yet in the wake of the horror were evidences of the progress in enlightenment that America has made during the last fifteen years.

On July 8, 1951, Harvey Clark and his wife, pleasant and attractive, quiet and industrious, both with college degrees, attempted to move, with their young daughter, Michele, and son, Harvey Jr., into an apartment that they had rented in Cicero, a suburb near Chicago which had long boasted that it had no Negro residents. They were met by a detachment of police headed by Erwin Konovsky, Chief of Police, roughly handled, and told that no "niggers" would ever be allowed to live in Cicero.

Seeking protection from the courts, they were represented by George Leighton, a Negro, a Harvard Law School graduate, and Chairman of the Legal Committee of the Chicago branch of the NAACP. He asked for, and received, from Federal Judge John P. Barnes, an injunction ordering the Cicero police not to interfere with the Clarks' occupying their home, but on the contrary to protect the Clarks against any interference from others.

On July 12, thus "protected," as they thought, the Clarks moved in. As the news of their arrival spread, a mob estimated at from four to six thousand assembled, advanced into the twenty-apartment building, and made a shambles of it. The Clarks' furniture and other personal belongings (including Harvey Clark's honorable discharge from the Army) were thrown into the street and burned in a bonfire. A new piano, bought at considerable sacrifice for the talented young Michele, was hacked to pieces and thrown out the window to add to the flames. The Cicero police stood by, their inaction giving tacit approval to the ghastly savagery.

The physical violence was finally quelled only after Governor Adlai Stevenson rushed units of the Illinois National Guard into Cicero to take over the job the Cicero police had refused to do. A special Grand Jury was impaneled. Two months later it handed down indictments—not of the rioters or the police, but of George Leighton and others who had stood on the side of the Clarks, law, and order!

These fantastic indictments were, of course, challenged at once by the NAACP and were subsequently dismissed. The federal government then stepped into the situation, with the result that seven Cicero officials, including the president of the town council, the city attorney, the fire marshal, a police sergeant, and two policemen, were indicted. The Cook County Grand Jury also indicted Chief of Police Konovsky for misconduct in office.[9]

So much for one of the most shameful episodes in Cicero's somewhat unsavory history. That it could have happened anywhere in the world at any time is a measure of the depths of depravity and unreasoning cruelty to which *Homo sapiens*—thinking man—can sink. That it could have happened in America, the "bulwark of democracy," "the land of the free and the home of the brave," would be inconceivable to anyone who did not know the dreary history of Negro-white relationships in the United States. That it could have occurred in 1951, in a Northern state, during the fifteen years marked by the greatest progress toward full equality that the American Negro had made in his entire history, might seem, in the minds of the easily discouraged, to negate all the other advances. It might, that is, if they did not know the rest of the story.

Immediately after the event, Barry Gray, a popular and courageous New York radio commentator, invited me to tell on his program what had happened to the Clarks. While we were still on the air a woman listener telephoned to say that she was mailing a check for fifty dollars to start a fund to buy Michele a new piano. Within a few days more than a thousand dollars had been collected. Three piano-dealers offered instruments at wholesale rates. From all over the country, in indignant reaction to the story published by a weekly magazine, money was sent to enable the Clarks to buy new furniture. Norwalk, Connecticut, asked them to be guests of honor at the celebration of the three hundredth anniversary of the

[9] Konovsky and two others were tried and fined by a federal court, but the sentence was appealed. In 1954 the United States Court of Appeals reversed the decision, citing prejudicial error; and at the request of the Attorney General the federal court dismissed the indictments. (Editor's note.)

founding of the city. They were warmly invited to become permanent residents, and a musical scholarship was given Michele.

The Clarks, however, as a matter of principle, returned to Chicago, determined to continue their efforts until they and any other Negroes could live in Cicero in peace and safety. So universal was the nation's condemnation that Cicero authorities were reported in the press as planning to change the name of the town and employ a publicity expert to refurbish its reputation.

The Clarks have an apartment now—but in a segregated neighborhood.

Mixed with the horror and discouragement innate in the story of the Harvey Clarks and Cicero, there is an element of comfort, and a measure of the change in public attitude—in spite of the intensive and determined efforts of the NAREB and the real-estate lobby and the sporadic outbreaks of their unwitting dupes.

Fifteen years earlier there would undoubtedly have been protests and indignation against the treatment the Clarks received in Cicero. That these would have been less widespread, less voluble, and less effective, is certain. All over America today, in both North and South, non-governmental organizations and individuals are working quietly and effectively to build up public sentiment in support of the right of any American to buy and peacefully to occupy a home anywhere, without exclusion because of race, color of skin, or religion.

New York City, Detroit, Michigan, and Berkeley, California, are illustrative. In 1940 all but a very few of New York's 477,494 Negroes lived in Harlem or the Bedford-Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn. Since then many thousands of them have bought or are renting homes and apartments in various parts of Long Island, Westchester County, and the five boroughs of Greater New York. It would not be accurate to say that this dispersal of population was accomplished wholly without opposition or difficulty, or to assert that the majority of New York Negroes today live elsewhere than in the Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant sections. But in a remarkable majority of cases in which individual Negroes have moved

into formerly all-white areas, no untoward incidents have occurred. The chief difficulty Negroes have experienced has been in obtaining mortgages and funds for construction outside the so-called Negro areas, because of the discriminatory practices of the FHA and of banks and mortgage companies influenced by the inflexible policy of the groups associated in the real-estate lobby. Several years of unceasing effort by the NAACP and others were required to have removed from the FHA operating manual the clause instructing banks to insure mortgages only in "racially homogeneous" areas.

The success of racial integration in public housing in New York is one of the reasons why its present Negro population of 775,529 is finding it easier to acquire housing in various areas of the city. That energetic champion of public housing, the late Mayor Fiorello H. LaGuardia, was equally an energetic foe of segregation. So, too, have been most of the heads of the City Housing Authority. One of the first of them, Langdon Post, was concerned when the integration program was inaugurated lest the first colored tenants admitted be met with violence or other hostility. Nevertheless, he went ahead. Today Negro and white tenants live in peace in every one of the city's housing projects.

The city's major problem rises from the acute need for housing among Negroes and Puerto Ricans. Since vacancies are allotted on the basis of need instead of race, some of the housing projects are in danger of becoming segregated simply as a result of being filled with the most needy, who are so often dark-skinned peoples.

An interesting case study of improvement, both in attitude and in the physical facts of Negro housing, is furnished by Detroit, which has variously been called "the arsenal of democracy," "the grand duchy of Ford," "the world capital of the assembly line," and many other names that it accepts proudly. But this hustling, brawling town has also been called the hotbed of race riots.

Now, however, an extraordinary change is taking place. No one would be so foolhardy as to say that other riots may not occur or to claim that the racial and religious tensions have disappeared—

half-car was crushed like an accordion, such was the terrific impact from the head-on crash of the speeding trains.

Despite these and other instances of brutality and intransigent insistence on complete segregation, two major developments took place during the 1940s. The most basic of these was the realization by Americans, and particularly by Negroes themselves, that segregation in travel could no longer be tolerated. Where colored passengers had silently endured being forced to pay first-class fares for third-class or worse accommodations, with all the hazards and embarrassments attendant on such travel, more of them began to fight back. Negroes were fighting and dying for freedom on battlefronts all over the world. Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill were exhorting the free peoples of the world to make whatever sacrifice was needed to save the world from nazism. American Negroes identified themselves totally with the war objectives, but had one additional aim—they were determined to share the freedom for which the world was fighting.

Up to this time they had bitterly resented travel segregation, but had been content, in the main, to obtain equal accommodations. Resignation was replaced by a new resolution to utilize every legitimate means to end the abuses from which Negroes had suffered at the hands of the public carriers, the law, and the white public. To this end two developments came into being: first, to submit no longer in silence; and, second, to fight segregation itself and no longer be content with allegedly equal facilities. "There is separation but it is seldom, if ever, complete," Charles S. Johnson wrote in 1943 in his able *Patterns of Negro Segregation*, "and accommodations are seldom equal or similar." A firm resolve came unnoticed into the pattern of Negro thinking and action to end both separation and inequality.

The first widely publicized blow was the suit for damages brought in 1937 by Arthur W. Mitchell, Negro congressman from Illinois, when he was ejected from a Pullman car in Arkansas. A measure of the considerable improvement was the fact that Mr. Mitchell, even though a member of the House of Representatives,

was able to purchase Pullman accommodations at all in 1937. Even in 1943, Dr. Johnson reported: "Only in exceptional cases are Negroes sold accommodations in Pullman cars; they are ordinarily obtained through some irregular procedure, such as having a white person purchase the reservation, or approaching a friendly railroad official who will sell the reservations without regard for the prohibition features of the laws. . . . The Negroes who occasionally procure Pullman accommodations on trains . . . are given 'Lower 13,' the drawing room; and this is interpreted as providing segregated quarters."

Besides enabling him to travel more comfortably, the "Lower-13" device bestowed one additional benefit on the Negro who occupied such a drawing room—he was usually charged only the price of a lower berth. The irony of such subterfuges was illustrated by the bewilderment of a Southern Railway conductor in a situation in which I was involved. In 1931 I went to Atlanta, accompanied by my four-year-old son, to speak at a meeting celebrating the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation. In discussing the problem of travel, my sister, who was registrar of the Atlanta School of Social Work, told me how she was accustomed to obtaining "Lower-13" accommodations northward out of Atlanta for such Negroes as Dr. Moton of Tuskegee and Dr. John Hope, President of Atlanta University, by telephoning a friendly official of the Southern Railway.

The conversation invariably was almost a ritual. My sister would say, "I would like a lower berth to New York for next Thursday [or whatever day passage was desired] on the Crescent Limited."

The reply would come, "I have reserved a *lower*. When do you wish to pick it up?"

My sister, being indistinguishable from a white person, would go to the office to *pay* for a lower berth but *receive* a ticket for a drawing room.

She suggested that on my return trip to New York I might as well be the beneficiary of the Southern obsession with its own racial superiority. I was delighted to do so, and was pleased to find that the Pullman porter was an old friend with whom I had gone to

grammar school in Atlanta. He was most gracious in making my son and me comfortable, and we had a good time talking over old times—that is, until the conductor and his assistant arrived to take our tickets. They could not understand why passengers who were apparently white should occupy choice space costing two and a half times that of a berth.

The porter and I, being opposed also to discrimination against white Americans, did nothing to ease their embarrassment as they sought to find the answer without risking trouble through asking questions that might give offense. Thoroughly baffled, they eventually abandoned their quest and went about their business of taking tickets from the other passengers. They thought they had found revenge when they returned that evening as my son and I were preparing to go to bed. The porter had made up both lower berths. In triumphant anger the conductor told me I would have to pay for an additional full-fare railroad ticket and lower berth if we used more than one berth. When I informed him we would use only one berth he ordered the porter to unmake one berth. The man complied by folding back the mattress.

As soon as the conductors left, the porter restored the berth and told me to lock the door and use both berths. We were scheduled to arrive in Washington at four a.m., at which point the Southern Railway conductor would end his run. By the time we awakened we had left Washington and were on our way to New York, and there was, of course, no difficulty with the Pennsylvania Railroad conductor who was then in charge of the train. For a long time afterward the Southern conductor sought to worm out of my porter friend the reason for my occupying "Lower 13," but his failure was as complete as his bewilderment.

Congressman Mitchell's suit for damages sought to wipe out the practice of denying Pullman accommodations to Negroes. After three years of litigation in lower courts his case was considered by the United States Supreme Court and decided by it in 1940. The court ruled that whether the demand by Negroes for Pullman accommodations be great or small, failure of the railroads to supply

equal-though-separate accommodations violated the equal protection guaranteed by the federal Constitution. The court further made it clear that that protection was an individual instead of a group right, which answered the defense contention that the cost of dual service would be prohibitive, since not enough Negroes bought Pullman space to warrant providing an extra Pullman and an extra dining car for each train having such accommodations for whites.

Dr. Johnson described the device used to comply with the court's order this way: "A curtain was hung in the dining car, and it was exposed only enough to indicate the intent to segregate."

But the war played its part in making even this subterfuge difficult to operate. For reasons of climate, many military installations had been located in the Southern states, and more were being erected. These included non-segregated officers' training camps in places such as Fort Benning, Georgia; Fort Sill, Oklahoma; and Fort Hood in Texas. Vouchers for Pullman berths and meals on dining cars were supplied by the War Department in many, if not most, instances to white and colored officers alike and to many enlisted men of both races, especially returning wounded veterans. The number of such military personnel, added to the number of Negro civilians able to travel in Pullmans because of increased employment and wages due to the war, so increased travel that the cost of separating curtains for diners became a sizable item of expense in itself.

There were other problems for the railroads, though unfortunately these were not as frequently encountered as would have been desirable to speed the abolition of silly devices and stratagems.

One of the greatest heroes of the war was a gallant young white Mississippi airman who received nationwide acclaim when he returned, gravely wounded, to the United States to receive from President Roosevelt at the White House the Congressional Medal of Honor. The members of Congress from Mississippi arranged a press conference for the young hero when he reached Washington, at which he related with modest reluctance the experiences that had brought him fame.

The late Senator Theodore Bilbo sought, as was his wont, to bring

A SAMPLE OF LAWS ON THE SEPARATION OF RACES
IN TRANSPORTATION IN THE SOUTHERN REGION

The following statutory provisions are taken from Charles S. Mangum, Jr., The Legal Status of the Negro (1940).

1. "The southern and border states have sought to handle the matter (of racial antipathy) be means of Jim Crow laws and regulations which make it unlawful for any carrier . . . to transport white and colored passengers in the same vehicle or the same portion thereof."

2. "Oklahoma and all former slave-holding states, with the exception of Delaware, Missouri, and West Virginia, have made provision by statute for an enforced separation of the white and Negro races in railways operated in the jurisdiction. . ."

   "Most of the statutes contain provisions punishing the carrier for a failure to carry out the terms of the law, making such a dereliction of duty a misdemeanor."

   Members of one race are not permitted to "remain" in the coach, or coaches, provided for members of another race in the Southern Region without likelihood of penalty or charge of violation of the regulations of these states.

3. "In Georgia a special statute makes compulsory the separation of the races on Pullmans."

4. Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Virginia "give express permission to use partitioned or compartment cars, one portion for whites and the other for Negroes."

   Kentucky, Maryland, Oklahoma, Texas and Virginia "require signs designating the race which is to use the particular coach or compartment."

5. The following southern states having railway Jim Crow laws also require separate accommodations on street railways: "Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia. Alabama, Kentucky, and Maryland are exceptions here."

   Note: A recent study of the city of Jacksonville, Florida, showed that the city law does not require separation of races in local bus transportation, but that the races nevertheless follow the usual separation pattern in the use of these facilities.

6. Arkansas, Tennessee, and Virginia "give the conductors on street railways authority to change the line of division between the races," and the statutes of Georgia, North Carolina, and South Carolina could easily be so interpreted.

7. In statutes relating to Jim Crow accommodations on street cars, Oklahoma and Virginia "exempt from the operation of the statute officers in charge of prisoners"; Oklahoma, Texas and Virginia "exempt company employees engaged in operating the cars"; while Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia exempt nurses in charge of children or infirm persons.

8. "It has been decided that southern steamship companies and those engaged in interstate traffic may make reasonable regulations for the separation of the races on their boats."

9. "Nine states have special Jim Crow laws requiring a separation of races on motor carriers." They are: Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, and Virginia. "The Alabama, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Oklahoma acts require separate waiting room facilities at bus stations."

10. "There are no Jim Crow laws applying to air carriers." Commercial air lines "may mix or segregate the races as they wish."

This memorandum prepared by

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

P. O. Box 1091
Mobile 6, Alabama
December 15, 1945

Honorable Members Alabama Public
Service Commission
Montgomery, Alabama

Re: Rule T-18

Gentlemen:

Citizens throughout the State of Alabama who sincerely respect democratic principles have expressed keen disappointment that the Alabama Public Service Commission would issue an edict which may be regarded as a retrogressive step through Rule T-18.

This order, Rule T-18, in its present form of language, if put into effect, would disturb reasonably satisfactory bi-racial travel conditions on the railroads of Alabama at this time. It would also raise certain questions of legality which may eventually lead to court action in an effort to prevent emasculation of the travel rights of colored citizens as plainly stated by the U. S. Supreme Court in the McCabe v. Atchinson, Topeka and Santa Fe Ry., cases.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in South Alabama respectfully urges the Honorable Members of the Alabama Public Service Commission to rescind their action collectively, or the action of the commission, in Rule T-18, which would require that curtains be drawn when colored passengers occupy space in open section of Pullman cars in traveling within or through the State of Alabama.

We also request that the provision which would compel colored passengers desiring dining car service eat in the said type car at other than the regular meal hours, unless curtains drawn, be stricken from the order.

Policies of separate servings of meals would deny to colored passengers the equal service to which they are lawfully entitled.

We urge that Rule T-18 be amended to also include a

A careful investigation conducted by us recently revealed that colored passengers traveling on railroads in the State of Alabama have not been permitted to sit in the lounge section of observation cars.

Likewise, it was found that colored passengers have been often deprived of berth space in Pullman cars for night travel and seat space in Pullman cars for day travel, merely because all enclosed space has been taken by white passengers.

We respectfully urge that the Alabama Public Service Commission insist upon the Railroads providing equal accommodations at all times for white and colored passengers. Such accommodations to be available in Pullman, observation and parlor cars.

Railroads often assign to colored passengers coach equipment that is far inferior in appointment and condition to that provided in same trains for white passengers.

We urge that the Alabama Public Service Commission compel the railroads furnish coaches or section of coaches that are equal in every respect for white and colored passengers who pay the same fares.

Respectfully submitted,

Marshall F. Robinson

Napoleon Rivers

E. L. LeFlore
Executive Secretary

Mobile Branch - National Association
For The Advancement of Colored People

P. O. Box 1091
Mobile 6, Alabama
December 15, 1945

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Mobile Branch - National Association
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To: Alabama Public Service Commission- Gordon Persons, President; W.C. Harrison Associate Commissioner; James Perdue, Associate Commissioner; Lamar W iley, Secretary.

From: The Committee for Equalization of Transportation Facilities in Alabama.

The Committee for Equalization of Transportation Facilities in Alabama has given due consideration to Rule T-18 of the Alabama Public Service Commission, and respectfully submits this memorandum to the Commission to be considered in the revision of this rule at its public hearing in Montgomery, Alabama at 11 AM, on Monday, December 17, 1945.

Preamble:

All Alabamians have been, and will continue to be, a completely integrated part of the global conflict waged against Nazi, Fascist, and Japanese ideologies of the Master and Super-Race. In the course of prosecution of this war, peoples all over the world have turned to the United States of America for leadership in the theory, profession, and practice of democracy -- of equality, justice, and liberty for all. The American people have incteasingly begun to abandon those concepts, practices, and techniques which perpetuate mores, customs, laws, traditions, and rituals contradictory to and inconsistent with the American theory and practice of democracy. The Alabama Public Service Commission's Rule T-18 forces onto citizens of the United States and Alabama special privilege and rights which involve a tilting of democracy towards one segment of the population; no group of citizens can afford to advocate or accept special priveleges and rights, for any group of citizens in the commonwealth and, as a group of citizens interested in the continued forward march of democracy in the United States and Alabama, the Committee for Equalization of Transportation Facilities in Alabama regards sections of Rule T-18 as incompatible to democratic precepts, theories, professions, and practices of democracy, as a threat to the continued growth and development of democracy in the State of Alabama, and as unnecessarily embarassing to the colored citizens of Alabama.

The Committee is fully aware that Section 196, Title 48, of the 1940 Code of Alabama requires " all railroads carrying passengers... (to) provide equal but separate accomodations for the white and colored races...". The Committee decries the fact that the Alabama Public Service Commission is faced with the unfortunate and unpleasant task of compelling the colored race to accept separate railroad accomodations. In complying with the law the committee is convinced that the separation of races can and should occur at a very high level, and without undue and unnecessary embarassment to either race. As representatives of the colored citizenry of Alabama, the Committee wishes to inform the Commission that certain sections of Rule T-18 are unnecessarily embarassing to the colored citizens of Alabama. Therefore, the Committee respectfully requests that these embarassing sections be deleted since they do not materially add to the application of the separate but equal provisions of the segregation laws, and not required by the law, nor contributal to the well-being of the colored citizens of Alabama.

Therefore, the Committee for Equalization of Transportation Facilities in Alabama respectfully urges the Alabama Public Service Commission to revise its Rule T-18 as indicated in the following proposals.

Proposal One: Since the law is mandatory, the Committee suggests that Item A of Rule T-18, titled DAY COACHES, be revised in such a manner as to specifically and clearly state the following: " Every train carrying day coach passengers shall provide separate cars for white and colored races which shall be equipped with separate but equal and the same accomodations and compartments, separated by permanent partitions and separate but equal and the same toilet and washroom facilities shall be provided for each race."

Proposal Two: Since the law is mandatory, the Committee suggests that Item C of Rule T-18 titled "ALL OTHER TYPE CARS, ETC" be revised in such a manner that it will specifically and clearly state , using the same language adopted in Item B of Rule T-18, certain provisions as regards transportation for members of the white and colored races. Specifically, the Committee requests revision of the following sections of Item C:

Section One: Section One to be revised in such a manner as to specifically and clearly state that; " Every train providing Pullman, observation parlor car, and other such type car service should carry accomodations variously known as "rooms," "Roomettes", "bedrooms", "compartments", or "drawing rooms"; these accomodations shall be equal and the same for white and colored passengers and every train carrying such accomodations shall provide equal and the same facilities for members of the colored race, and such accomodations shall be available at all times to members of the colored race."

Section Two: Section Two to be revised in such a manner as to specifically and clearly state that: " In each case where a colored person requests room or other types of accomodations, such accomodations shall be assigned at the regular tariff rate for such space, and such accomodations shall be provided at all times for members of the colored race."

Section Three: Section Three to be revised in such a manner as to specifically and clearly state the following: "Colored persons requesting berth (upper or lower) or seat space shall be assigned to berths or seats in rooms, roomettes, bedrooms, compartments, drawing rooms, or other types of available accomodations at the regular tariff rate for night service or seat rate for day service, and these accomodations shall be separate but equal and the same, and shall be provided and available to members of the colored race at all times as they are available to members of other races."

Section Four: Section Four to be revised in such a manner as to specifically and clearly state: "If space in rooms or other accomodations is not available, colored persons shall be assigned berths or seat soaces in the open section of the car, and such berths or seat space shall be equal and the same accomodations as those provided for members of the white race, and shall be governed by the same conditions as those operating for members of the white race."

Section Six: Section Six to be revised in such a manner as to specifically and clearly state: "When persons of the colored races enter Alabama on tickets purchased in States which do not have like segregation statutes, and occupy berth or seat spaces in any type Pullman, observation, parlor car, or other type cars, such persons shall not be required to be moved."

Summary

The Committee considers those sections which require the pulling of curtains around colored persons to be unnecessarily embarassing under conditions in which it is clear that these colored persons are segregated from the white race. Thus, the Committee fails to see the necessity, as an instance, of pulling curtains around colored persons when seated at separate tables with partitions between members of the white and colored race.

The Committee regards Item B, Section 5, as an abridgment of the Alabama Code, and as outside of the law.

The Committee regards Item C, Section 6, as unconstituional, and requests that Section Six be completely deleted as outside the jurisdiction of the Alabama Public Service Commission and the State of Alabama.

Respectfully Submitted for the
Committee for Equalization of Transport
Facilities in Alabama

Statement Presented to the Alabama Public Service Commission
by
Veterans Committee of the Southern Negro Youth Congress
December 17, 1945

The veterans Committee of the Southern Negro Youth Congress takes this occasion to express its considered opposition to Rule T-18 promulgated recently by the Alabama Public Service Commission, to regulate the segregation of Negro and white passengers on railroads operating within the state, to take effect January 1, 1946.

This group of Veterans of our state is composed of young men and women who have served their country well in the recent war for national liberation and democratic freedom throughout the world. They have learned that the universal technique of the enemies of democracy is to single out as a scapegoat people, whether racial, religious, or national groups-- as the first step in degrading the living standards and liberties of all people in the interests of a few men of power.

The ruling of the Public Service Commission partakes of this pattern. Rather than tackling the patent discrimination which is maintained under the present provisions of the Alabama Code; rather than moving to compel the carriers to abide by the legal provision that facilities shall be equal though separate - the commission proposes to fasten further degrading humiliations on Negro passengers by adopting as law the most offensive (and at present illegal) practices of the railroads.

Thus, the ruling provides that Negro passengers shall not be served in dining cars at the same time as whites, unless curtains are drawn. Under the provision, the railroads are encouraged in the pernicious practice of calling Negroes to meals only after all white passengers have been served, which places Negro passengers under compulsion of taking meals at irregular hours, or at tables which have been transformed into cell-like booths.

Further, the ruling provides that Negro passengers entering Alabama from a state which does not have like segregation laws, and occupying a space in an open Pullman car, must be isolated by drawn curtains. This provision is a direct violation of the concept of equal transportation facilities which have been upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States. It is obvious that the passengers who do not have equal access to all of the facilities of a car which are afforded to others who have paid the same rate suffer from a distinction which is unjust.

Similarly, the provision that Negro passengers requesting Pullman berths or seats should be given compartments or roomettes instead where those are available in an arbitrary act of unjust segregation in that it denies the Negro passengers the type of service they request, and which may be preferred, even though other service is available.

Segregation breeds distrust among all of the people affected. It perpetuates in the minds of whites the false and unscientific

notion of white supremacy. It creates in the minds of Negroes a current of bitterness and resentment, born of the knowledge that the system that operates is not intended to foster equality of opportunity and privelege, but rather to penalize Negroes for no reason but that of color. In short, the system is a punitive one.

And it is the most primitive feature of Jim-Crow travel that the Commission seeks to entrench through its latest device, Rule T-18.

This rule will provoke the most determined opposition of the Negro people. If passed against our will and the interests of the majority of the people of the state, it will meet unceasing challenge if need be the Supreme Court of the United States.

Nor is it to be casually assumed that the preponderant majority of white citizens will accept the ruling without question or concern. Even larger numbers of white Alabamians, especially the veterans of overseas combat, know that the result of such actions abroad have been national disunity and civil strife leading to the eventual domination of fascism which wiped out the liberties of all and required the shedding of rivers of blood of the youth of the world for its extermination. We expect that they will increasingly recognize their stake in the fight against such measures which are but an index to the current of nascent fascism within our own midst. As they do, we will have certain assurance that Rule T-18 will not serve as a rule of conduct for American citizens as they travel in the state of Alabama, and that the system which the rule seeks to bolster of primitive Jim-Crow will have a tenure only as infinitissimal fraction of the 5,000 years which the Chairman of the Alabama Public Service Commission wishfully prophesizes for it.

In accordance with the present provisions of the Alabama Code in the light of the established interpretations of the Supreme Court of the United States, in the interests of the white and Negro people of the State (the whole people of the state), Rule T-18 should be rescinded.

The Coordinating Committee for Equalization of Transportation Facilities
Montgomery, Alabama
December 20, 1945

To All Liberal, Progressive, and Democratic Organizations and Individuals

The Coordinating Committee for Equalization of Transportation Facilities in Alabama represents a group of cooperating organizations who have combined efforts in fighting the vicious Rule T-18 recently promulgated by the Alabama Public Service Commission.

Rule T-18 represents the most recent and primitive effort of nascent fascism in our midst to entrench itself through pseudo-legal channels and further degrade and force onto the Negro people a second-class citizenship.

All liberal, progressive, and democratic forces must contantly guard against the rising tide of reaction which is now upon us. Your organization is invited to become a sponsoring and participating member of the Coordinating Committee for Equalization of Transportation Facilities in Alabama, and to join us in bombarding the Alabama Public Service Commission with letters, petitions, telegrams, and postal cards protesting Rule T-18 as an insult to democratic citizens and as inviting the railroads to set up special priveleges and rights for one section of the people.

In conducting their fight the Committee for Equalization of Transportation Facilities in Alabama has secured the services of Attorney Shores, of Birmingham, Alabama, whose aggressiveness in such fights has been proven time and time again, and most recently in the successful termination of a fight for equalization of teachers salaries in Jefferson County, Alabama. The Coordinating Committee for Equalization of Transportation Facilities in Alabama estimates its present expences as in excess of $250, and requests that your organization forward to Mrs. M. B. Gaillard, 601 N. 1st Street, Birmingham, Alabama, the organizations treasurer, your organizations contribution to this fight. Various groups and organizations are requested to become sponsoring members of the Coordinating Committee and to contribute at least $10 to the expenses involved in conducting this fight.

The Coordinating Committee protests and regards as degrading those sections of Rule T-18 which:

1. Perpetuate the continued segregation of Negroes and whites
2. Do not specifically compel the railroads to give equal and the same accomodations to Negroes and whites
3. Require curtains to be pulled between Negro and white passengers
4. Degrade Negro nurses of white children by abridging the law and placing them in a special category, through special priveleges granted nurses
5. Compel the railroads to insult and embarass the Negro people entering Alabama on tickets purchased in states which do not have like segregation statutes.

Section 196, Title 48, of the 1940 Alabama Code specifically states that " when persons of the colored races enter Alabama on tickets purchased in states which do not have like segregation statutes...such persons shall not be required to be moved."

Enclosed please find copies of materials which may be of help to you or your organization in joining this fight. Kindly proceed in making a decision immediately, since the public hearing on Rule T-18, is to be held at Montgomery, Alabama, in the Alabama Public Service Commission's Rooms, at 11 AM, January 14, 1946, and the Committee is in need of your aid prior to that time.

Unless the liberal, progressive, and democratic forces attack such vicious affronts to the Negro people, and all other affronts which involve a tilting of democracy away from any segment of the citizenry, a torrent of anti-democratic forces will be unleased which will affect all of the people. We may look upon this Rule T-18 as the trial balloon testing the people and the times. No group of citizens can afford to tolerate this flagrant threat to the forward march of democracy in Alabama.

Kindly inform us of your plans, whether you will become a sponsoring and contributing member of this Committee in the task set so clearly before us.

Sincerely yours

Edward K. Weaver

Edward K. Weaver
Corresponding Secretary for the
Coordinating Committee for the
Equalization of Transportation
Facilities in Alabama

Address Correspondence to
Edward K. Weaver
Alabama State Teachers College
Montgomery, Alabama

Copies of the following enclosed
1. Rule T-18
2. Statement of protest from the Mobile NAACP
3. Statement of protest from the Veterans Committee of the Southern Negro Youth Congress
4. Statement of protest from the Montgomery Civic League
5. Minutes of the organizational meeting of the Coordinating Committee
6. List of officers and organizations constituting the Committee <u>at this time.</u>

General Steiner

STATE OF ALABAMA
ALABAMA PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION
Montgomery, Alabama

Gordon Persons, President
W. C. Harrison, Associate Commissioner
James Perdue, Associate Commissioner

Lamar Wiley, Secretary

Rule T- 18

In the matter of the segregation of white and colored races on railroad passenger trains in compliance with Sections 196 and 197, Title 48 of the 1940 Code of Alabama.

Adopted December 1, 1945 Effective January 1, 1946

The commission having received complaints regarding non-segregation of the white and colored races as provided in Section 196, Title 48 of the 1940 Code of Alabama, on its own initiative has caused to be sent to every railroad operating in Alabama a registered letter requesting a statement of official railroad policy, if any, in connection with the segregation of white and colored races on passenger trains. At the same time, all available information was to be furnished giving any official instructions issued to conductors on this subject. The attention of all railroads was called to Section 196, Title 48 of the 1940 Code of Alabama which reads as follows:

"SEPARATE COACHES FOR WHITES AND BLACKS. All railroads carrying passengers in this State, other than street railroads, shall provide equal but separate accommodations for the white and colored races, by providing two or more passenger cars for each passenger train, or by dividing the passenger by partitions, so as to secure separate accommodations."

The Commission has now received replies from all railroads which indicate that some companies have no official policy, others issue verbal instructions to the conductors and other members of the train crew, while still others have printed rules giving detailed instructions or suggestions as to the proper method of the segregation of the races, so as to generally conform with the laws of the States which have segregation statutes.

The State of Alabama also has in its 1940 Code, Section 197, Title 48, which is as follows:

"CONDUCTOR MUST ASSIGN EACH PASSENGER A SEAT IN THE CAR DESIGNATED FOR HIS COLOR. - The conductor of each passenger train is authorized and required to assign each passenger to the car or the division of the car, when it is divided by a partition, designated for the race to which such passenger belongs; and if any passenger refuses to occupy the car, or the division of the car, to which he is assigned by the conductor, such conductor may refuse to carry such passenger on the train, and for such refusal neither the Conductor nor the railroad company shall be liable in damages. But this section shall not apply to cases of white or colored passengers entering this state upon railroads under contracts for their transportation made in another state where like laws to this do not prevail".

In the meantime, the Commission has requested an interpretation of the segregation laws of Alabama from the Office of the Attorney General and has been advised that the constitutionality of the above stated Sections has been upheld by the Supreme Court of Alabama and that the Public Service Commission [illegible] ity to promulgate the necessary rules and r[illegible] nforcement of the

IT IS THEREFORE ORDERED, that on and after the effective date of this order every common carrier by rail operating passenger trains in Alabama shall be gobernED by Sections 196 and 197, Dode of 1940, Title 48, or in lieu thereof, by the following rules and regulations in connection with the handling of passenger traffic.

(a) DAY COACHES - Every train carrying day coach passengers shall provide separate cars for the white and colored races, or carry at least one car on each train with separate toilet and washroom facilities shall be provided for each race.

(b) DINING AND CLUB CARS - (1) All dining and club cars must be equipped with curtains which permit the dining room to be divided into separate compartments. (2) Before starting each meal, the curtains must be pulled to service position, and the steward must place a "reserved" card on each table reserved for colored passengers. (3) White and colored passenger must not be served in dining or club cars at the same time, except in cases where the curtains have been pulled to service position. (4) On request, colored passengers may have meals served in the space they occupy in Pullmans or coaches without additional charge therefor. (5) In cases where colored nurses are traveling with white families in which there are one or more small children, colored nurses may be seated at the table with such children to assist in feeding them and the meal for the colored nurse may be served at the same time. In such cases, no person other than the members of the family group to which the nurse is attached should be seated at the same table.

(C) ALL OTHER TYPE CARS, INCLUDING PULLMAN OBSERVATION AND PARLOR CARS. - (1) Wherever possible, every train providing Pullman, observation, parlor car and other such type car service should carry at least one car providing accommodations variously known as "rooms", "Roomettes", "bedrooms", "compartments" or "drawing rooms". (2) In each case where a colored person requests room or other enclosed accommodations, such accommodations shall be assigned, if available, at the regular tariff rate for such space. (3) Colored persons requesting berth (upper or lower) or seat space, shall be assigned to berths or seats in rooms, roomettes, bedrooms, compartments, drawing rooms, or other types of available enclosed accommodations, if available, at the regular tariff rate for night service or seat rate for day service. (4) If space in rooms or other enclosed accommodations is not available, colored persons shall be assigned berths or seat spaces in the open section of the car, in which case the partitions must be in place and curtains must be drawn at all times. (5) Persons of the white and colored races must not be assigned to spaces in the same section. (6) When persons of the colored races enter Alabama on tickets purchased in States which do not have like segregations statutes and occupy berth or seat spaces in any type of Pullman, observation, parlor car or other type cars, such persons shall not be required to be moved, but partitions must be in place and curtains drawn at all times.

GENERAL - It shall be the duty of the conductor to enforce all provisions of these rules and to make certain that both white and colored passengers remain in the car or division of car designated for the race to which such passenger belongs. A copy of this order shall be furnished to all ticket agents passenger representatives, passenger conductors, trainmen, dining car stewards, lounge and club car attendants, as well as all other necessary employees on trains, and shall be posted in a conspicious place in each car on every train

This order shall not apply to members of the Armed Forces of the United States, in uniform, and traveling on official business.

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BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Located at Montgomery this the first day of December, 1945.

ALABAMA PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION

Gordon Persons
President

W. C. Harrison
Associate Commissioner

James Perdue
Associate Commissioner

Lamar Wiley, Secretary

From: The Coordinating Committee
For Equalization of
Transportation Facilities

To: All Liberal, Progressive, and Democratic Organizations and Individuals

Re: Finances

On December 20, 1945, the Coordinating Committee for Equalization of Transportation Facilities addressed a letter to you requesting you to become a sponsoring member of the Committee, and to fight the vicious Rule T-18 of the Alabama Public Service Commission which is designed to further degrade and force onto the Negro people sub-human status and humiliating conditions while riding the public carriers of the state.

The Committee has engaged the services of Attorney Shores, of Birmingham, Alabama, and estimates its expenses as in excess of $250. Mr. Hosea Hudson, Chairman of the Finance Committee, reports that the $10 requested of sponsoring members of the Committee has not been forthcoming. We need the money now, before the public hearing which will be held in Montgomery, January 14, 1946.

Liberal, Progressive, and Democratic organizations and individuals cannot afford to let $10 stand between them and the successful termination of this fight.

Send your $10 to Mrs. M. B. Gaillard, 601 N. 1st Street, Birmingham, Alabama, Treasurer of the Coordinating Committee for Equalization of Transportation Facilities. Send your $10 today. We need the money now.

Bombard your representatives and senators of the state legislature with letters, telegrams, postal cards, conferences requesting that such humiliating regulations be stricken from the Alabama Code.

The Committee welcomes representatives of the various organizations in joining it, and being present at the Alabama Public Service Commission's public hearing on Rule T-18, January 14, 1946, at 11 A.M. The Committee is holding a brief meeting at the Monroe Street U.S.O., at 9 A.M. on January 14, 1946. You are invited to be present.

Above all, however, send your $10 today.

Edward K. Weaver
Corresponding Secretary
Alabama State Teachers College
Montgomery, Alabama

Mr. Hosea Hudson, Chairman
Finance Committee
428 Short John Street, N.
Birmingham, 4, Alabama

Transp

Section 3(1) ICA – makes it unlawful for a RR in interstate commerce "to subject any partic person... to any undue or unreasonable prejudice or disadvantage whatsoever."

Supreme Court in Morgan v. Virginia (1946):

In weighing the factors that enter into our conclusion as to whether this statute so burdens interstate commerce or so infinges the requirements of national uniformity as to be invalid, we are mindful of the fact that conditions vary between northern or western states such as Maine or Montana, with practically no colored population; industrial states such as Illinois, Ohio, New Jersey and Pennsylvania with a small, although appreciable, percentage of colored citizens; and the states of the deep South with percentages of from twenty-five to nearly fifty per cent colored, all with varying densities of the white and colored races in certain localities. Local efforts to promote amicable relations in difficult areas by legislative segregation in interstate transportation emerge from the latter racial distribution. As no state law can reach beyond its own border nor bar transportation of passengers across its boundaries, diverse seating requirements for the races in interstate journeys result. As there is no federal act dealing with the separation of races in interstate transportation, we must decide the validity of this Virginia statute on the challenge that it interferes with commerce, as a matter of balance between the exercise of the local police power and the need for national uniformity in the regulations for interstate travel. It seems clear to us that seating arrangements for the different races in interstate motor travel require a single, uniform rule to promote and protect national travel. Consequently, we hold the Virginia statute in controversy invalid.

(The Virginia statute, in so far as it applies to intrastate transportation, was upheld in New v. Atlantic Greyhound Corp. (1947) and Commonwealth v. Carolina Coah Co. (1951).)

Transp.

Federal ~~District Court~~ Ct of Appeals (upheld) in Chance v. Lambeth (1951):

We reach the conclusion that the railroad regulation now before us must be declared invalid. Not only does its enforcement interfere with the uniformity which should characterize interstate carriage from one end of the route to the other, but its irregular enforcement for the convenience of the carrier, dependent upon the number of passengers and the character of accomodations which they purchase, adds to the burden upon the traffic by increasing the confusion and discomfort of the passengers. When white and colored passengers are permitted to ride together for part of their journey through the State of Virginia, and then are compelled to separate and change cars, and when passengers in coaches are segregated on account of race while passengers in Pullman and dining cars are permitted ride together irrespective of race, the burden upon interestate commerce is a s clearly manifest as that imposed by the statute of Virginia which was invalidated in the Morgan case. It is true that the regulation of the carrier was not enacted by state authority, although the power of the state is customarily invoked to enforce it; but we know of no principle of law which requires the the courts to strike down a state statute which interferes with interstate commerce but to uphold a railroad regulation which is infected with the same vice.

The Railroad Company emphasizes the decisions in Chiles v. Chesapeake & O. Ry. Co., 218 U. S. 71, 30 S. Ct. 667, 54 L. Ed. 1936, and our own decision in Day v. Atlantic Greyhound Corp., 171 F. 2d 59, rendered in the interval between the Morgan and Henderson decisions. In both cases the regulation of an interstate carrier segregating the passengers according to race was upheld; but they are not contro ling here since in each case the passenger boarded the vehicle at a place where the rule of the carrier required segregation and he could have taken a seat and retain d it to the end of his journey."

BROOKS HAYS
5TH DISTRICT, ARKANSAS

LITTLE ROCK OFFICE:
514 FEDERAL BUILDING

Segregation in transportation

MEMBER
FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

SECRETARY:
JOHN S. MCLEES

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Transportation

June 7, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thanks for keeping me advised regarding matters of interest.

I am sending you a memorandum which one of my own staff prepared regarding my statement to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

With regards, I am

Sincerely,

B. Hays

RECEIVED
JUN 9 1954
Southern Regional Council

A Southern Democratic congressman is actively supporting an anti-segregation bill. Representative Brooks Hays of Little Rock, Arkansas, took this position publicly on May 12, almost a week before the Supreme Court rendered its historic decision outlawing segregation in the public schools. The bill which Representative Hays is supporting is much more limited in character, but it does impinge on deep-seated traditions of the Southland. It would provide legal sanctions against segregation in interstate transportation. In endorsing this bill at a hearing of the House Interstate Commerce Committee, Hays's only reservation was a suggested amendment to give state officials a first chance to enforce its policy before federal officers moved in.

What were Brooks Hays's reasons for approving this anti-segregation bill? In the first place, he explained, it was his understanding that Supreme Court decisions of recent years - even before those rendered this month - "make non-segregation in interstate transportation of passengers our national policy . . . and I have come to the conclusion that it is wise for the Congress to make clear the fact that there is a policy of the national community and that interstate travel must be governed by that policy of non-segregation." Moreover, Mays made it plain that he approves this Supreme Court policy for interstate transportation. "The reason it is a right policy, regardless of one's view as to intrastate travel, is because passengers moving from St. Louis, Missouri, to Little Rock, Arkansas, for example, all pay the same fare, but if at the state line one is required to move to another coach, he has not had equal protection under the law."

Hays also referred to international aspects of the question. "As a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, I have gradually swung around to the view that foreign policy is affected. Consider, for example, the colored passenger

from another country. I am eager for him to carry back good impressions, although I know the Communists are not going to let any efforts of ours toward justice be fairly presented to the world. I am not suggesting that we make our decisions on the basis of global strategy in this vital struggle with Communism. It is a question of right dealing rather than strategy. But I want those who visit us to have when they go back home the most effective arguments it is possible for them to have when they talk on behalf of our country. I know in interstate travel we can do it."

Attentive members of the Commerce Committee also recognized another reason for Representative Hays's support of the anti-segregation bill in interstate transportation. He regarded it as a kind of test for the future. "I think you may find in this piece of legislation an opportunity to evaluate these sharp conflicts, and that you may rather welcome this as a chance to demonstrate what good legal minds can do with a problem that involves difficult social backgrounds, and you may bring into focus the interesting and variegated social communities that make up this nation." Hays was optimistic. He even registered "a mild dissent from the statement that a lot of people fear this sort of thing. I might point out I have talked only about transportation and I have not suggested a federal statute with reference to segregation policies outside of transportation, and generally with reference to interstate travel. My opinion is that there would not be many islands of resistance to this general policy."

This congressman comes from the same state where only a dozen years ago another member of the House of Representatives, a Negro named Mitchell, was taken off a Pullman in the middle of the night. Mitchell brought suit to invalidate the Arkansas segregation policy on interstate trains, and his success in the Supreme Court was one of the ground-breaking decisions in this field. Other

Negroes can now seek to expand this principle by private suit; but new legislation, like the bill for which Mr. Hays was testifying, is now desired so that the government may assume the burden and expense of prosecuting cases.

"In Arkansas itself," Hays explained, "the policy of the Mitchell decision was accepted because of the Court's support," and such an episode as Mitchell's humiliation "is not likely to happen today, partly because train officials and fellow passengers think and act differently." Hays is "right proud, as a citizen of Arkansas, of the progress my state has made . . . In Arkansas now the common practice is to accept non-segregation generally on trains that move interstate, as most of them do. So actually there is little difference between interstate and intrastate travel, that line having vanished on most trains that go through my state. That would be an example of progress."

Hays went on to give strong credit to the Negro leaders themselves for the progress that has been achieved. "If history has recorded anything to impress the American people, it is the way the Negroes of the country have enabled an emerging leadership to state their aspirations in a way, when the complete record is written, that will be a bright page in our history. We are indebted to the conservative — no, I shall not say just the conservative; that has a connotation I do not fully embrace — we are indebted to the leadership of the Negro race that has thought in these terms: One, what is our right as American citizens? They have been vigorous sometimes in presenting that. There might be differences about whether he is correct in his interpretation of what a right is, but we have heard him and we have made progress. Second, we have also made progress in response to group aspirations. Maybe we have made too much of a distinction between social aspirations and legal

rights, but I want us to meet both standards, and I think we are. We are making progress in achieving rights that have to be constantly redefined in terms of specific and detailed human relations, and also in a way that gives voice to those aspirations which any people may entertain."

Representative Hays is disturbed, like most Southerners, by the fear that progress in race relations will be disturbed by games of political football, but such uneasiness has not led him to oppose all legislative enactments in this field. "I hope, however, that what we do in the Congress, when we are through with this legislation, will not just be a chapter for political literature for either Republican or Democratic parties — and of course they will make as much use of it as in their discretion they want to, according to the respective merits of it — but I do feel that we should be above party politics in this legislation."

Likewise in the implementation of the bill after it has been passed. Hays is concerned about "political prosecutions." "Will this become a vehicle for political action from Washington? . . The Attorney General would be under certain pressures, some of a political nature, that might inevitably influence him. None but the most perfect Attorney General would be entirely immune to those things . . Even the impression of it being a political prosecution, even when in good faith, hurts. You are much more apt to get effective law enforcement over the years on questions of this kind if the jurisdiction is in the state courts rather than the federal courts.. I personally feel that it would be well to make it clear in the law we pass that the Attorney General is under congressional mandate not to institute actions where the state authorities and state laws are covering this limited field," and are insuring non-segregation in interstate transportation.

So Representative Hays presented the Commerce Committee with the draft of an amendment to that effect. The members of the committee showed great interest in this proposal and interrogated Hays at length about it. Those concerned clearly regarded it as the formula for a possible North-South compromise on civil rights questions. Hays himself had first proposed the formula as an amendment to an anti-lynching bill in 1949. "I think it is a sound principle all the way through. I think, as in lynching, that we should avoid a rigid jurisdictional rule, always thinking in terms of the Federal Government having the power to do something, exercising it and pushing state authorities out. That is not necessarily the best way. I think if we would state it here, it might become a milestone, it might help us relieve some of these tensions between state and federal authorities. To be sure, the bill should assert the federal right and the federal policy, but with recognition of that basic principle of government that the people close to a problem, and officers who are charged with maintaining order in the local community, are the ones best equipped to handle it."

How would the Hays amendment work in practice? If the Justice Department believed that at a particular place there was segregation of passengers traveling in interstate commerce, federal attorneys could bring suit against the responsible company officials in the local Federal District Court. But the Federal judge could then refuse to accept jurisdiction of the case if he found that there was a state law in effect barring such segregation and that the state law enforcement officers were not willfully failing to make prosecutions under that state law. One Southern member of the Commerce Committee protested that "we would be handling the Attorney General quite a dangerous

club to hold over the states," to compel them to make and enforce anti-segregation laws of their own. But Hays took a broader view. "I think that if the club idea were to cause us to refrain ultimately from getting into this kind of law-making, we would cut outselves off from some good legal practices. There may be certain other areas besides civil rights in which there need to be directives to the Attorney General not to indulge in "political prosecution."

Members of the Commerce Committee expressed their interest in the broader philosophy which led their Southern colleague to endorse an anti-segregation bill. Hays put it this way: "In situations like this we are both moralist and lawmaker. Sometimes it is important to let the moralist carry some causes and not the lawmakerc... There have been many times when I wanted to agree with someone who differed with me on this conservative approach. I wanted to agree with him substantively, but as a lawmaker I could not consistently do so because, first, this is a dual form of government with some powers reserved to the states, and second, unless the sentiment of the people sustains a certain move, no matter how abstractly noble that objective is, then frustration will follow. There is an old adage that comes to my mind. Sir Henry Maine put it exactly right when he said this: 'Social opinion must always be in advance of the law.' Then he added something that I think may have a certain relevancy here. We constantly have to reexamine policies to see if we are meeting his second statement which is: 'The greater or less happiness of the people depends upon the narrowness of the gulf between them.' The point that I am making is that in the matter of interstate travel, social opinion will today sustain the proposition that a passenger moving from St. Louis to Little

R

Rock, Arkansas, ought to be undisturbed and not segregated in that passage. But it is equally true that this Congress ought not either by direct or indirect means, undertake to prescribe conditions for a city's bus or streetcar service. (That has nothing to do with the moral leader continuing to carry on his educational work regarding the locality.)"

Later Mr. Hays gave this homely illustration: "Sometimes politics has retarded us. At the same time, it is like a corn on your toe. There may be other ailments more serious that require the doctor's treatment, but the corn is going to continue to cry out until you do something about it." One of Mr. Hays's colleagues from Arkansas offered the rejoinder: "But at the same time we are trying to do something about this corn, we do not want to develop a bunion, which hurts worse." Hays agreed, but he still supports the anti-segregation bill.

Georgia - H.B. No. 267 of the 1956 Session of the Gen Assembly requires common carriers of passengers in intrastate travel to provide separate waiting rooms and other facilities for the white and Negro races for such passengers. It requires that a separate room labeled "White Waiting Room, Intrastate Passengers" be provided; another must be labeled: "Waiting Room, Interstate Passengers and Colored Intra-State Passengers."

Signed?

Signed (HB No. 268 provides for criminal penalties for intrastate passengers who do not observe the separation of such passengers in waiting rooms by race.)

Miss - H.B. No. 7 - 1956 Regular Session of Legislature requires common carriers of passengers in the state in intra-state travel to provide separate waiting rooms and other facilities for the white and Negro races.

Signed.

HB - No. 12 - Same regarding toilet facilities.

Signed.

HB - No 22 - Provides criminal penalties for intrastate passengers not observing separation by races in waiting rooms.

Signed?

inter between

(later Act. 27)

LA. - H.B. No. 426 of the 1956 session of the Louisiana Legislature provides that common carriers of passengers in the state shall provide separate waiting rooms and other facilities at stations for white intrastate passengers and for Negro intrastate passengers and interstate passengers. Wording must be similar to that prescribed in Ga. law above.

Signed

June 16, 1958

Mr. Gloster B. Current
Director of Branches
National Association for the Advancement of
Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. Current:

Thank you so much for the Report of 28 Branches on Treatment of Negroes in Transportation, which we received today. This material will be very helpful to us and we will forward copies of the report on Waiting Room Desegregation immediately upon its publication.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Research Assistant

MM/blc

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40th STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.
LOngacre 3-6890

June 12th, 1958

Miss Marge R. Manderson, Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Manderson:

In replying to your letter of May 27th requesting results of an NAACP survey on treatment of Negroes in transportation, we circulated among our branches in the South and some Western areas, a questionnaire -- a copy of which is enclosed.

We are enclosing a summary report from 28 respondent branches. Because of the pressure of other duties and lack of research facilities, there has been no follow up on this questionnaire. Therefore, the results obtained are rather inconclusive.

Cordially yours,

GLOSTER B. CURRENT
Director of Branches

GBC/rny
encls.

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REPORT OF _____ BRANCH

City: _____

State: _____

ON TREATMENT OF NEGROES IN TRANSPORTATION.
(Fill out and return promptly to National Office.)

The following constitutes to the best judgment of the Branch the current situation in our community:

Population of City: _____ Negro population: _____

RAILROAD TRAVEL

1. Name the railroads servicing your city. (I.E., Atlanta Coast Line, Missouri-Pacific, Illinois Central, etc.):

_____

_____

_____

2. Are interstate passengers (crossing state lines) segregated on the trains or sold tickets in colored coaches only?

Yes ☐ No ☐

3. Give the names of any passengers discriminated against, time, date, place and other details, if possible:

_____

_____

_____

4. Are interstate passengers, crossing state lines, permitted to sit in the formerly white waiting room on an integrated basis?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Explain

_____

_____

_____

(CONTINUED)

5. Are intrastate passengers (passengers traveling within the state) segregated?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Explain

_____

_____

_____

6. Have signs in waiting rooms: *"Colored" "White"* been removed?

Yes ☐ No ☐

7. Are toilet facilities still segregated?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Explain practice

_____

_____

_____

8. Have orders been issued by the railroads concerning the ICC ruling?

Yes ☐ No ☐

9. Have these orders been publicized in the papers or by signs to be made public?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Explain

_____

_____

_____

10. Has public notice been given of change in racial practices?

Yes ☐ No ☐

(IF ANSWER IS ''YES'', ATTACH COPY OF ARTICLE, NOTICE, STATEMENT, IF AVAILABLE.)

11. Have ordinances or new city rulings been adopted maintaining segregation in waiting rooms?

Yes ☐ _____ (DATE) No ☐

(IF ANSWER IS ''YES'' GIVE DATE OF SUCH ORDER AND OBTAIN A COPY OF THE ORDINANCE OR RULING.)

(CONTINUED)

12. Are city police attempting to enforce segregation in the waiting rooms?

Yes ☐ No ☐

13. Have Negroes been arrested attempting to use the waiting rooms on an integrated basis?

Yes ☐ No ☐

(GIVE CASES, NAMES, DATES ARRESTED, OFFENSE AND DISPOSITION OF THE CASE: CONVICTION OR DISMISSAL.)

_____

_____

_____

_____

* * *

BUS TRANSPORTATION

1. Name the interstate buslines servicing your city.

_____

_____

_____

_____

2. Are interstate passengers (crossing state lines) segregated on the buses?

Yes ☐ No ☐

3. Give the names of any passengers discriminated against: time, date, place and other details, if possible.

_____

_____

_____

4. Are interstate passengers, crossing state lines, permitted to sit in the formerly white bus waiting room on an integrated basis?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Explain

_____

_____

_____

(CONTINUED)

5. Are intrastate passengers (passengers traveling within the state) segregated?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Explain

_____

_____

_____

6. Have signs in waiting rooms *"Colored" "White"* been removed?

Yes ☐ No ☐

7. Are toilet facilities still segregated?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Explain practice

_____

_____

_____

8. Have orders been issued by the bus companies concerning the ICC ruling?

Yes ☐ No ☐

9. Have these orders been publicized in the papers or by signs to be made public?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Explain

_____

_____

_____

10. Has public notice been given of change in racial practices?

Yes ☐ No ☐

(IF ANSWER IS ''YES'', ATTACH COPY OF ARTICLE, NOTICE, STATEMENT, IF AVAILABLE.)

11. Have ordinances or new city rulings been adopted maintaining segregation in waiting rooms?

Yes ☐ No ☐

(IF ANSWER IS ''YES'', GIVE THE DATES OF SUCH ORDERS AND OBTAIN A COPY OF THE ORDINANCE OR RULING.)

_____

(CONTINUED)

12. Are city police attempting to enforce segregation in the waiting rooms?

Yes ☐ No ☐

13. Have Negroes been arrested attempting to use the waiting rooms on an integrated basis?

Yes ☐ No ☐

(GIVE CASES, NAMES, DATES ARRESTED, OFFENSE AND DISPOSITION OF THE CASE: CONVICTION OR DISMISSAL.)

* * *

RESTAURANT FACILITIES

While the Interstate Commerce Commission ruling does not outlaw segregated restaurants in station waiting rooms, we would like to have information on the following:

1. Does the train station maintain eating facilities?

Yes ☐ No ☐

2. Are these operated on a segregated or non-segregated basis?

Explain in detail.

(CONTINUED)

CITY TRANSPORTATION

1. Form of transportation used in your city.

Buses ☐ Street Cars ☐ Both ☐

2. Name the company operating bus or street car transportation, and its office address.

_____

_____

_____

3. Name of the president of the transportation company.

_____

_____

_____

4. Has segregation on city busses ended in your city?

Yes ☐ No ☐

(IF ANSWER IS ''YES'', WAS THIS DONE BY TRANSPORTATION COMPANY ORDER?)

Yes ☐ No ☐

BY CITY OFFICIALS?

Yes ☐ No ☐ Both ☐

(OBTAIN COPY OF STATEMENT BY THE COMPANY, OR ORDER OF THE MAYOR, OR ORDINANCE PASSED BY CITY OFFICIALS.)

5. Are Negro passengers permitted to ride unsegregated on bus or street car in your city?

Yes ☐ No ☐

6. Has any ruling been issued by the mayor, city council, police commissioner or other officials requiring segregation?

Yes ☐ No ☐

... or ending segregation?

Yes ☐ No ☐

7. Give date and quote text of ruling. (Obtain copy of such ruling, if available.)

_____

_____

_____

(CONTINUED)

AIR PORTS AND PLANE TRANSPORTATION

1. The nearest airport to your city is located where?

_____

_____

_____

2. What commercial airlines service the city?

_____

_____

_____

3. Are limousines, taxis or other vehicles carrying plane passengers to and from airport operated on a segregated basis?

Yes ☐ No ☐

4. If on segregated basis, what provisions are made for Negro passengers?

_____

_____

_____

5. In the waiting rooms, are Negro passengers required to sit in a segregated area?

Yes ☐ No ☐

(IF "YES", WHAT EFFORT IS MADE TO ENFORCE THIS?)

City Police ☐
Airport Police ☐
Other ☐

Explain in detail

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

(CONTINUED)

RESTAURANT FACILITIES AT AIR PORT

1. Does airport have a restaurant or counter service?

Yes ☐ No ☐

2. Name the company operating restaurant facilities.

_____

_____

_____

3. Are Negroes served?

Yes ☐ No ☐

4. If answer is "Yes", are they served on a non-segregated basis?

Yes ☐ No ☐

5. Give other examples of treatment of Negro passengers in waiting rooms, toilets, restaurant which may not have been covered in previous questions.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

PERSON MAKING REPORT: _____

BRANCH PRESIDENT: _____

BRANCH SECRETARY: _____

DATE: _____

Please fill out this questionnaire and return promptly to GLOSTER B. CURRENT, Director of Branches, NAACP, 20 West 40 Street, New York 18, New York.

MAT - TRANSPORTATION

REPORT OF 28 BRANCHES ON TREATMENT OF NEGROES IN TRANSPORTATION

A total of 28 branches from fourteen states returned the questionnaire as requested. These branches were:

Little Rock, Arkansas
Wilmington, Delaware
Pensacola, Florida
Tampa, Florida
Coffeyville, Kansas
Cumberland, Kentucky
Lake Charles, Louisiana
Jackson, Mississippi
St. Louis, Missouri
Cape Girardeau, Missouri
Thomasville, North Carolina
Cleveland County, North Carolina
Gastonia, North Carolina
Greensboro, North Carolina
Henderson, North Carolina
Elloree, South Carolina
Memphis, Tennessee
Salem, Virginia
Virginia Union College Chapter
Richmond, Virginia
Franklin County, Virginia
Hanover County, Virginia
Gloucester, Virginia
Norfolk, Virginia
Hampton, Virginia
Wheeling, West Virginia
Huntington, West Virginia

The following 10 branches stated that there was no segregation of interstate nor intrastate passengers on trains or busses:

Little Rock, Arkansas
Wilmington, Delaware
Coffeyville, Kansas
St. Louis, Missouri
Gastonia and Greensboro, North Carolina
Richmond and Norfolk, Virginia
Wheeling and Huntington, West Virginia

These two branches reported complete segregation:

Jackson, Mississippi
Memphis, Tennessee

The following 3 branches reported segregation on intrastate train and bus travel:

Cape Girardeau, Missouri
Thomasville, North Carolina
Ellorree, South Carolina

Two Florida Branches reported segregation on intrastate train travel as well as interstate and intrastate bus travel:

Pensacola and Tampa, Florida

These 2 branches reported segregation in intrastate bus travel:

Florence, South Carolina
Hampton, Virginia

These 3 branches reported segregation on both intrastate and interstate bus travel:

Cumberland, Kentucky
Cleveland County (Shelby) North Carolina
Gloucester, Virginia

Lake Charles, Louisiana reported segregation only in intrastate train travel.

Henderson, North Carolina; Salem, Franklin County and Hanover County, Virginia reported no segregation in interstate train and bus travel but failed to answer concerning intrastate travel.

LOCAL TRANSPORTATION

These 14 branches reported that Negro passengers were not segregated on local busses:

Wilmington, Delaware
Little Rock, Arkansas
Tampa, Florida
St. Louis, Missouri
Cape Girardeau, Missouri
Thomasville, North Carolina
Gastonia, North Carolina
Greensboro, North Carolina
Virginia Union College Chapter
Richmond, Virginia
Norfolk, Virginia
Hampton, Virginia
Wheeling, West Virginia
Huntington, West Vriginia

Seven branches reported that Negro passengers were still segregated on local busses:

Pensacola, Florida
Cumberland, Kentucky
Lake Charles, Louisiana
Jackson, Mississippi
Cleveland County (Shelby) North Carolina
Florence, South Carolina
Memphis, Tennessee

Four branches gave no information regarding local transportation:

Salem
Rocky Mount
Hanover County and Gloucester, Virginia

Three branches reported that there was no local public transportation:

Coffeyville, Kansas
Henderson, North Carolina
Ellorree, South Carolina

RESTAURANT FACILITIES:

The following 11 branches reported segregated eating places:

Little Rock, Arkansas
Jackson, Mississippi
Gastonia, North Carolina
Florence, South Carolina
Memphis, Tennessee
Salem, Virginia
Virginia Union College Chapter
Richmond, Virginia
Hanover County, Virginia
Gloucester, Virginia

These 2 branches reported that only local, privately owned eating places were operated and they were segregated:

Coffeyville, Kansas
Norfolk, Virginia

These 9 branches simply reported that railroads provided no eating accommodations for anyone:

Pensacola, Tampa, Florida
Cumberland, Kentucky
Lake Charles, Louisiana
Cape Girardeau, Missouri
Thomasville, North Carolina
Cleveland County (Shelby) North Carolina
Greensboro, North Carolina
Elloree, South Carolina

The following 4 branches reported that there was non-segregated eating accommodations provided:

Wilmington, Delaware
St. Louis, Missouri
Wheeling, West Virginia
Huntington, West Virginia

These 3 branches made no comment regarding eating facilities:

Henderson, North Carolina
Rocky Mount, Virginia
Hampton, Virginia

WAITING ROOMS:

The following 7 branches reported that segregated waiting rooms were provided for Negro passengers and that their use was enforced:

Tampa, Florida
Lake Charles, Louisiana
Jackson, Mississippi
Cleveland County, North Carolina
Elloree and Florence, South Carolina
Salem, Virginia

These 2 branches reported voluntary segregation in the waiting rooms on the part of Negro passengers:

Pensacola, Florida
Gastonia, North Carolina

These two branches reported that interstate passengers used the same waiting rooms, but that intrastate passengers were segregated:

Memphis, Tennessee
Thomasville, North Carolina

These 13 branches reported that all passengers used the same waiting room:

Coffeyville, Kansas
Cumberland, Kentucky
St. Louis and Cape Girardeau, Missouri
Greensboro and Henderson, North Carolina
Virginia Union College Chapter
Richmond and Rocky Mount, Virginia
Hanover County, Norfolk and Hampton, Virginia
Wheeling and Huntington, West Virginia

The Gloucester, Virginia branch gave no information regarding waiting rooms.

34 - The South - General
(new file)

MARK ETHRIDGE on The Hope of the South*

*A speech delivered before the Georgia Academy of Social Sciences, Atlanta, February 16, 1945. Mr. Ethridge is publisher of the *Courier-Journal* and *Louisville Times*, of Louisville, Kentucky.

Additional copies of this pamphlet may be purchased at 5c each

Published by

Georgia Academy of Social Sciences

P. O. Box 725 Atlanta, Georgia

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MARK ETHRIDGE ON The Hope of the South

SOMEBODY has truly said that not since 1896 has the country been so much on fire over one man; certainly not in our time, not even over Roosevelt, has the Democratic Party been so badly split as it is at the moment. It is not merely a question whether Henry Wallace should be in the Cabinet; we are witnessing and participating in a great spectacle of political history: the struggle for power inside the Democratic Party. The primary objection to Wallace is not that he is not a good administrator, for that has been disproved; not that he wouldn't know how to make and collect loans, for the Department of Agriculture's record of lending and collecting was better than Jesse Jones' at RFC. It is that Wallace symbolizes and expresses views which challenge all the reactionary elements in the country. His challenge to the Southern reactionaries is all the greater because the Southern tory is the most reactionary man in America; he adds to his economic bourbonism a dismaying cynicism toward civil rights and the democratic process. The Southern bourbons see in Wallace's coming to power the possible destruction of tight little machines which keep them in office and make them able to ignore the popular will, as I shall attempt to prove. They see him as the leader of this "furious new popular will for democracy." Senator Bailey expressed the attitude of the Southern tories when he said, "I'm against Wallace and everything he stands for. I'm against his philosophy. I'm against his principles. I'm against everything about him." Senator George has not said as much, but he has acted the same way.

Let us stand off for a moment and look at the picture as far as the South is concerned to get the pattern and the ironies. Last year conservative politicians, including virtually all the machine leaders, gave the President the worst advice he had ever had politically when they told him that Wallace was through. It was only through the most brazen pressure, the most frantic fire fighting and convention maneuvering that they were able to beat down the popular movement that almost nominated him in spite of the President's disapproval. (There were those of us outside the state who had great pride in the fact that Georgia's liberal young governor was one of the Wallace leaders.)

Wallace was defeated, but, nevertheless, campaigned actively for the ticket. He rallied the disillusioned liberals; he put heart into a people who want something better out of the Democratic Party than boss-ridden cities and tight Southern machines. Of course, the Political Action Committee made a great contribution to the

Roosevelt victory. The majority of labor, teamed with millions of other liberals, professional men and women, white-collar workers and farmers, carried Roosevelt into office; he didn't carry them this time. People who were angry at the prospect of the country's slipping back into Harding normalcy and Hoover reaction domestically, and frightened at the prospect of Dewey's having control of our foreign policy, carried the states of Kentucky, which had gone Republican the year before, New York, Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, Pennsylvania and California, all of which had Republican governors. Without those states, some of them carried by a small margin, Roosevelt could not have been elected.

Even if it were true, as Mr. Krock and some of the politicians say, that the C.I.O. elected Roosevelt, it might have been conceded in all decency that labor was as much entitled to a representative in the Cabinet as big business, which opposed him. But, what happened? When Roosevelt was elected through liberal effort, the liberals woke up to the fact that in carrying him back into power they had also guaranteed, through the operation of an obsolete seniority rule that had cynically made Bob Reynolds chairman of the Senate Military Affairs Committee, powerful and important committee chairmanships to the leading Southern reactionaries. Had Roosevelt been defeated in a landslide, certainly all Southern House committee chairmen would have been swept out, and it is entirely probable that Byrd would have lost his chairmanship of Rules; Bailey his chairmanship of Commerce; George his chairmanship of Finance; Connally his chairmanship of Foreign Relations; and McKellar his acting chairmanship of Appropriations.

But see how much further the irony goes. That section of the country which contributed nothing to the election of Roosevelt except the size of the majority—he could have been elected without the electoral vote of a Southern state—now has the power in the Senate, and to a lesser degree in the House, to force him to name as his State Department team a group of reactionaries or mild liberals; to force him to accept a compromise that degrades Wallace and deprives him of the ability to put into operation the only conservative program that has been devised for the post-war period: a program to provide jobs for the people in this country who want to work. Indeed, the Democratic Party at the moment is a schizophrenic Janus; it is not only a split personality, but it is facing both ways.

The simple thesis which I want to expound tonight and to prove, I hope, is that the Southern reactionary senators, in this case those who voted against Wallace on the test vote and more particularly those who are making the effective fight on him because of their great power in the Senate, are, *first*, ignoring or violating the will of the people as already expressed; *two*, that they are voting against the immediate and long-term interests of the

South; and, *three*, that their attitude and political philosophy will lead the South further into economic disaster and into a more marked degree of political impotence. (I have already mentioned that we have not been a factor in any Roosevelt election, although we have always voted for him.) I hope to be able to prove that an aggressive liberalism, a disposition to move ahead rather than resist progress, is the only thing that can save the South from a further decline into poverty, illiteracy and backwardness when the post-war boom is over.

What the South Needs

Let us face realistically that the South has the nation's most acute race problem; the highest percentage of absentee ownership (the New Republic recently said that 85 per cent of Georgia is owned by people outside and that 50 per cent of the money on deposit in Georgia banks is owned by Northern capitalists); the greatest degree of political autarchy, in that only 30 per cent of our people vote—17 per cent in Georgia—as against 77 per cent in the rest of the country; that we have the highest percentage of illiteracy; the highest rate of tenancy; a per capita income 60 per cent of the national average and 52 per cent of the East's; that we are penalized on freight rates and that our health conditions are the nation's poorest. If we concede those things, then we must concede that they can not be cured by a static or defensive or a let-us-alone attitude. They must be met by an imagination that encompasses the federal government's helping to balance economy in this country as it has helped to unbalance it by tariffs, unfavorable freight rates and, in the past few years, by the emergency location of war plants. It encompasses imagination such as saved the cotton grower with an A.A.A.; that proposed soil conservation; that set up a program for tenants to buy farms; that operated Farm Security; that instituted Rural Electrification; that set up regional laboratories to study wider uses of our farm and forest products. All these things were the products of the Wallace administration of agriculture.

What Wallace Wants

What would Mr. Wallace want as Secretary of Commerce? Fortunately, he is on record so clearly that only those who have the will to distort it can do so. He wants private enterprise to produce the 60,000,000 jobs which President Roosevelt says will be necessary if we are not to have mass unemployment. He contends that if we can build planes, ships and guns, we can produce houses, cars and clothing. He doesn't want the jobs produced by 20,000 big businesses that will be getting bigger if all the

war plants fall into their hands and if the small man doesn't have the credit to finance him; he wants it done by 3,000,000 small business men financed through private credit, backed, if necessary, by government credit such as the V. loans and the FHA loans now have. He wants reciprocal trade agreements, international currency stabilization, international security and all the other devices which will give us both peace and greater employment at home. He wants wages kept high, taxes lowered; he wants rural housing, he wants more hospitals, more clinics, more doctors, particularly in the rural areas; better educational facilities and broader social security protection. He is against monopolies and cartels. He believes that private contractors can build 2,000,000 new homes a year and that private agencies can provide the financing. "He wants new Kaisers, new Fords, new Higginses and new Edisons" to have a chance to develop all the new gadgets which will come to the market after the war.

Where he departs from the pure, free enterprisers is that he takes the position that when unemployment amounts to as many as 3,000,000 people, we begin to have danger and to meet it we should release public works money to build new dams and new projects that are either self-liquidating or add to the general wealth and resources of the country. Besides that, he wants freight rates equalized, he wants poll taxes to go; he wants a more democratic and a more balanced America.

Is any one of these things in contravention of what the Southern majority believes? I contend not. Every Gallup poll that has been taken shows the Southerner much less illiberal than most of his political leaders. It is, moreover, a fact that in no primary and in no election in the South last year in which the New Deal was the issue, did it lose.

In Texas, where the revolt centered, the so-called regulars, who had been able to seize the convention, nevertheless got less than 100,000 votes, against 600,000 for the Roosevelt Democrats. There was, as somebody said, much less rabble to rouse than they thought. Martin Dies, Nat Patton and Richard Kleberg went out of the House fighting Roosevelt in Texas; Rayburn, Patman and Lyndon Johnson won easily as straight New Deal proponents. In Mississippi, a quickly summoned legislature quickly beat down the revolt. In Oklahoma, Stigler was re-elected and Disney defeated on a straight New Deal issue. In Arkansas the progressives put Fullbright in the Senate and Laney into the governorship.

In Alabama, the reactionaries threw their money and their power at Lister Hill in a tough and bitter campaign and he won. Joe Starnes lost his seat because he was anti-administration. In Florida, Pepper was fought by an articulate, well-financed and powerful Byrd-for-President movement and won handily in a primary against three other candidates. In Georgia the senatorial election went

by default, but Arnall expressed the innate liberalism of this state both at Chicago and in his subsequent programs.

In South Carolina, "Cotton Ed" Smith was defeated by Olin Johnston, who, with all his faults and prejudices, yet espoused the New Deal cause openly. North Carolina retired Bob Reynolds, and a revolt in his organization troubles Byrd in Virginia. In Tennessee, Priest, Gore and Kefauver, all followers of the President, won against heavy financing and strong opponents. I repeat, there is nothing in the political history of the South for the past year to give any Southern Senate reactionary the argument that in fighting Wallace, and therefore the administration and all it has stood for, he is expressing the will of the people. There is no argument, no comfort for him in the primaries of last year. Even with all its voting restrictions, the South votes liberal when the issue is clearly made. One hope we have is that our young men will not have to feel bound to a dead past or subservient to or sympathetic with powerful interests which have been too active and too influential in politics.

Our Postwar Problems

I believe, and I like to believe, that the primaries are a case of the voter's instinct telling him that his best interest lies in the progressive approach to Southern problems—to problems of economics, labor, agriculture, race, education and health and all the other things that concern us—because I believe deeply that in any other approach lies disaster.

We must realize that to all the problems that we presently have, the war has brought us more that we shall yet have to face. We shall have to absorb something like 4,000,000 soldiers who have left, if all of them return; we shall have to stop the migration that has been so disastrous to us, and we shall have to face the readjustment of 2,000,000 industrial workers, three-quarters of a million of them employed in new enterprises.

The Bureau of the Census estimated almost a year ago that the thirteen Southern states of which we are talking had lost 1,596,000 net in civilian population, in addition to the boys who went out into service. That figure is larger now. The percentages ranged from 14.7 per cent of the total population in Oklahoma to 1.8 per cent in Louisiana. Georgia has lost 125,000 persons, or 4.1 per cent of her population. Kentucky has lost 286,733, or 10.1 per cent, of her people. Of course we are alarmed about it. I don't know what studies, if any, have been made in Georgia, but Dr. Howard Beers, of the University of Kentucky, an eminent rural sociologist, made some very good studies of what had happened in Kentucky. All but three of Kentucky's 120 counties lost population. The 14 Blue-grass counties of which we boast had dropped in 1943 to a lower figure than had been re-

corded by any census since 1860. There has been little change in population of people 65 and over; the great draining has been from people 15 to 35 and 35 to 44.

One selected magisterial district which is typical of any agricultural state, whether it be Georgia or Kentucky, showed that 130 people had left, 82 male and 48 female, in a six-month period to July, 1943. Only 37 per cent went to the armed forces, 45 per cent to employment outside and 18 per cent to employment inside the state. Limited education, limited mental capacity, or physical disability had kept many at home who wanted to go. Dr. Beers observed that "it is apparent that the district's resources have been depleted. The outmovement of the youngest and ablest workers had left its mark upon the social structure of each community."

Hope might be found in a return movement, but eminent sociologists say that no outmovement ever nearly retraces itself. Here is a typical community and you see what happens. The birthrate has of course declined because the couples who have the children have gone away. The physical level of the community has declined; the intellectual level has markedly declined because the district has exported a great percentage of its educated adults. The people with skills have been drawn out to work in war factories at higher wages, so much so that in smaller towns in Kentucky it is difficult to get agricultural implements repaired. School programs and facilities have been disrupted by the withdrawal of children and church organizations have been affected by losses in membership. The need for provision for welfare of the aged, the handicapped and the young has become more acute in the community because those who provided the normal support directly or indirectly have gone away.

The South has the highest proportion of pauper counties in the country; I imagine that percentage has been greatly increased by the draining off of skilled and semi-skilled men and women to work in war plants in congested urban areas.

It is obvious that both state and federal legislation must take a new pattern and a more vigorous approach if problems of the sort are to be solved. Dr. Beers has the feeling that of course a great many persons will return to the farms when the war is over—perhaps more than we have had—but to be employed and to be kept on farms and in small communities, they must have better homes, better education facilities, better electric facilities, more modern facilities in farm buildings, drainage equipment, soil conservation practices, better country roads and better reforestation practices.

Do those sound like things that will come out of a standpat economy or a states' rights political approach? Indeed not. You will recognize that Dr. Beers has prescribed, to avoid disaster in the agricultural regions of the South, more of the kind of medicine which Mr.

Wallace advocates. Without it, we shall have a continuation of the migration that started in World War I, subsided, and started again when this war broke out. Only half of the people who have gone North this time are Negroes. Spot polls indicate that 65 per cent of them will never come back and that 80 per cent of the young Negroes polled in the South want to go North when the war is over. I don't know what percentage of young whites will come back, but in the 800,000 who have gone we have lost skills, education and the mental and physical vigor that makes them leave the South to look for better conditions. We have continued our custom of making our chief export crop our own people.

It will certainly be of interest to those Georgians who have not been able to get servants and have blamed the lack on Eleanor clubs to know that the answer is fairly simple: they have migrated to the North. In studies of population changes in 51 cities, the Negro migration ranged from 1½ per cent of Negro population to 20 per cent in my old home city of Macon. No wonder the people of Macon can't get the servants they want. Of course the migration is connected with the refusal to hire Negroes in industry generally. They reacted as other human beings would and went North, or to industrial cities in the South where they could get jobs at good wages. Dr. Charles Johnson, the eminent Negro sociologist who is the leading authority on migration, told me two days ago that the rate of Negro movement out of the South has been accelerated.

Industrial Development

I have seen the statement made a good many times that the South has gained percentage-wise in industrial development during the war, but there is no evidence to sustain it. On the contrary, the McCarran committee recently reported in effect that unless the federal government actively uses the Defense Plant Corporation to prevent it, the industrial East will wind up with more than its present 65 per cent of value of manufactures and the South and West, which have between them only 20 per cent, will slip in their standing.

In four years ending July 1 of last year, the United States had put nearly 16 billion dollars into industrial plant facilities. Of this, 4 billion was in the 13 Southern states, or about their correct proportion. Within the South, however, the distribution was far from equitable. Texas, which was fortunate in having Jesse Jones as a citizen, got 31 per cent of that total, although prior to the war North Carolina and Georgia outranked her in industrial employment. The per capita investment of the Defense Plant Corporation in the South ranged from $103.37 for Texas, $100.49 for Louisiana, $63.33 for Kentucky, $27.12 for Alabama, $4.49 for South Caro-

lina, to $1.44 for Georgia and 81 cents per capita for my native Mississippi. In terms of money, Texas got investments of a billion and a quarter dollars for new plants and Georgia got $135,000,000, or slightly more than a tenth. Jesse Jones followed the principle of the rich getting richer if the allocations of Defense Plant Corporations are a criterion. I can understand why a Texas or Louisiana senator would consider Jesse Jones a great benefactor and feel impelled to rush to his defense, but I cannot understand why Senator George, or Senator Byrd, or Senator Bailey would not feel that his people had been taken advantage of. But it is not the worst of the story that Texas, with one-sixth of the population of the area and 9.9 per cent of its factory workers, got 31 per cent of the South's plant expansion. She also got the cream of the crop.

The federal government spent $13,000,000 to build factories for combat and other types of vehicles, easily convertible. Texas got every dime of it. The federal government spent $97,000,000 on iron and steel plants in the South; Texas got $73,000,000 worth. But Texas, with her ports, took only $50,000,000 of the $365,000,000 the federal government spent in expanding shipbuilding capacity.

The Federal Reserve Board of Atlanta, studying the states embraced in its area, says that 86 per cent of the new industry that has come into states in the reserve district was in munitions, metals, shipbuilding, electric power, aircraft and chemicals, while petroleum, timber, synthetic rubber, railway transport and other things account for the remainder. Almost a third of the total is in munitions, of which one plant in Louisville can supply the world in peace time. Metallurgical development, of which Georgia has none, accounts for 19 per cent; shipyards for 11 per cent, power lines for about 9 per cent, most of it spent in East Tennessee; aircraft for about 8 per cent, the largest part of it in Georgia, and so on down the line.

The comment of the Federal Reserve Board was that "Much of the new industrial capacity built in the Sixth District so far in the war promises to be of doubtful usefulness in the postwar period." The bulletin pointed out with a third of the new capacity in munitions, only a small fraction would be needed to supply demands. There will be, of course, no demand for new ships because American tonnage exceeds the pre-World War tonnage of all merchant navies.

"In the long run," the bulletin commented on aircraft, "the outlook is brighter, but in the immediate postwar years the outlook is about as bad for aircraft as for ships. Even an increase of 1,000 per cent in 1946 in comparison with 1941 would produce the need for only 5,000 planes, a few weeks' production."

Metallurgical development, of which Georgia has none, has the brightest promise, but it must be remembered, the board warns, that the principal market for aluminum and magnesium is the aircraft field.

The board's conclusion was that "While some of the new capacity will fit readily into the postwar economic structure of the region, most of it will not. It would seem, therefore, that a soundly based regional economy should be related to the region's own great resources and to a peacetime market structure rather than be tied, as a result of uneconomic conversion of war plants, to capacity designed for a totally different economic situation."

One more observation about war plants. The McCarran committee pointed out that the readily convertible war plants are largely in the East and Midwest and warns against the greater centralization and monopoly and greater control by big interests over government. The report argues eloquently for regional development and for the use of government resources to correct the imbalance between regions. To those who ask, "What, more spending?" Senator McCarran answers, "We have not hesitated to spend 300 billion dollars for war. We can afford to spend a few more dollars in the cause of an American society." Mr. Wallace is not so radical; he argues that it can be done by private investment.

It is obvious from the Federal Reserve Board bulletin and the McCarran committee report that the South is in danger of losing rather than gaining in relation to other sections unless, as the Federal Reserve Board says, there can be regional development. Does that sound like Henry Wallace, who advocates more developments patterned after TVA, which, according to Donald Nelson's speech in Atlanta, raised the income level of the people of that valley in 10 years by 75 per cent against 56 per cent for the rest of the nation? Does that sound like developing our industries with our own raw products and getting freight rates down to do it?

Our Leaders' Records

In everything I have said and in everything I have left unsaid about the problems of the South there is implicit the necessity for a vigorous and progressive approach. But we have not had and do not have on the whole that type of approach. The voting records of all senators and congressmen are readily available, but I was particularly interested in the records of Senators Bailey and George because they are leading the fight on Wallace. Out of 20 possible liberal votes in the New Republic's chart of domestic issues for the last two sessions of Congress, Senator George and Senator Bailey voted conservative eighteen times. Senator George's two progressive votes were for Soil Conservation and the Farm Security Administration. But, because it is of particular interest in Georgia, I have gone back into Senator George's record for several years. On five issues, connected with power,

he voted the Gilbertsville of the TVA in Kentucky. He voted against authorizing TVA to issue bonds to buy the property of the Tennessee Electric Power Company; for the McKellar bill which would have hamstrung TVA; against the Tennessee-Tombigbee waterway project, and for the raw Bailey amendment that was designed to force the sale through private channels of power generated at public dams.

Senator George voted against the Wagner Bill to set up low cost housing; he was instrumental in shelving the bill for federal aid to education because Senator Langer wanted to tack a non-discriminatory provision on it. (You will recognize the old game of keeping the white people from getting more education or more health because the Negro might get some, too.) Senator George voted against the wages and hours bill; against the anti-labor spy bill; for the ineffectual Smith-Connally Act; for the Social Security freeze, against cloture to bring the poll tax to a vote and against higher taxes on corporations in the last tax bill. Beyond any of that, although the Atlanta Federal Reserve Board said, in effect, that the development of this region must be planned, Senator George was one of those who led the fight in the Senate to kill the National Resources Planning Board. He emerged from that fight as chairman of the Senate's postwar planning committee. If it has done any planning, I am not aware of it.

I am not singling out Senator George for any sinister purpose. I am not giving you the picture of a wicked man, because I am sure he is not. I am sure he votes his conviction with integrity, although I must observe that his vote would delight the heart of any president of a big corporation. I am giving you the picture of any Southern reactionary—of Senator Byrd, of Senator Bailey, of Senator McKellar, of Senator Connally. The hope of the South does not lie in men like that. They do not represent what its people are thinking and they do not dare advocate the extension of democracy and take their chances on what the people are thinking.

The hope of the South is in men like Wallace, who are ready to fight the centralization which has been a curse to all sections of this country except the East; who are ready to use the credit and resources of this country to develop still more resources in the regions. It lies in governors like Arnall, who is willing to fight in the Supreme Court, in the legislature and before the people for his convictions and his section; in senators like Pepper and Hill, who are willing to carry the fight against reaction, and in a dozen young congressmen from the South who have broken through the domination of political machines and won by direct appeal to their people. The people have demonstrated that they are eager for that leadership.

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FORTUNE'S WHEEL

Seldom has the FORTUNE Art Department been presented with a more challenging assignment than to evoke the image of that mysterious subject Electronics. The results are on the cover and in the folded insert at page 133.

The cover is composed of a thyratron tube (widely used in industry for exact control of electric current) rampant against a field of terra-cotta-colored atoms. In action, the tube glows with the purplish blue light of mercury vapor, faithfully copied from a Kodachrome. The arrangement of stylized atoms was the product of arduous research. It is fashionable, in advertisements and popular scientific papers, to represent the atom as a whirligig symbol—i.e., electronic orbits circling a nucleus in distinct patterns. Fashionable, but no longer scientific. Modern physicists favor the wave-mechanics theory, which holds that the electrons whirl about the nucleus in an infinite number of overlapping orbits, the paths merging in an imaginary blur. That conception was adapted for FORTUNE's cover design (prompted by an excellent diagram in the *Journal of Applied Physics*). The plus signs represent the positively charged nuclei, from which each atom blends out through a relatively dense "inner orbit" to its more spacious "outer orbit." The cover itself was achieved by an ingenious superimposition of photographs and manipulation of an airbrush. The forty-two atoms represent no particular element. They happen to be copper drawer handles from a New York hardware store.

The insert, first of a projected series of "Techniques for a New World," is an experiment in magazine illustration. Beginning where the somewhat shopworn photomontage idea left off, it is described as a collage, a composition consisting of all necessary art techniques (photographs, paintings, even three-dimensional objects) to achieve a desired result.

Cover and insert required the work, at various stages, of about fifteen persons, including the author of the electronics story, Editor Lawrence P. Lessing, and his research associate, Jean Ford. This month's article is probably the most distinguished in a long list of technological stories produced by Lessing and Miss Ford since they began working as a team in October, 1939. They have reported on forgings and cartels, low-grade ores and nylon, synthetic rubber and plastics, technological mobilization and patents. Next month—unless the Army calls Lessing—they will report on television.

Belated but grateful acknowledgment: to the U. S. Department of Agriculture for data on which we based the map, "The Land As We Use It," in June.

AUGUST: WEST COAST'S SIX COMPANIES • EUROPEAN FORTRESS • MEXICO • TELEVISION'S PROMISE

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AMERICA AND THE FUTURE

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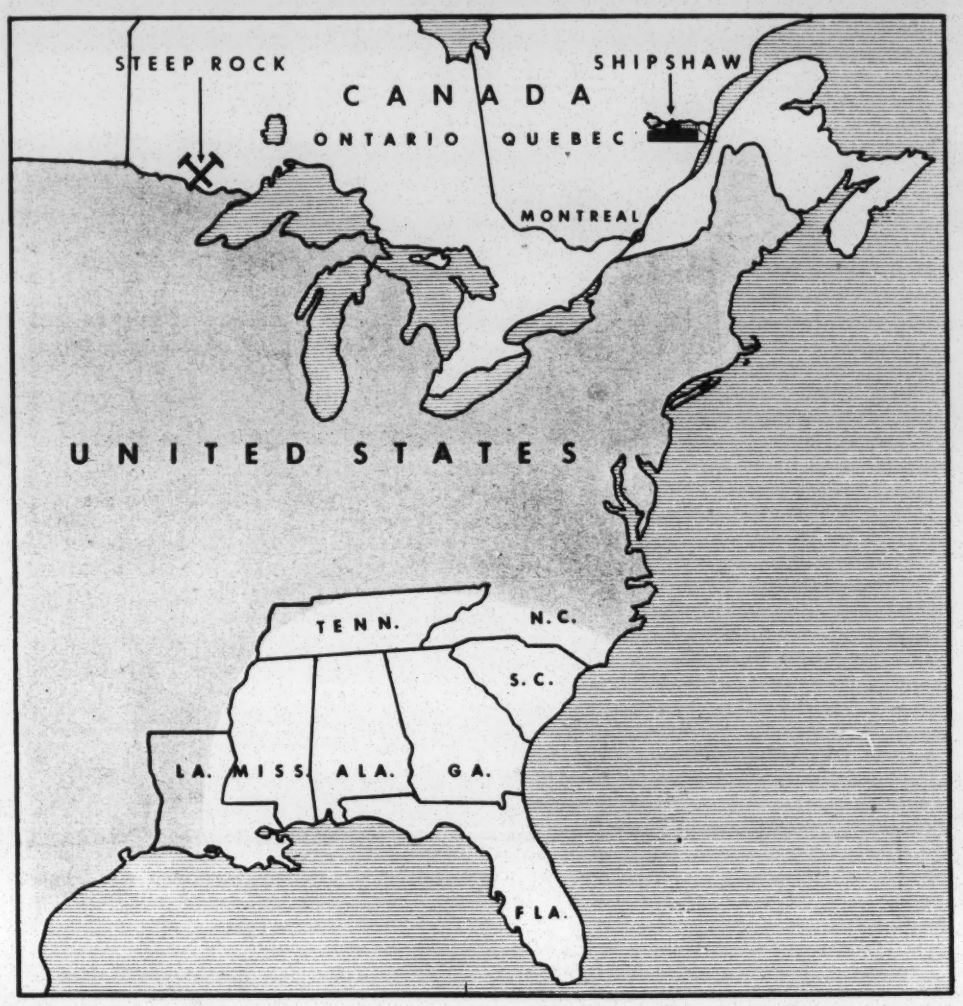


1 THE JOB BEFORE US

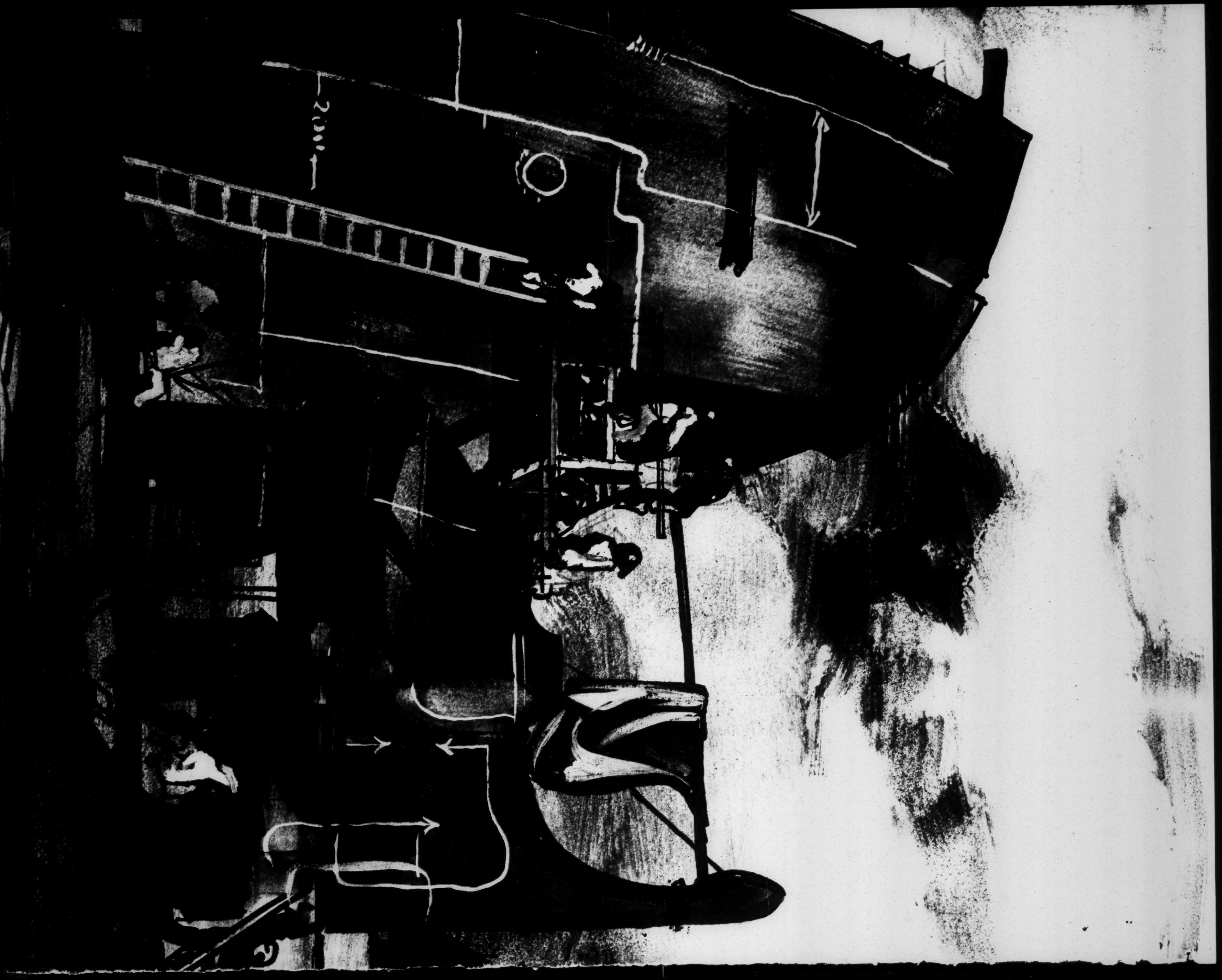
In the section that follows are two articles about Canada and our own Deep South. They are not meant to be companion pieces. Each is concerned with the specific and unique issues of a huge geographic region. But a thoughtful reader will discern that Canada and the Deep South, in their progress through the labyrinth of history, are fingering a common thread. It is toward integrating their affairs with those of the great central American economy whose boundaries they abut.

Canadians have always been cynical about the "world's longest unguarded frontier." It has not saved them from ruinous tariff wars, or restrained American jingoists from periodically screaming annexation. The memory of these things worries Canadians, at an hour when the relations of the two countries are the best in history. War has sped Canada's industrialization and fortified her political independence. The changes have also made her vulnerable.

In the Deep South the American problem is basically the same: to admit an economically isolated people to a system that tends to treat them as colonial. Here, unless we are forearmed, the race problem, an archaic freight-rate structure, and chronic lack of capital will give rise to the old frustrations as soon as the war boom dies. The American citizen cannot afford to have this happen any more than he can afford to have a weak and disillusioned Canada on his northern frontier.

"With confidence in our armed forces, with the unbounding determination of our people, we will gain the inevitable triumph. So help us God."

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Dec. 8, 1941



THE DEEP SOUTH LOOKS UP

It sees an opportunity, with northern aid, to join the Union.

FOR the first time since the "War Between the States," almost any native of the Deep South* who wants a job can get one. The region may not have a proportionate share of wartime industry, but it has achieved a degree of industrialization unheard of five years ago. From New Orleans to North Carolina, from Memphis to Miami, the change has quickened imagination and ambition as they have not been quickened since 1861. It is a step toward what Southerners wanted for years—a broad economic basis for the solution of apparently insoluble problems like their Tobacco Roads and race question. But now that they have it, they're worried about how they will keep it—and expand it—in the face of what they

**Unless it states otherwise, this article is concerned with the Deep South. For statistical purposes only, Deep South includes Georgia, Florida, Alabama, southern Louisiana and Mississippi, eastern Tennessee. Otherwise, the term designates the region plus South Carolina and western Tennessee.*

INDUSTRIAL PROBLEM NO. 1 The drawing on the left shows the afterpeak of a Liberty ship, preassembled before being hoisted onto the ways at a Panama City, Florida, shipyard. This shipyard was a sand dune sixteen months ago; it hopes soon to turn out ships at the rate of six a month. Southerners wonder what it and other shipyards will do after the war—whether their welders and fitters must go back to sharecropping and subsistence farming. Upon the answer hangs more than a depression.

THE ILLUSTRATIONS on pages 94-103 are by Rico Lebrun, one of the finest draftsmen in America. Assistant professor at Newcomb College, Tulane University, Lebrun was granted leave of absence to make these drawings. He traveled more than 2,000 miles through the Deep South. Of his work he says: "For me the aim is to participate in the living world of all peoples—to grasp this, its significance, and forge it, draw it, illustrate, and give it in terms understandable and, I hope, acceptable to them."

JIM CROW LAWS WORK BOTH WAYS Southern segregation laws forbid each race to use the facilities of the other. In this bus the law is being observed to the letter. But busses and streetcars are so crowded all over the South that the law isn't always strictly observed. Sometimes trouble occurs.

regard as obstacles imposed from the outside. "We must have more than the crumbs from the North's table," say bankers, editors, merchants, liberals, conservatives, radicals, union leaders, white and Negro. Next to the war itself, no topic is hotter in the Deep South today.

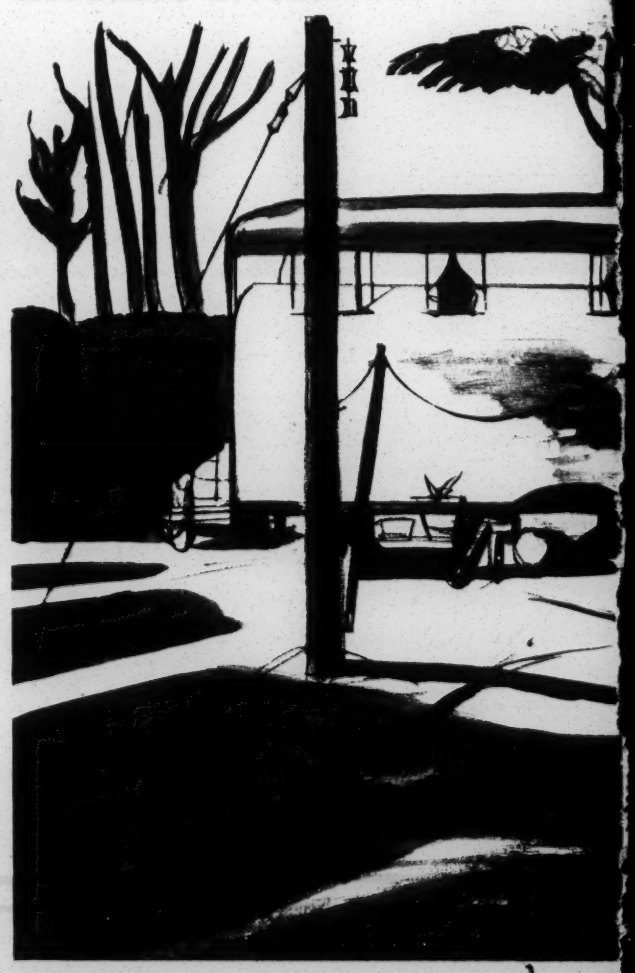
Practically all Southerners firmly believe that the South is not exclusively responsible for its low economic status: that ever since the War Between the States, the North has consciously or accidentally exploited it almost as a conquered province. It has been one of the Deep South's many misfortunes to have this thesis advanced by demagogues who could not expound the most patent truth without making it sound ludicrous or suspicious to a tolerably rational person. They worked on the assumption that the South's feudal habits and prejudices represent the peak of white civilization, and regarded questions of economic justice primarily as material with which to inflame constituents who unfortunately had a great capacity for being inflamed.

But southern leaders of integrity and substance, whose numbers are constantly growing, admit the South is not wholly perfect, and believe that one of the greatest hopes for making it better lies in correcting its economic relationship to the rest of the country. "We have exploited both the Negro and the poor whites," they all say. "But we in turn have been exploited. As evidence, remember that the average U.S. per capita income in 1937 was $604; in the South it was $314, and Negroes averaged still less. Even if Negroes enjoyed income equality with the whites, they still would be poor. Until something closer to parity is achieved, the South will remain a problem."

They maintain that the Deep South, economically speaking, has been a "colony": a place from which to extract tons of raw materials (and in more recent years, semifinished goods,

ALMOST ANYPLACE DOWN SOUTH: WAITING TO ENTER A CAFETERIA

HUNDREDS OF SHIPYARD WORKERS



too), and to which to ship pounds of finished products. They aver that the South has not enough good land or enough markets for its farm products to employ all its farmers efficiently. One reason for the inadequacy of markets is the U.S. protective tariff. Foreign countries retaliated with tariffs on U.S. cotton, among other things. So Southerners could neither export all their surplus cotton nor buy cheap foreign manufactured goods. The tariff imposed on the South by the North, in the opinion of many a leading Southerner, was the greatest device for the exploitation of a region ever invented and put into operation by any civilized nation.

Equally if not more unjust today, Southerners insist, are the handicaps on increased industrialization. One is the freight-rate structure, which not only keeps southern industry from competing in northern markets, but discourages entrepreneurs from starting industries except as employers of cheap labor and hence at the cost of the South's buying power. Another handicap is the North's almost complete financial control of the South. The South has been a victim of absentee ownership, Southerners say, ever since the War Between the States, and northern-controlled industries have done as much as any other factor to perpetuate southern social customs northern commentators find so reprehensible. Finally, the federal practice of giving state aid for social security on the basis of matching state expenditures instead of giving it on a per capita basis has both penalized the South for being poor and increased its relative degree of poverty.

Just as his industrial facilities have about doubled during the war, so has the Southerner's awareness of these grievances. The question is now whether the Deep South can hang onto and increase its gains—as it must if it is not to slip back further than it has come. Southerners believe the job will be terribly difficult unless the handicaps are removed. And most know that politically the time for their removal is ripe.

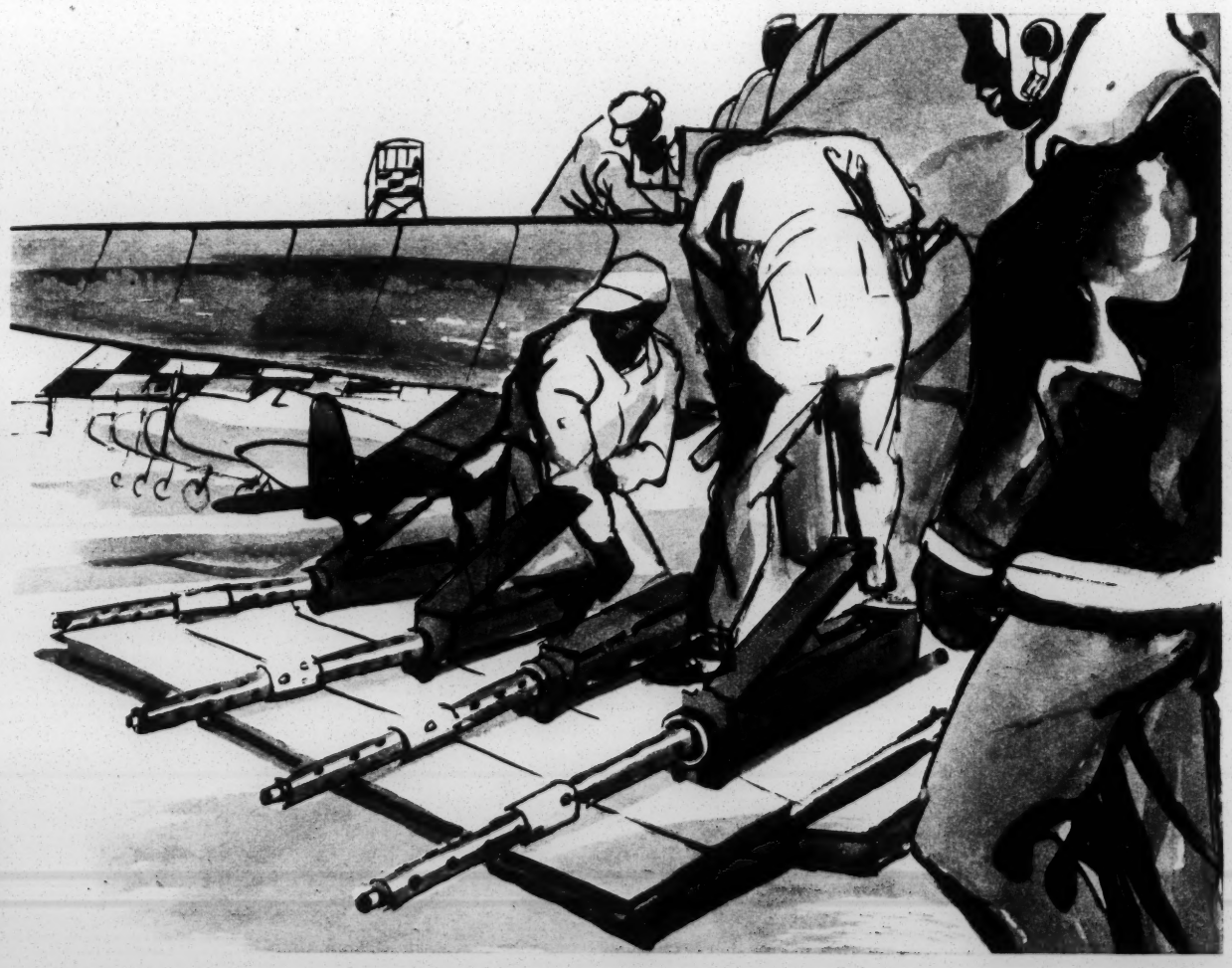
The national campground

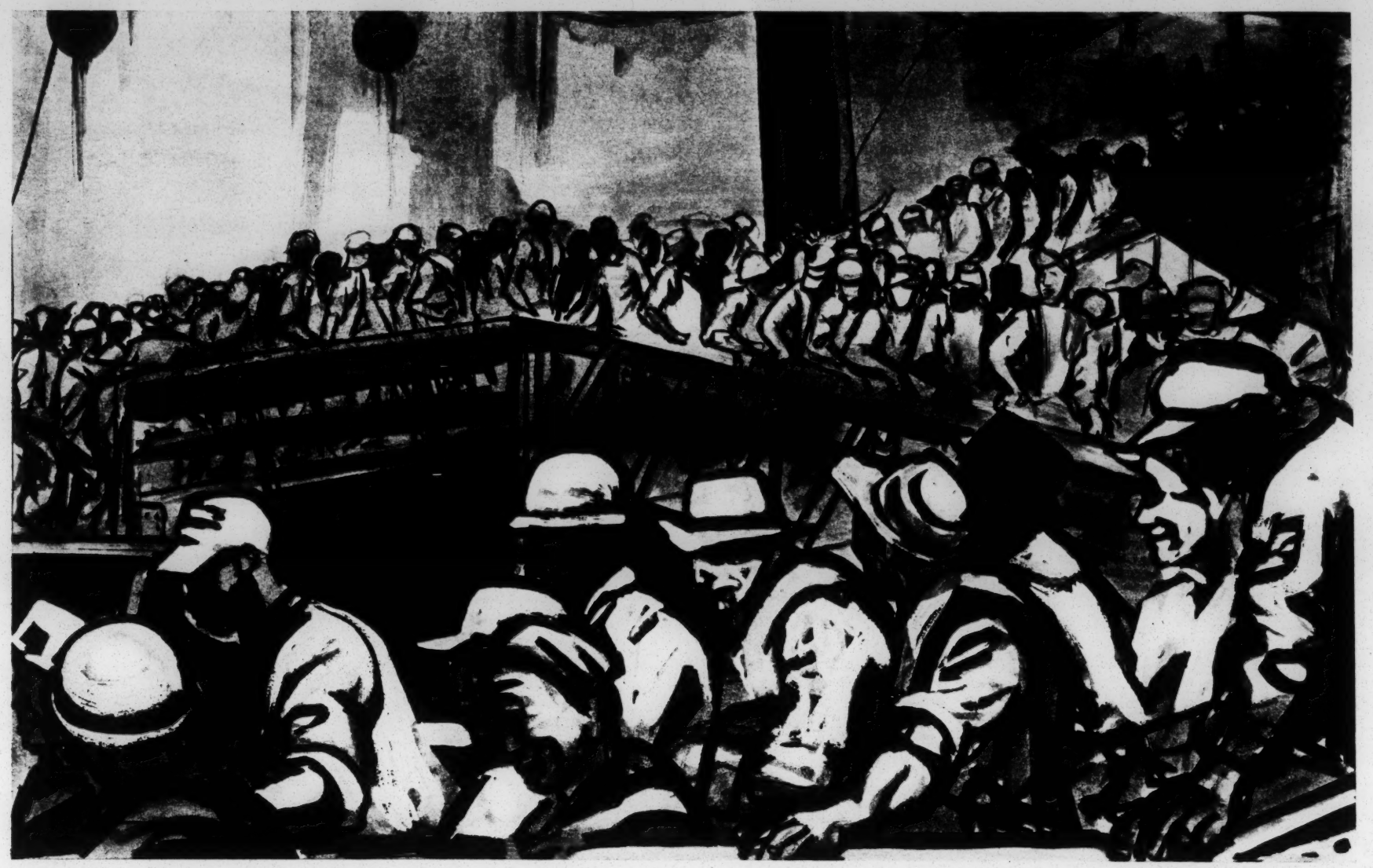
When the southern governors organized in 1941 to demand a greater share of war contracts, they complained that the South had become a campground and not an arsenal. This is still partly true. Chiefly because of the mild climate, nearly a third of the U.S. armed forces in training are encamped in the Deep South. The government has spent about $1,500,000,000 or 13 per cent of all expenditures on supply depots and cantonments in the Deep South. The enormous military concentration in Florida has in a way compensated for loss of tourist trade. Miami Beach hotels have been as much as 90 per cent military. Boosters have drawn graphs to show how Florida, which has boomed after every war because soldiers came back to the sunshine, will boom again. Unlike the rest of the Deep South, the Florida east coast has few postwar worries.

In other states, soldier money has also converted cities into the equivalent of tourist resorts. Towns wisely or unavoidably have made the minimum of addition to their service facilities. Many have added little or nothing. Troops are handled as an increment—but an increment nearly as big as the thing added to. Civilians, while still trying to be extremely hospitable, are beginning to grumble that troops on leave are eating up the food and monopolizing entertainment. Landlords prosper as they never have. In places like Macon, where $40 or $50 used to be high for a six-to-eight-room house, single rooms now bring as much. Storekeepers make hay while they can. Soldiers from northern cities, where prices are ordinarily higher, have a hard time finding anything cheap down south.

AT PASCAGOULA LIVE IN TRAILERS

NEGRO AIRMEN TRAINING AT TUSKEGEE, ALABAMA





THE SHIFT CHANGES in the Ingalls shipyard at Pascagoula, Mississippi. A sleepy, pleasant town of 4,000 a few years ago, Pascagoula is now struggling to handle 30,000. Even so, some shipyard workers have to drive a hundred miles or more every day. After the shift has changed, the streets are jammed as badly as any in New York City used to be. Opposite page: the night trick at Alabama Drydock & Shipbuilding Co. in Mobile.

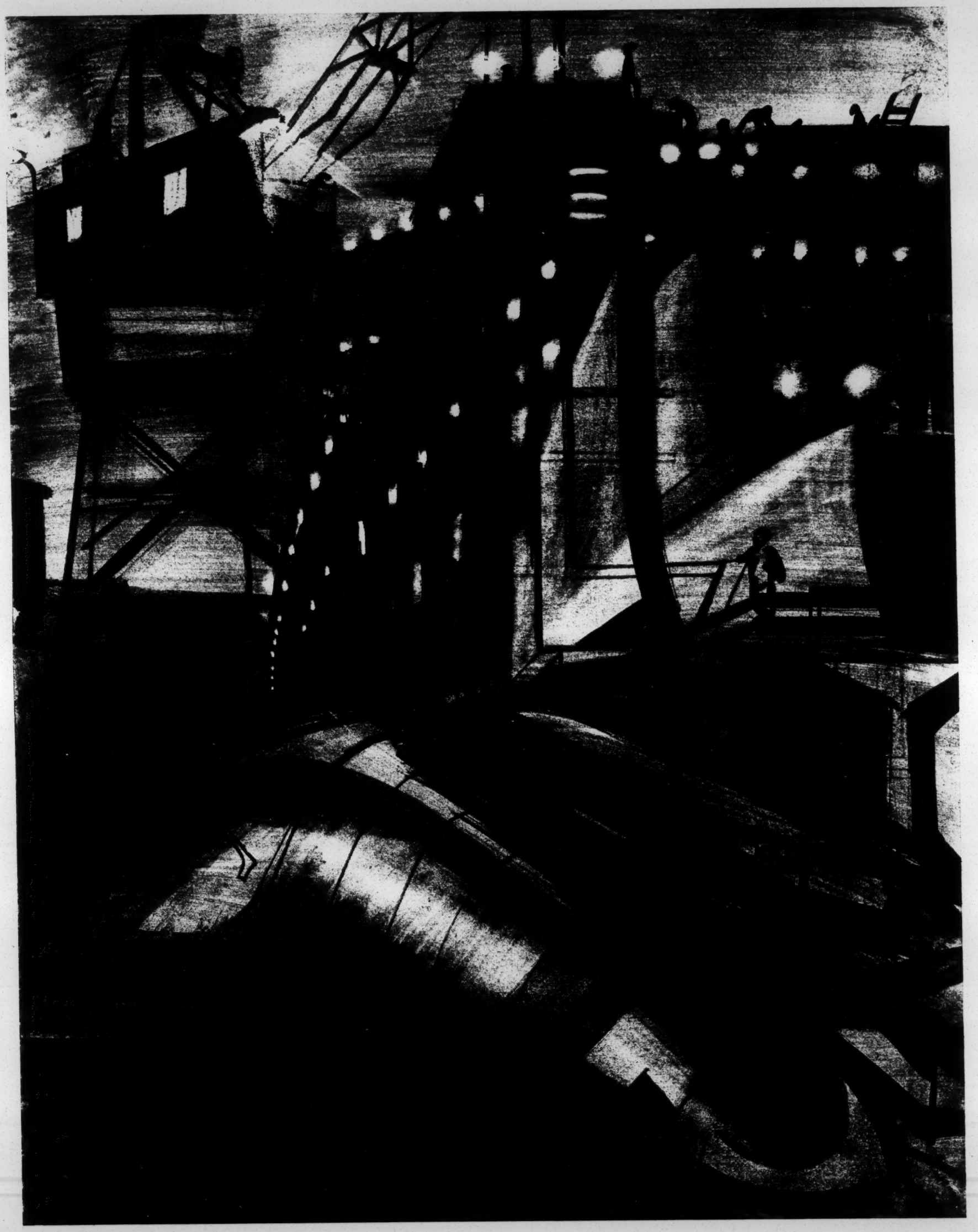
One permanent effect of this military occupation may be a more widespread understanding of the Deep South's problems, or at any rate of its poverty. Another will certainly be the education of Southerners in the services. Even a few of the folks at home are becoming international-minded by firsthand contact. They have seen Russian sailors at Tampa, Dutch flyers at Jackson, Mississippi, and French *aspirants* at Columbus, Georgia. Recently a group of British sailors shocked poor whites in a coastal town by talking British Labor party politics. The natives thought they were Communists. Says a sign in a bar at Biloxi, Mississippi (a "dry" state): NO DRINKS SERVED AFTER MIDNIGHT TO MEMBERS OF THE ARMED FORCES OF THE UNITED NATIONS. At Macon, Georgia, even southern speech has been affected. Generally the soft southern accent is dominant; crossed with any other it tends to come out on top. But local girls, who would give almost anything to go out with the British air cadets stationed at nearby Cochran field, began to talk with noticeably English accents.

The biggest benefit resulting from the South's military position is the development of aviation. Florida contains upwards of ninety camps and airfields. Miami has been the chief jumping-off-place for Africa. Pan American's Thirty-sixth Street airport, now being enlarged by the Army, will probably be a main terminal for lines to South America after the war. A plane factory (managed by Vultee) is located next door, and natives see in the juxtaposition an almost infallible indication of Miami's prime importance in the new era of international air transport. Miami abounds in people who will solemnly tell you that Miami someday will be bigger than New York City. Skeptics, far in the minority, point out that merely having a yard and roundhouse never converted a railroad division point into a great metropolis, and that many military fields elsewhere are badly located for commercial use. But even the smallest towns near new airports talk glowingly of the ability of the plane to overcome what used to be the handicap of not having railroads and harbors. Provincialism has already suffered measurably. Many Southerners who had been content to let the world slip by, who sentimentally turned their eyes inward to the imaginary glories of an overrated past, are becoming men with world vision.

Of factories and ships

The government's investment in plant and facilities in the Deep South from war's beginning through February, 1943, amounted to $1,100,000,000, or 7 per cent of the national investment in war plants during the same period. The low ratio was of course not the result of discrimination so much as the necessity for producing as fast as possible. To get what they did, Southerners had to prod governors and Congressmen into going to bat for them.

The low percentage is partly compensated for by the fact that the South may have a bigger proportion of the nation's



chemical and metalworking plants than it had before the war, but in any case it probably will have a smaller part of total plant capacity. Worse, most of the large war plants are northern-owned or northern-operated, considered as branch factories, and many may be first to be closed in a postwar retrenchment. Still worse, of the $2,300,000,000 worth of prime contracts let in the Deep South through February, approximately half were accounted for by shipyards, few of which hope to have much postwar business. This half almost equals the total annual take of the whole southern textile industry in 1939 and three times its volume in the Deep South.

Southern shipyard cities present some of the most acute population and social problems in the nation. In 1940 the ship and boat yards of the Deep South employed about 7,500 workers. Today the approaching figure is 200,000. About a quarter of them are at Mobile, whose recent housing problem FORTUNE discussed in October, 1942. Next is New Orleans, where 18,000 work for Delta (Liberty ships) and some 9,000 for Higgins. The two boomingest shipyard towns are Panama City, in northwest Florida, and Pascagoula, Mississippi. Panama City had a population of 20,000 in 1940, has some 60,000 today. Pascagoula had 4,000 a few years ago, has some 30,000 today. Chambers of Commerce no longer drag out figures proudly; they hate to look for fear they have jumped overnight.

Workers have been largely recruited from nearby rural areas. People are living in government-built houses, in trailers, in tents, in boats. Rustics who never learned a trade in their lives have now acquired at least part of a skill. Women who never made more than $5 a week now consider $40 fair. Crackers who counted themselves lucky to take in $500 cash in a year can do almost that in a month. "Hit's got me right bothered," said one standing in front of the Hotel Marie in Panama City, "how I'm a-goin' to spend it all."

Panama City is a good example of what happens when a wartime burden that would hardly be noticed in a big city is dumped on a small one. Panama City was on the map before the war. In the twenties it was a raw, fishing and resort village of a few thousand; by 1931, after construction of the biggest pulp mill in Florida, population shot up to 10,000. It grew steadily through the thirties as port facilities were developed and a tugboat building and repair yard was established. But not even the Chamber of Commerce had reckoned on the future achieved. Workers have come to it from all over the U.S. Tyndall Field, one of the A.A.F.'s leading aircraft gunnery schools, and Navy and Coast Guard stations were established nearby. On April 20, 1942, the J. A. Jones Construction Co., now in the shipbuilding business, began work on its Wainwright yard, on St. Andrews Bay two miles west of town. A spacious, well-laid-out yard of six ways employing 13,000 people, it turned out its first Liberty ship before the end of the year. Under

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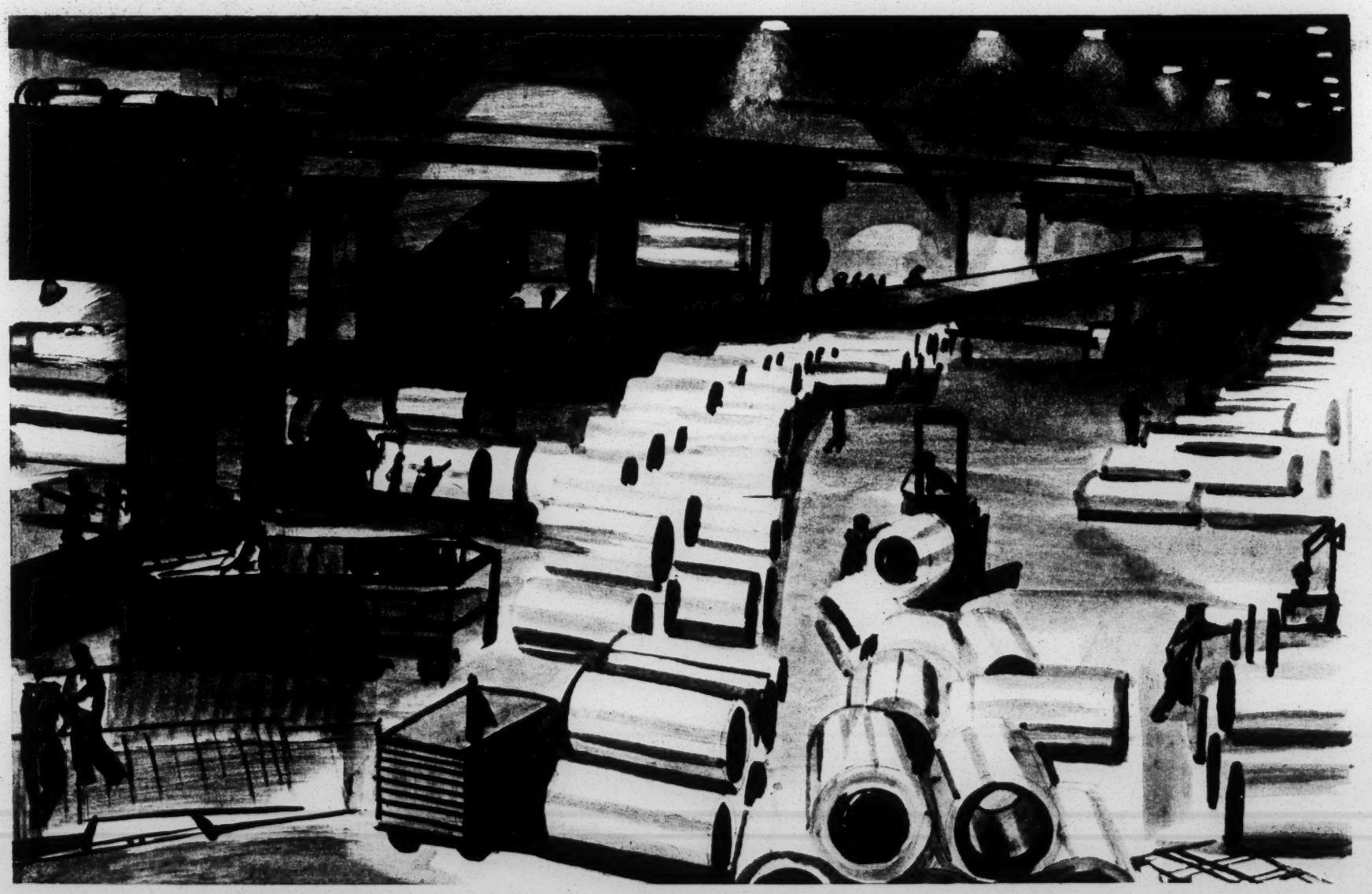
ALABAMA ALUMINUM The new Reynolds Metals aluminum plant at Listerhill, one of the largest in the U.S., is strategically located close to TVA power and north of Mobile, which is a port of entry for South American bauxite. Alabamans hope it will be a permanent institution.



The Deep South Looks Up

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General Manager H. V. Appen it is prefabricating whole sections of the ships and putting them together in only seventy-two sequences—claimed to be a U.S. record.

There was no time for Panama City to grow much physically. It is still a city of 20,000 doing its best to accommodate 60,000. The J. C. Penney store last year achieved the second largest sales increase of all the Penney stores in the U.S. Broadway sidewalks have never been more crowded than those of Panama City on a Saturday afternoon. Soldiers patrol the streets for an empty café table, then dive for it.

But from a long-term viewpoint, Panama City is lucky not to have expanded more than it has. The military establishments will not be permanent, at least in their present strength. J. A. Jones of Charlotte, North Carolina, who also runs a shipyard at Brunswick, Georgia, has a contract with the Maritime Commission on a cost-plus basis, for the duration only. But because Panama City is a naturally growing town: "We've got a darn good chance to hold half the population and then continue to grow," says John M. Rainey, youthful secretary-manager of the Chamber of Commerce. Which would leave Panama City in good shape. But the other half will be the real problem.

The problem will be the same elsewhere. Only a few of the large shipyards in the Deep South hope to survive on any scale. Tampa Shipbuilding, which closed down after the last war, now has a drydock and repair yard. The company fabricates bridges, makes hydraulic mixers and pumps. It hopes to keep going after the war on these, but not the way it is going now. Alabama Drydock & Shipbuilding of Mobile, with more than 30,000 employees, runs the biggest drydock and ship-repair plant on the Gulf, plans to survive on its maritime business as it has since the last war. The city of Mobile, already on the ascendant in 1939 after generations of tranquillity, is very active in postwar planning. It looks forward to a big coastal and South American trade for which it is ideally located. But Alabama Drydock anticipates only part of current volume.

Of those with outstanding prospects there remain Higgins in New Orleans, and Ingalls at Pascagoula, Mississippi, and Decatur, Alabama. These are probably the only two major southern shipbuilders on a contract basis. What Higgins plans to do about postwar business is described on page 101. Bob Ingalls and Bob Ingalls Jr., who run the Ingalls Iron Works in Birmingham and Ingalls Shipbuilding, are not so voluble as Higgins, but they are looking as far ahead. Pioneer in the all-welded ship, Ingalls also pioneered its "300-mile assembly line." It fabricates parts of ships in Birmingham and sends them down to Pascagoula for assembly. Ingalls is concentrating not on Liberty ships but on swift C-3's, which will be the backbone of the competitive postwar fleet. Some are being converted to aircraft carriers as fast as their hulls are completed. Continually experimenting with new methods, Ingalls Sr. says the "biggest job we have is to convince our old-time shipbuilders that they're wrong 90 per cent of the time." He is proud of his conservatism ("conservative people have made the world"), but has novel, not to say radical, ideas for future development. He is working with Chrysler's top-notch production men and engineers and is planning houses, river and coastal boats, and engines. "I'm interested in creating values," he says.

But Higgins and Ingalls are together about 15 per cent of the wartime shipbuilding industry. The rest of the Deep South's industry may have plans, but it has no Higgins or Ingalls. Millions have been invested in a Bell Aircraft plant, which has greater cubic content than any other U.S. aircraft plant. Government-owned, but operated as a branch of a northern business, its future is highly problematical. It is windowless, air conditioned, and its lighting bill alone amounts to some $365,000 a year. The bald fact is that the South seems to contain no capitalist with enough vision to acquire and operate the plant. With the possible exception of the aluminum industry, heavily concentrated in Alabama and Tennessee, the rest of the wartime addition to the Deep South's industrial plant also has dubious prospects. Much of it has been in not readily convertible shell-loading plants. Though the South will have gained a pool of semiskilled labor and machine tools, these may mean little unless somebody arises with a workable program for making and distributing industrial products.

But in southern Tennessee, on the edge of the "literary" Deep South, is the Tennessee Valley Authority. It has put cheap power at the top of the list of southern advantages, has made possible the development of vital wartime light-metal, plastic, and chemical industries. It has increased the average per capita income in the valley 75 per cent since 1933 (against a national increase of 56 per cent). Among the largest producers of phosphates (for fertilizer), it is actively integrating agriculture and industry. Just as it is proving indispensable to the whole nation during the war, so its developments may well prove indispensable to the whole South afterward. "TVA will affect the whole South," predicts David Lilienthal, its Director, "by the contagion of example. People in this region are beginning to think things can be done."

Without more of this, a blind postwar trek back to the farm may occur. The trouble with farming—at any rate traditional farming—is, as we have noted, that it probably never can employ all the southern farmers efficiently. Despite the exodus of farm workers to the armed forces and the factory, southern farmers have planted a huge acreage. Through no fault of their own, sharecroppers still sit around most of the winter, waiting for spring plowing. One reason they are so poverty-stricken, of course, is that they don't produce very much. If they got 90 per cent instead of 50 per cent of the crop, they would still be poor.

Postwar development of farm machinery will doubtless make them more efficient—and throw thousands into unemployment. Development of a more diversified agriculture, to be sure, may result in a greater demand for manpower. Years before the war the South was gradually shifting from soil-exhausting cotton and tobacco to vegetables, fruits, and dairy products, and the war sped up the trend. But the South's single-crop system has been so inefficient that an efficient diversified farm economy would probably demand few more men.

Race against race

In any other region these problems would be less noticeable even if they were greater. What complicates and intensifies them here is that six million of the Southeast's seventeen million people are Negroes. The fundamental fact to remember is that the white's attitude toward the Negro is not peculiar to the South. Because there are so many Negroes in the South, the attitude there is merely more intense and less conscious. The *average* Southerner just doesn't *think* at all about the Negro, any more than he ponders the rising and setting of the sun. He just naturally regards the Negro as inferior.

The basic belief of many a Southerner has been well defined by Thomas Dixon, author of *The Clansman* and two dozen other inflammatory books: "What the South stands for alone against the world is the integrity of the White Race . . . The

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The Deep South Looks Up

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South must keep open, at all times without fail, an impassable social chasm between the races. If we do not . . . the assimilation [of the Negro] would begin instantly . . . As a race we would pass and a Mulatto mongrel society be built on the ruins . . . A quart of ink can make black fifty gallons of water."

A second thing to remember is that the white South was for years and years united in its basic attitude toward the Negro. This unity of viewpoint, contradicting the poor white's own economic interests, was born with slavery. The late W. J. Cash, in his great book *The Mind of the South,* explains the poor white: "The dear treasure of his superiority as a white man has been conferred on him by slavery; and so he saw in the offensive of the Yankee as great a danger to himself as the angriest planter." The War Between the States united the whites more firmly than ever against the Negro, and the North's tragic mishandling of the postwar period cemented the whites. The Yankee was too dumb even to divide them classwise. For years, as everybody knows, he disenfranchised whites and deliberately let what they regarded as African savages run the land. A few Southerners who fought the War Between the States are still living; millions of their children and grandchildren are. Their still glowing resentment far surpasses their ability to reason about the Negro.

Southern politicians, who know the all too human characteristics of their constituents all too well, still run the race issue ragged. "White southern boys . . ." says Governor Sam Jones of Louisiana, "do not improve in morale when they are told that one of the things they are fighting for is social equality of the Negro. They would renounce any such war aim, rightly or wrongly." A prominent southern legislator remarked recently: "If the Republican party would come out on the issue of white supremacy, it would sweep the South." Liberal Mark Ethridge, publisher of the Louisville *Courier Journal,* then Chairman of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice (of which more later) had to concede: "He [the Negro] must recognize that there is no power in the world—not even all the mechanized armies of the earth, Allied and Axis—which could now force the southern white people to the abandonment of the principle of social segregation."

Nevertheless, this unity of whites against Negroes is not what it once was. Developed in a feudal agrarian South, it has tended to soften up partly as the result of union activity. Since 1935, it is estimated, nearly one million white Southerners have joined trade unions with 100,000 Negroes. White and Negro members of the U.M.W. in Birmingham are meeting together as industrial equals. Ninety per cent of the members of the Transport Workers Union in New Orleans are Negroes. Both the Farmers' Union and the conservative Farm Bureau have Negro members. Even the A. F. of L. last year set up an "integrated" Transport Workers Union in Mobile.

In constantly harping on white racial unity, demagogues have probably kept it more lively than it otherwise might be. For probably only a small minority of the white Southerners believe that economic and political equality is bound to end in social equality and "mongrelization." Of course, only a very small percentage of intellectual whites believe in total equality for the Negro. The bulk of the whites have no objection to the Negro's attaining a greater degree of economic opportunity, or the right to hold jobs. Despite the official stand on the poll tax, many favor political equality, or the right to vote. But they are against social equality, or the right to mingle with the other race. Unfortunately they really don't think much about it. Sometimes their demagogues denounce social equality when they are really bucking political and economic equality, and the people don't bother to think through the distinction.

What the articulate southern Negro hopes for and wants first of all is the right to take jobs for which he is qualified and the right to vote—some of the very things for which he and whites alike are fighting. He has neither. So he is either very cynical, very indignant, or very discouraged. "Seems like they're only out to lynch Hitler and Mussolini," as one Negro worker doped it out. "That's why the white folks down here got so het up about it right away." Others express their resentment in requests for a better deal from employers, both industrial and domestic. Even the humblest Negro is aware of the gap between what has been promised and what is being given. "Ask any Negro sharecropper or worker what his neighbor is thinking," says one leader, "and if he has sense enough to come out of the rain he will say that the white man cannot lick Hitler with his right hand and keep the Negro down with his left."

The contradictions of the war, in other words, have naturally made the body of Negroes restless. Their leaders reflect their restlessness in various degrees. Many do what they can within the rigid framework of southern customs. In order to get the other equalities, they tactically avoid discussion of the issue of social equality. This is the tradition of schools like Tuskegee Institute and Atlanta University. As Dr. Rufus Clement, president of the latter, puts it: "I think it is foolish to assume that we can reach our ultimate goals tomorrow."

But more and more Negro leaders and white sympathizers are becoming impatient. There are all shades of viewpoints. Labor leaders and organizations like the Southern Negro Youth Congress are concentrating on specific objectives like war jobs and the right to vote, and do not stress social equality. Most white liberals, many represented in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, are with them. Northern Negro newspapers like the Pittsburgh *Courier* and Chicago *Defender* plug the issue of segregation. Less patient are militant little papers like *South Today*, published by whites who believe that democracy should and can be enforced now. Not to be confused with any of these are demagogues like Ethelbert Broaster of New Orleans, General Messenger of International Reassemble of the Church of Freedom League, Inc.

"The time to act is now"

Meantime, Negroes are having a hard enough time getting economic opportunity. A common attitude is exemplified by the remark of a go-getting foreman at a new shipyard: "I wouldn't hire one of the black bastards," he explained, anxious to show his discernment. "They all right on the business end of a rake or shovel, but they no good on this kind of work. Besides, the whites wouldn't stand for it. One nigger told me the law says I *had* to hire him—he was a trained welder, and we need 2,000 welders. 'I have to hire you, eh?' says I. 'Well, you insolent, uppity black so and so, you get the hell out of here before I call the *po*-lice."

It was this kind of attitude, by no means confined to the South, that the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice (FORTUNE, June, 1942) tried to fight. The committee's activities drew letters from Negroes all over. In Jackson, Mississippi, several hundred met in a church and framed a fourteen-page statement on discrimination in a local plant, and sent it to the President and Congress. The committee held enough hearings to establish proof of general racial discrimination in

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The Deep South Looks Up

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southeastern war industry. One of the worst examples was Gulf Shipbuilding in Mobile. Though Negroes comprise a third of the city's population the Negro percentage of Gulf employees was exactly .0013. The company blamed the A.F. of L. local union; the A.F. of L. blamed the company; training officials blamed everybody else. Today the percentage of Negroes at Gulf Shipbuilding is no more than 8. There have been few Negro training programs anywhere. According to the War Manpower Commission, only 10 per cent of war workers trained in the Southeast since 1941 have been Negroes, and many of them have had to go north for skilled employment.

When the committee started south in 1942 it got a reception from businessmen hardly more cordial than that accorded Sherman's army. Industrial leaders appealed to Governor Dixon, who tried to head it off. There were rumors of impending "race riots." There was talk of Negro "Eleanor" clubs, which the FBI later found to be nonexistent. In the course of the hearings at Birmingham, rattled white witnesses found themselves saying "yessuh" to Negro interrogators.

The event not only incensed white leaders but provided some with a chance to play anti-New Deal politics. The pressure grew into one of the tensest the South has known since the Atlanta race riot in 1906. Although Mark Ethridge had made his speech of appeasement (already partly quoted) in which he said the committee was not interested in promoting social equality, the politicians were not appeased. Governor Dixon refused to sign an Army contract for prison-made textiles because, he said, the contract required equality for Negroes. Judge Horace C. Wilkinson, a powerful political figure in the state, made a much-quoted and reprinted speech before the Bessemer, Alabama, Kiwanis Club. ". . . There is need of a League to Maintain White Supremacy . . . The time to act is now. An organization should be formed so strong, so powerful, and so efficient, that this menace to our national security and our local way of life will rapidly disappear."

The race line is still taut. There have been numerous minor clashes on busses. Segregation is being more strictly enforced. Several stores in Birmingham have erected partitions and installed cash registers on each side—one for Negroes and one for whites. Some urbanites are forming "home guard" units, and spend spare time at target practice. Out in the Delta of Mississippi, where 80 per cent or more of some counties are Negro, planters too are arming.

Nevertheless, the economic level of the Negro is being considerably bettered. Higgins's plane factory in New Orleans hopes to train and hire thousands of Negroes. Others who want to increase their forces may have to put more Negroes in skilled jobs because no more whites are available. The point is that the manpower supply has grown so lean that even a Negro can get a common job almost any time he wants to. White men and women are moving from service jobs into factories. Negro waitresses and elevator operators, who lost out in the depression in most of the Deep South, are again becoming commonplace. This kind of "upgrading," plus the theoretical opportunity to get jobs in war plants, has created a tight domestic-servant market—and stimulated race friction too.

The South's vaunted low cost of living, at least for the middle classes, has consisted partly of cheap household help. Incomes that cannot afford servants in the North used to be able to hire a ten-hour-a-day Negro maid in the South. But now servants who had been making $5 or less a week are demanding—and getting—$10 and more. Some are even asking to be worked no more than eight hours a day. Others, feeling their oats, are taking their time about everything and staying home whenever they have the urge. Used to spending very little on necessities, they now have money for luxuries. "Ah looked all over town, and declare to goodness ah just can't find me a evenin' dress ah like." This is probably not typical, but the reaction of the southern woman is: "Honey, it's just gettin' so you can't find a good nigger any more, and you can't trust any you do find. Let me tell you about the Eleanor Club that Mrs. Pritchard's Amy Lou belongs to . . ."

The conclusion might be drawn from all this that jobs and industrial opportunity have increased and not reduced racial friction. A recent work stoppage at Alabama Drydock in Mobile, outstanding among southern shipyards for its high ratio (25 per cent) of Negro employees, occurred after Negroes were upgraded. Just who was responsible in the melee between Negroes, whites, and company guards is hard to determine. How, then, is industrialization the answer?

For one thing, the current friction may be explained in terms of fear of the day when war ends. More important—and remarkable—is not that there has been trouble, but that trouble has occurred on so small a scale—that ancient prejudices and habits are being bypassed with so little event. The phenomenon has become more or less common. A few years ago Sam Solomon, a Negro leader in Miami, led Negroes to the polls. The Ku Klux Klan met to handle the situation. But last May, Solomon ran ninth in an election of five city commissioners. Southern Negro leaders met at Durham, North Carolina, last fall to propose a plan for improving race relations. Last April a similar group of white leaders met under Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta *Constitution*, to frame a reply. The two groups plan to issue a joint statement.

Race trouble today, however, does emphasize the fact that vast improvement in race relations will not come all at once. "Southern society has grown up inexorably and organically . . ." says the famous Dr. Howard Odum of the University of North Carolina. "It must be clear that it cannot be changed overnight." The problem for the Negro is essentially one of tactics, of educating both whites and Negroes. No matter how fired with a sense of injustice against Southerners, the Negro and his white advocates might well remember that all people are at best imperfect—indeed that the Northerner, had he been in the Southerner's place, would have done everything the Southerner has done.

Where will they go?

Today's troubles are nothing beside what may well occur if Negroes and whites must go back to their old status after the war. For postwar dispersion and displacement are bound to follow race lines. Unless more plans are now made, there will be few jobs, and whites will probably hang onto most of them. Returning white soldiers will have a high priority, and returning Negro soldiers will *at least* expect a job. A lot of crackers, to be sure, will shuffle into the pine woods and cotton fields to dream about the day of Jubilee and resume their bouts with hookworm. They may or may not feel that a better world should mean an entirely new standard of living for them. But the Negro, however ignorant or ambitionless, can hardly avoid interpreting the systematic displacement of his race by whites as a contradiction of everything he has been told the war was fought for. "Let there be no mistaking of the fact," warns Dr. James Jackson, a director of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, "that for the South there

[*Continued on page 224*]

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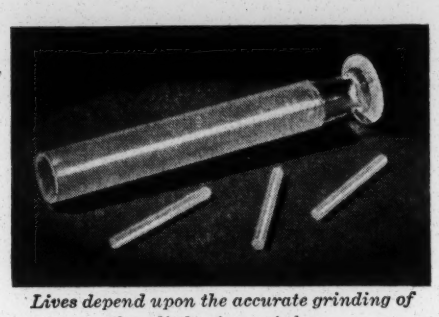

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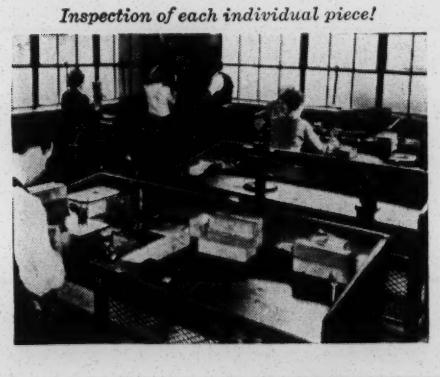

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The Deep South Looks Up

[*Continued from page 223*]

will be no peace after victory until the Negro people are free from all oppression and share equally all opportunities and citizenship rights with their fellow white citizens." Given any kind of leadership, the average Negro's resentment is bound to be noticeable.

Some whites may be watching for just that—and waiting to take out their hard times on the Negro. Movements to "keep the nigger in his place" may be described as a foregone conclusion. Said a state governor recently: "We can't enforce our Jim Crow laws now—we got to kinda wink at them. But when this is all over, we'll fix that." The old round of resentment and persecution may well occur again.

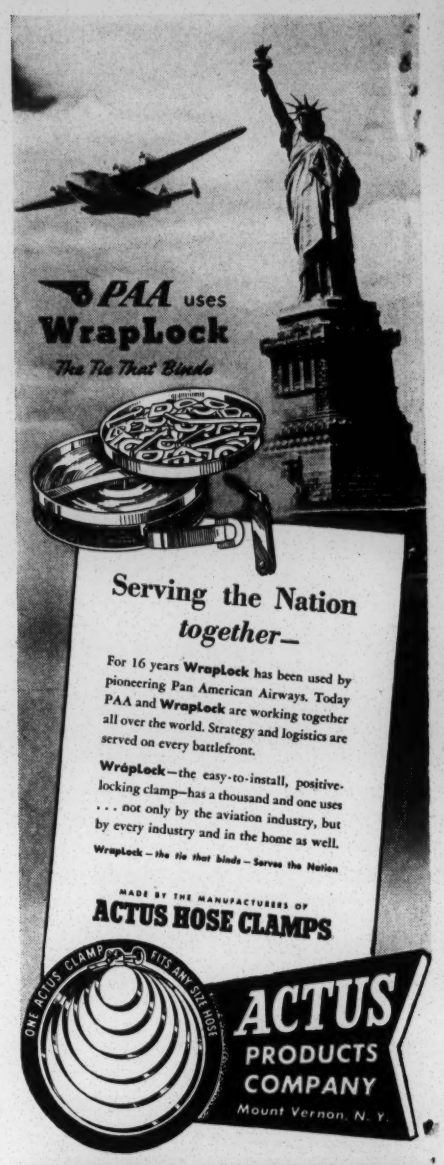
The industrial South

Thus, it seems imperative to maintain and increase the level of the South's industrialization, and to do it without waiting too long after the war. One of the only other ways to equalize the discrepancy between the South's income and that of the rest of the nation, as TVA has pointed out, is the absurd and almost impossible one of deporting millions of people to other sections of the country. The Negro problem, true enough, has a psychological basis that wealth alone cannot completely uproot—any more than formal education can civilize a nation. But little more can be done with the problem until the South achieves a fair degree of prosperity, and a poor white does not have to derive satisfaction from being superior to another race. What some unions have done in getting whites and Negroes together is very significant.

As a first and major step, Southerners hope to see freight (and truck) rates altered before the 1944 elections. The rate structure favors the northeast or "official" territory at the expense particularly of the southern and western regions. It is not necessary to review the topic in detail; suffice to say that originally northern factories needed raw materials; and the southern railroads commendably set low rates on southern raw materials to get the business. They compensated for these low rates by slapping on extra high rates on finished products.

Save for special concessions to favored types of shippers, the structure was not changed as the South gradually acquired industries. So it still costs 50 per cent more to ship an auto storage battery from Jacksonville, Florida, to Washington, D. C. than from Chicago to Washington, six miles farther. The TVA's monumental report on regionalized freight rates, its third on the subject, was published last March. It gives case histories of the effect of higher rates on southern industry. In one case the burden was more than equal to the total factory wages. In another it amounted to as little as 3 per cent of them—but still indicating one reason why southern wages have been necessarily lower than northern wages, and partly why the southern entrepreneurs have been so timid. A legitimate question is whether they will not go on being timid. Most Southerners with money have shown little flair for taking risks, for welcoming that "old harlot Opportunity." Even when the opportunity was there, they tended to invest their money in northern companies.

While the TVA report may be open to some objection in both details and motivation—TVA wants all the postwar power customers it can get—the burden of its arguments has not been successfully challenged. The Interstate Commerce Commission is now headed by Jesse H. Alldredge, formerly of



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TVA, and has held hearings on the rate structure. Last March, moreover, the Board of Investigation and Research, set up by Congress in 1940 to investigate regional rates among other things, published a summary report that analyzed the inequalities and recommended congressional action.

Aside from tariffs and federal aid, which require no further comment, the rest of the southern complaints center in the fact that so much of the South's capital and industrial assets are northern-owned. This argument, in its more parochial versions, is little more convincing than the one that chain stores be abolished because Wall Street owns stock in them.

In other versions it has considerable plausibility. The Southerner pays more interest when he borrows money than entrepreneurs in other sections. Presumably the risk is greater, but the Southerner argues the risk would be the same if southern industry were given the same breaks. The classic example of how northern ownership has affected southern growth is U.S. Steel's subsidiary, Tennessee Coal Iron & Railroad Co. (T.C.I.). Owing to the God-given juxtaposition of coal, iron, and limestone in the hills around Birmingham, iron and steel can be made more cheaply in Birmingham than in any other place in the U.S. Until 1940 the list price was generally not merely the Pittsburgh price for steel, but of course Pittsburgh plus freight. Now that U.S. Steel has modified the basing-point system, southern industry can buy steel at Pittsburgh list prices —but not at Birmingham prices. Some Southerners argue that they are still being robbed of a natural economic advantage, and feel that T.C.I. should be divorced from U.S. Steel and forced to use its competitive position in the open market.

A better South

Informed southern leaders do not expect greater industrialization to solve automatically the Deep South's problems, economic or social. They see in it a chance to put the good will of the region, the progress made so far, on a sound economic basis. That progress has been considerable. Allowing for its starting point, the South has probably come further in the past twenty-five years than the rest of the nation. While other parts of the world were slipping into an orgy of visceral reactions, the South, at least on certain levels, was developing a remarkable capacity for self-criticism and even some tolerance for ideas alien to its traditions. While totalitarians were perfecting the art of legal lynching, the South was gradually abandoning illegal lynching. Whereas the South used to vent its emotions in bombast, it has been channeling them into some of the most arresting novels and stories in the language.

Southern liberals are speaking up boldly. "We must quit playing Ole Massa and Ole Missus (the South is the greatest stage in the world's history)," says Mark Ethridge. "We got into the trouble we are in because intelligence abdicated in favor of sentiment and immediate economics. There is no way out if we stick to sentiment; if we are not ready to abandon every prejudice, or at least re-examine it. Leadership is crystalizing; intelligent people can help . . . by creating the ferment."

More and more men are talking that way, and more and more people are listening to them. In the summer of 1942 cocky Gene Talmadge, who ousted liberal educators at the University of Georgia and used race prejudice in his campaign, was dumfounded to find himself beaten. Credit is due in large part to the fact that people listened not to rabble rousers but to liberals. As Edna Cain Daniel, editor of the Quitman, Georgia, *Free Press*, puts it: "There was less rabble to rouse than they thought."

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JANUARY, 1953
Vol. 8 No. 1

New South

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A Progress Report

Race and Suffrage Today

"IN ANY future history of suffrage in the South, the decade of the 1940's will probably be known as the time of an awakening among Negroes and of a change of attitude by many whites toward Negro participation in this phase of government." So began *Race and Suffrage Since 1940,* a study prepared for the Southern Regional Council in 1948 by the late Dr. Luther P. Jackson.

The claim seems an understatement from the vantage point of 1953. Faced today with the tedious and long-range task of achieving full enfranchisement in every part of the region, we can see even more clearly how far and how fast Negro suffrage advanced in the Forties. In 1940, Southern Negroes who had got past the barriers of poll taxes, qualifications tests, and unfriendly election officials numbered about 250,000 — and most of these had been able to vote only in meaningless general elections. Then, as now, the all-important decisions in the one-party South were made in the Democratic primaries. For practical purposes, the Negro was completely disfranchised.

There was nothing new about this dismal state of affairs; it had existed for a generation. But the complacency with which Negroes had once accepted it was rapidly giving way in 1940 to a new determination. The onset of World War II with its emphasis on democratic values lent added force to the demand for full citizenship, and also did much to prepare the white South for the impending change.

The great achievement which followed was a triumph, in law, for a free ballot unhampered by racial restrictions. As a result, Negro registration in the Southern states climbed to more than a million, bringing in its wake substantial gains in public facilities and an improved political climate in many urban areas.

But those who rejoiced in the early victories have been sobered by the vexing problems which have persisted. There are still broad stretches of the South where Negroes can vote only with great difficulty, or not at all. And, even where the right to vote is secure, ignorance and apathy — those age-old enemies of popular government — seriously impede the Negro's civic progress.

THE "WHITE PRIMARY"

More than fifty years ago, Southern states sought to guarantee the exclusion of Negroes from effective political participation by decreeing that Democratic primaries — the only meaningful elections—should be limited strictly to white voters. The rationalization behind this move was simple — the primary was a purely private affair, and the political party holding it had absolute power to say who might and who might not participate.

Several earlier court decisions weakened this discriminatory arrangement, but it was the *Smith* v. *Allwright* decision of 1944 that finally toppled it. In an 8-to-1 decision, the U. S. Supreme Court declared: "The United States is a constitutional democracy. Its organic law grants to all citizens a right to participate in the choice of elected officials without restriction by any state because of race. This grant to the people of opportunity for choice is not to be nullified by a state through casting its electoral process in a form which permits a private organization to practice racial discrimination in the election."

This decision sounded the death-knell of the "white primary," but the end did not come immediately. Diehard leadership in the lower South was not yet convinced that Negroes had to be admitted to the state Democratic parties. South Carolina put the courts to the test with its "private club" plan, which consisted in the repeal of all state laws governing primaries, in order to buttress the argument that the "white primary" was a private function immune to legal action. This subterfuge was struck down by Federal Judge J. Waties Waring in 1947, as was a later requirement that all would-be voters subscribe to an oath of allegiance to "states' rights" and segregation.

Other Southern states which had kept a speculative eye on the South Carolina schemes were forced to abandon all hope of retaining the "white primary." Instead, they turned their attention to Alabama, where a different approach to Negro disfranchisement was showing considerable promise.

REGISTRATION

Unlike the South Carolina plan, which sought to bar Negro voters at the ballot box, the Alabama strategy was to eliminate them at the registration place. The notorious Boswell Amendment, passed in 1946, provided that an applicant must be able not only to "read and write" but also to "understand and explain" any article of the United States Constitution "to the reasonable satisfaction of the board of registrars." The significance of this measure lay in the arbitrary power which it granted local registrars to accept or reject whatever applicants they wished. It meant that they could — and usually did — find that no Negro, however well-informed, could explain the Constitution to their "satisfaction," while all white voters, however uneducated, "satisfied" them perfectly.

So effectively did the Boswell Amendment work that other states, like Georgia, began readying similar measures. But the prospect of a foolproof system of disfranchisement was dashed in 1949 by a federal court decision outlawing the Boswell Amendment as "an attempt to obviate the consequences" of the *Smith* v. *Allwright* decision. Alabama has since adopted a watered-down version of the Boswell Amendment, not yet tested in

the courts, but its lack of popular support is evident in the fact that it was passed by a scant majority of a few hundred votes.

Unfortunately, however, discriminatory registration practices can exist without the sanction of law. Local registrars are frequently a law unto themselves, particularly in rural areas, since they are subject to no close supervision or direction. They are likely to be heavily influenced in their decisions by the attitudes toward Negro voting which prevail in their communities. Both before and after the Boswell ruling, these officials have served as the custodians of disfranchisement in many a rural county.

The following discriminatory tactics, cited by Dr. Jackson, are still to be found in parts of the South:

(1) Requiring Negro applicants to produce one or more white character witnesses.

(2) Applying severe property qualifications and requiring only Negro applicants to show property-tax receipts.

(3) Strictly enforcing literacy tests against Negro applicants.

(4) Putting unreasonable questions on the Constitution to Negro applicants.

(5) Basing rejection of Negro applicants on alleged technical mistakes in filling out registration blanks.

(6) Requiring Negro applicants to fill out their own blanks, while those of whites are filled out for them by the officials.

(7) Requiring Negro applicants to suffer long waiting periods before the officials attend them.

(8) Evasion — informing Negro applicants that registration cards have run out, that all members of the registration board are not present, that it is closing time, or that the applicant "will be notified in due course."

(9) Deliberate insults or threats by officials or hangers-on.

THE POLL TAX

For many years, the poll tax was popularly regarded as the supreme method of restricting Negro suffrage. This notoriety was not wholly deserved for, though the poll tax does have racial significance, its discriminatory value has never approached that of the "white primary" and biased registration practices. It should be remembered that the poll tax was maintained in the Southern states throughout the years when there was little prospect of mass Negro voting. Its effect then was to restrict the existing electorate by imposing a heavy burden on low-income whites who might wish to vote.

By the time the Negro won the right to vote in the primary, rising incomes and the declining value of the dollar had made the poll tax less of an economic hardship. True, in Alabama where the tax is cumulative, a middle-aged new voter of either race might be faced with a bill for $36.00 — a formidable barrier indeed for many. But more important in terms of discrimination are the red-tape the poll tax imposes and the opportunities it gives biased officials to discourage or disqualify Negroes.

Today, only six Southern states cling to the poll tax in one form or another, and of these, Tennessee has limited the requirement almost to the vanishing point. In the other poll-tax states — Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia — there is strong public sentiment favoring repeal, but so far it has not found effective expression. Attempts to secure federal anti-poll tax legislation have

ESTIMATED NEGRO REGISTRATION IN 12 SOUTHERN STATES, 1947-1952

State	Negroes Registered in 1947	Negroes Registered in 1952
Alabama	6,000	50,000
Arkansas	47,000	65,000
Florida	49,000	125,000
Georgia	125,000	145,000
Louisiana	10,000	100,000
Mississippi	5,000	20,000
North Carolina	75,000	100,000
Oklahoma	50,000	60,000
South Carolina	50,000	115,000
Tennessee	80,000	85,000
Texas	100,000	175,000
Virginia	48,000	70,000
TOTALS	645,000	1,110,000

been equally unsuccessful, though there have been indications that Southern Congressmen would agree to submit the question to the voters as a Constitutional amendment. This would seem a peculiarly cumbersome way of ridding the South of an old evil that has little popular support.

CONTINUING PROBLEMS

If the 1940's are to be remembered as the decade of legal enfranchisement, it is to be hoped that the 1950's may be a decade of citizenship fully realized. There are still a few lingering examples of voting discrimination practiced under cover of law, but the main problems today must be solved in the community rather than the courts. It is well-nigh impossible to find legal remedies for petty evasions, delays, and "errors" of courthouse officials; for disapproving frowns and veiled threats; for routine, but highly selective, purges of registration lists.

This "cold war" of the ballot is now found chiefly in the old plantation areas or "black belt" of the South where Negroes make up a large part of the population. There, a quasi-feudal economy still hangs on. Most Negroes are tenant farmers or hired laborers whose landlords and employers do not look kindly on their voting. Moreover, the Negro who undertakes to qualify and cast his ballot usually must brave the organized resistance of the whole community. He can seldom rely on law enforcement officers and other public officials to support him in his effort to assert his rights.

Shifts in population and agriculture and farm ownership are moving the South steadily away from these outmoded conditions toward a more modern society. As more and more Negroes emerge from dependency to self-sufficiency, from farm tenancy to economic independence, from poverty to basic well-being, obstacles to the ballot prove less formidable. Meanwhile, however, discrimination in rural areas continues to be the most serious voting problem in the region.

By contrast, widespread opposition to Negro registration and voting has all but disappeared in the larger

Southern cities. Even six years ago, Dr. Jackson found that, in such metropolitan centers as Atlanta, Memphis, Jacksonville, and New Orleans, Negroes "may qualify with as much ease as they may in any Northern city." Further evidence is afforded by the election of Negro candidates to local offices in nine Southern cities within recent years.

But this admirable state of affairs has not meant in every case the normal integration of Negroes into public life that might have been expected. Again, Dr. Jackson sized up the problem, then just emerging:

'VOTING CONSCIOUSNESS'

In parts of the South, he wrote, "the act of a candidate seeking the support of qualified Negro voters is a common occurrence. Like white citizens, Negroes receive letters from candidates, are visited at their homes, and are addressed in public assemblies. Under these circumstances, a bargaining situation is created whereby Negroes might gain benefits for themselves if they only realized it. Schools, parks, playgrounds, and other facilities might well be the result of this new awareness of the Negro ballot. But office seekers are frequently disappointed to find so few colored persons qualified to participate in a forthcoming election. . . . . It is not always the barriers to voting which disqualify the colored people, but sometimes the absence of a voting consciousness among them."

This problem has, if anything, grown more pronounced in the past few years. Far from becoming a mass threat to white political control, as the demagogues warned, Southern Negroes have not voted in sufficient numbers to assure themselves of impartial treatment. Hence, it is still possible for unscrupulous politicians to use race prejudice as a campaign weapon, even in some areas where Negroes can vote without hindrance. In such cases, the candidate who has decent attitudes on race, and would welcome the support of Negro voters, faces a difficult situation. He is caught between the race-baiting of his opponent and the lack of substantial Negro support at the polls. All this has the unwelcome effect of causing office seekers to conceal or repudiate their enlightened racial views.

Oddly enough, the proportionately small size of the Negro electorate has lent plausibility to the "bloc vote" charge so dear to the hearts of the race-baiters. As every informed person knows, members of any group will vote as a bloc whenever they are singled out for special attack. Negroes are no exception. When they vote solidly against a candidate it is because he has abused their race and opposed their legitimate aspirations. When race is not an issue in a campaign, their votes are distributed about the same as those of white voters.

But the politician who hopes to benefit from race prejudice finds it useful to cry out against "bloc voting." He knows that by doing so he will incur the opposition of almost every Negro voter, but he counts on gaining more votes than he will lose. Too often, that is the outcome. Negroes do vote solidly against the prejudiced candidate, but in too small numbers to insure his defeat. Ironically, he then points to the election returns as proof of his "bloc vote" allegations.

Where does the Negro vote stand today? It is all but impossible to get

(*Continued on page* 8)

From the *Asheville Citizen*

'THE SOUTH LIFTS ITS HEAD'

Tuskegee Institute has no lynchings, as such, to report for 1952, *according to criteria used in our Department of Records and Research. This is the first time such a report has been made in the* 70 *years of lynching record keeping,* 1882-1952. — Press release, Dec. 31, 1952.

The nation, and thus the South, turned a corner in 1952. As the report of the much-respected Tuskegee Institute, quoted above, so plainly indicates, a form of crime once prevalent in the United States and often peculiar to the South has been "wiped out." In all soberness and conscience it might be said that nothing more astonishing — and heartening — has happened in human relationships in America within the lifetime of most of us now living.

We use the term "wiped out" advisedly. Of course, there may be more lynchings. Yet . . . if it would be reasonable to say that not a single case of cancer or heart disease or tuberculosis occurred within a year, and that hence cancer or heart disease or tuberculosis had been "wiped out," it would be reasonable to say that the ugly crime of lynching has been expunged from the record in America. . . .

To place Tuskegee's report in its proper perspective it is necessary to go back a few years. As recently as 1933 there were 28 lynchings spread over 11 states. By 1946 the incidence of the crime had been reduced to six cases. . . . There was one case in 1947, two in 1948, three in 1949, two in 1950 and again only one last year. Contrary to the fears of sociologists and others who study human behavior patterns, the postwar period did not bring the expected tensions which are manifest in crimes of racial passion.

It may well be argued that the mob with the rope and the torch has been replaced by more subtle forms of group violence against persons. Tuskegee properly calls attention to bombings and attempted bombings directed for the most part against minority groups in the last four years. Sixty-eight instances are cited in 13 states, including five states outside the South. . . .

These crimes are no less sordid or reprehensible in their way. Yet if it is possible to draw a distinction, it is the distinction between the howling, lustful mob and the covert attack by one or more individuals seeking not merely to usurp the function of the law but to vent a warped kind of vengeance on a racial or religious group. This kind of violence has taken place in North Carolina and it has taken place in Ohio. . . .

For the moment, however, we are concerned with overt mob violence. In its old aspect, it is a thing of the past. . . . Education, respect for the law, and most of all an awareness of the rights of the human person under the law — these things have prevailed. The record of a year is a record to be viewed at length with pride just as in the unhappy past it was viewed at length with sorrow and humiliation. The South can lift up its head.

U. S. Secretary of State Tells How Discrimination Hurts World Relations

What effect do racial discrimination and segregation in this country have on our foreign relations? Not long ago, the U. S. Attorney General put this question to the Secretary of State. The Secretary's reply, which was quoted in the Government's brief on the school segregation cases, is here presented.

* * * I wrote the Chairman of the Fair Employment Practices Committee on May 8, 1946, that the existence of discrimination against minority groups was having an adverse effect upon our relations with other countries. At that time I pointed out that discrimination against such groups in the United States created suspicion and resentment in other countries, and that we would have better international relations were these reasons for suspicion and resentment to be removed.

During the past six years, the damage to our foreign relations attributable to this source has become progressively greater. The United States is under constant attack in the foreign press, over the foreign radio, and in such international bodies as the United Nations because of various practices of discrimination against minority groups in this country. As might be expected, Soviet spokesmen regularly exploit this situation in propaganda against the United States, both within the United Nations and through radio broadcasts and the press, which reaches all corners of the world. Some of these attacks against us are based on falsehood or distortion; but the undeniable existence of racial discrimination gives unfriendly governments the most effective kind of ammunition for their propaganda warfare.

The hostile reaction among normally friendly peoples, many of whom are particularly sensitive in regard to the status of non-European races, is growing in alarming proportions. In such countries the view is expressed more and more vocally that the United States is hypocritical in claiming to be the champion of democracy while permitting practices of racial discrimination here in this country.

The segregation of school children on a racial basis is one of the practices in the United States that has been singled out for hostile foreign comment in the United Nations and elsewhere. Other peoples cannot understand how such a practice can exist in a country which professes to be a staunch supporter of freedom, justice, and democracy. The sincerity of the United States in this respect will be judged by its deeds as well as by its words.

Although progress is being made, the continuance of racial discrimination in the United States remains a source of constant embarrassment to this Government in the day-to-day conduct of its foreign relations; and it jeopardizes the effective maintenance of our moral leadership of the free and democratic nations of the world.

Race and Suffrage

(*Continued from page* 5)

exact figures for each state, since registration and election results are seldom recorded by race. The accompanying table, however, gives the Southern Regional Council's best estimates of Negro registration in 1952, as compared with Dr. Jackson's figures for 1947.

Although the five-year increase is substantial for some states, the overall gain is disappointing. It is particularly so when we consider that the 1947 registration was, in most cases, the fruits of a few months' intensive effort following the enfranchising court decisions. The Georgia drive, for example, was spectacularly successful, coming as it did in the period of initial resistance to Negro balloting. The slight advance made since that time, under much more favorable conditions, appears puny by contrast.

TODAY'S CHALLENGE

To generalize for the whole region, registration among Negro citizens of voting age is only about half as widespread as among white citizens. Virginia furnishes a good example. Of the white citizens of voting age in that state in 1949, 39 per cent were registered; of Negro citizens of voting age, 16 per cent. It must be remembered, too, that registration is not an accurate measure of ballots actually cast. In many recent elections, the proportion of registered Negro voters who have turned out at the polls has been substantially below that of white voters, thus further widening the gap.

Negro organizations and community leaders are not unaware of these problems; in some states they are waging or planning registration and get-out-the-vote campaigns. But there is a pressing need for more such effort, carried on unremittingly in every part of the South.

Twenty years ago, the great roadblocks to Southern democracy were poverty and official denial of constitutional rights. Economic growth and sweeping court decisions have put us well on the way to surmounting both. The challenge now is to build a common citizenship which will make our state and local governments truly responsive to the wishes and needs of all the people. That can be achieved only by informed community action and the fullest and wisest use of the ballot.

Contributions to the Southern Regional Council are tax-exempt.

NEW SOUTH

Published by

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.

Atlanta 3, Georgia

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Subscription rate ..... $1.50 a year

ATLANTA, GEORGIA, JANUARY, 1953

To attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region.

First Negro Policeman In Portsmouth Resigns

Jan & Guide 1-12-52

PORTSMOUTH — Arceleous Elliott has resigned as a patrolman with the City Police Department.

Police Chief L. C. Warren said the Elliott's resignation was effective Jan. 2, and that he resigned because of his health. Chief Warren also revealed that Elliott said he couldn't work nights because he was suffering from stomach trouble.

The Chief explained that he had taken Elliott off all-night duty and that he was working the 4 p. m. to midnight shift. He had also seen day duty directing traffic out at Truxton School before the women school patrolmen were appointed. It was hard to give Elliott straight day duty, the Chief said because he was short of men for night duty.

"The tours of duty are determined on the basis of seniority," Chief Warren said, "I have men with more seniority than Elliott and they have to be kept on night duty."

Chief Warren was high in his praise of Elliott as an officer. "He han been a good police officer and carried out his duties to the credit of the Portsmouth Police Department," he said. The Chief also commended Raphael Clay, the remaining colored patrolman and the three women school traffic guards for "their excellent police work."

Elliott went on active duty as a patrolman in August, 1948, after being appointed in July of that year. He was on the Civil Service qualified list for two years before his appointment.

The patrolman was popular on his beats in the Effingham, County and High streets area as well as in Truxton.

Negro Policemen Are ~~Added~~ To Marion Force

1952

MARION, Jan. 26 (Special)—City Council has voted to add two Negro policemen to the local police force.

The action was taken in response to an appeal of four Negro citizens who appeared before the council and asked that two Negro "walking policemen" be hired because they believed that Negro policemen could correct many situations in the Negro section.

Police Commissioners Aldermen K. O. Bullard and Lavern Cook have received applications for the jobs and have designated Mitchell Holloway and Milford Wright. Holloway will be sent to Conway for a week's training under Negro policemen of that city and will return as a regular, full-time officer. The other policeman will serve in a part-time capacity on week ends only.

Source: Probably Charleston News & Courier

Marion, SC

1 full time, uniform
1 part time, uniform

2

Jan. 1952

RECEIVED
FEB 6 1952
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
FEB 6 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Augusta, Ga.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	8	
Number of Negro policewomen	0	

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . Oct. 1, 1950 (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments Our colored policemen are assigned exclusively in colored sections and their work has been satisfactory up to the present time. There has been no outstanding incidents one way or the other since this program was instituted.

Date Feb. 5, 1952

Signed F. B. Green

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
FEB 6 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Morganton, N.C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	0
Number of Negro policewomen	0	

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . Nov. 1, 1951 (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments

Date February 5, 1952

Signed [illegible]

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
FEB 6 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Talladega Ala.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	
Number of Negro policewomen		
This city has used Negro policemen since	1951 (Year)	

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments

Date FEB 5 - 1952

Signed R D Rutledge

Position Chief,

RECEIVED
FEB 7 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Columbus Georgia

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	4	
Number of Negro policewomen		
This city has used Negro policemen since	1-1-52 (Year)	

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on	Indefinite (Date)

Comments To date their work has been satisfactory. all remarks by the public and officers alike have been complimentary.

Date Feb 7, 1952

Signed R. H. Martin,

Position Sgt. Records & Training

RECEIVED
FEB 8 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF ORLANDO, FLORIDA.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	0
Number of Negro policewomen	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . January 3, 1951. (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments Work has been satisfactory.

Date 7 February 1952

Signed C. M. Rodenbaugh

Position ACTING CHIEF OF POLICE.

RECEIVED
FEB 28 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF _____

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	____	____
Number of Negro policewomen	____	____

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . _____ (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . _____ (Date)

Comments Guilford County has one full time deputy sheriff. This man was appointed about 15 months ago and is paid a salary. I am happy to say that he is doing a good job and is an asset to the department

Date Feb. 27, 1952 Signed John E. Walters

Position Sheriff
Guilford County
Greensboro N.C.

RECEIVED
FEB 29 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Nashville, Tenn.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes*
Number of Negro policemen	14 ~~12~~	none
Number of Negro policewomen *	12	none
This city has used Negro policemen since (Year)	1948	
or		
This city will hire Negro policemen on (Date) **	March 1, 1952	

Comments *The 12 Negro Policewomen are school Traffic guards.

** We are hiring (2) more negro patrolmen March 1, 1952.

Date 2/28/52 Signed Paul D. Murray

Position Secty. Police Dept

*Please indicate functions of the plainclothes officers--deputies, juvenile delinquency officers, etc.

Juvenile Delinquency Officers do not work under this Dept but directly under the Juvenile Court - some of these are negroes.

RECEIVED
MAR 3 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF STILLWATER

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	1	-
Number of Negro policewomen	-	-
This city has used Negro policemen since	1935 (Year)	-
or		
This city will hire Negro policemen on	- (Date)	

Comments

Date Feb. 28, 1952

Signed Homer Boughton
Chief of Police

Position

RECEIVED
MAR 7 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	0	0
Number of Negro policewomen	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . _____ (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . _____ (Date)

Comments We contemplate employing negro policemen within 90 days. Number to be employed size range from 1 to 5 to start.

Date 3-5-52

Signed John E. Montgomery

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
MAR 6 1952
Southern Regional Council

COUNTY OF Davidson, Tenn. (Nashville)

	Uniform	Plainclothes*
Number of Negro ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Deputies		7
Number of Negro policewomen		None

This county has used Negro ~~police~~ Deputies since . . . . . Sept. 14, 1952 (Year)

or

This county will hire Negro police on . . . . . (Date)

Comments

The City has employed several Negro Police. I am sorry I am unable to tell you how many, but Com. J. B. Milliron would be glad to give you that information.

Date

Signed Garner Robinson

Position Sheriff

*Please indicate functions of plainclothes officers--deputies, juvenile delinquency officers, etc.

RECEIVED
MAY 19 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Tallahassee, Fla.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	3	
Number of Negro policewomen		
This city has used Negro policemen since	May 1, 1952 (Year)	
or		
This city will hire Negro policemen on	(Date)	

Comments Men are being trained and have not yet been assifned to patrol duty

Date May 17, 1952

Signed W. E. Surlbert

Position Chief of Police

Princess Anne County Gets Negro Policeman

JRN & GUIDE 7-12-62

PRINCESS ANNE, Va. — In an unprecedented move last week, Princess Anne County swore in a Negro as a regular county police officer.

In a ceremony in the Circuit Court of Princess Anne County, last Saturday, R. H. West, deputy clerk of the court, swore in Mondoza Holloway, 48-year-old mechanic of London Bridge, Va., as a full-time county policeman.

* * *

OFFICER HOLLOWAY, a lifelong resident of Princess Anne County, is the father of three children; one daughter and two sons. They are: Mrs. Bernice Brown, Roland, 18, and Kevin, 4. They all reside with their father, and Mrs. Holloway, in London Bridge.

The new officer will receive his badge and begin his duties, which include the patrolling of the local beaches and all Negro communities and establishments in the county, on or about July 1, according to the court.

* * *

INSTRUMENTAL IN the appointment of the new county officer was the county's Citizens Committee, composed of leading Negro citizens of Princess Anne.

The committee, headed by W. Francis Taylor, Jr., hotel employee and H. L. Robinson, teacher at the Princess Anne County Training School, has been working on the project for several months.

Also sworn in on Saturday were six special officers, all Negroes, for the area beach patrols.

Princess Anne, Va. Princess Anne County

1 full time, uniform police
6 "Special Officers"

?

July 1, 1962

RECEIVED
JUL 22 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Chapel Hill, N.C.

Number of Negro firemen:

Officers..... _____

Other..... _____

Negro firemen work in

All Negro units _____ Negro neighborhoods _____

Mixed units _____ Mixed neighborhoods _____

This city has used Negro firemen since..... _____ (Year)

or

This city will employ Negro firemen on..... _____ (Date)

Comments

We employ 2 Negro policemen, but have no plans for employing any Negro firemen. The supt. of all of our outside labor force is a Negro.

Date July 21, 1952 Signed Thos D Rose

Position Town Manager

Beaufort Has Deputy Sheriff

Lighthouse

8/2/52

BEAUFORT — Beaufort county has now one deputy sheriff, first officer of the law within the race to been seen here in many years.

The deputy is Danny Brown, a veteran of World War Two, who has been on weekend duty at the Hunting Island State Park, sixteen miles east of Beaufort, since June 1. He works Saturdays and Sundays and on holidays.

In two months of service Deputy Brown reports he hasn't had to effect an arrest on his beat. "The people are pretty well behaved," he said. "Now and then I have had to speak to one or two fellows, but everybody down here seems to come out for a nice time and not for trouble. They've been real nice so far."

Beaufort, SC

Beaufort County

1 deputy sheriff

Aug. 2, 1952

1.

~~South~~ Lighthouse Carolina's Box Scores On Race Law Officers

4/2/52

With the reported additions of three patrolmen at Mullins and Sumter, total, and a deputy sheriff a Beaufort, South Carolina's unofficial total of Negro law enforcement personnel is something like this:

City	Officers
Beaufort (Deputy Sheriff)	1
Charleston (incl. 12 women)	19
Clover	1
Columbia	4
Conway, (incl. 1 Dep. Sheriff	3
Darlington	1
Dillon	1
Florence	3
Hartsville	1
Marion	1
Mullins	1
Rock Hill	2
Spartanburg	2
Summerton	1
Sumter	2
Timmonsville	1
Total: Cities 16	Officers 44

Sumter Gets Two Officers

SUMTER — Starting Friday of this week Sumter's first race police officers recalled here will begin patrol duty.

They are, Eddie Collins Gaillard and Charles Burns, who were chosen from among several applicants for the positions, and whose positions on the Sumter police department were created several monhs ago.

Also: sent to —
Princess Anne County,
Princess Anne, Va.

Beaufort, SC (county)
Dillon, SC
Hartsville, SC
Mullins, SC
✓Summerton, SC
✓Sumter, SC
Timmonsville, SC
✓Conway (Horry County, SC)
✓Lenior, NC (?)

Check on N police
Aug. 4 1952

✓ - 1952 confirmation

4-28-52

NEGRO POLICE IN THE SOUTH
(Supplement to NEW SOUTH listing, 1950)

Additions in cities already employing Negro police:

Chapel Hill — add 1 uniform (total 2)

✓ Augusta, Ga. — 2 uniformed police (making total of 8)

Atlanta, Ga. — 1 policewoman (making total of 7)

Memphis, Tenn. — 2 uniformed police (making total of 16)

omit

✓ Nashville, Tenn. — 7 " " (making total of 14)
12 policewomen (school)

Portsmouth, Va * — 3 " (school)

Daytona Beach, Fla — 1 "

Cities newly employing Negro police:

✓ Ocala, Fla. 11,741 — 1 uniformed police

✓ Orlando, Fla. 52,367 — 2 " "

✓ Tallahassee 27,237 — 3 " "

Wilson, N. C. — 2 " "

✓ Guilford County, N. C. — 1 plainsclothes (deputy sheriff)

Greenville, N. C. — 1 uniformed police

✓ Morgantown, N. C. — 2 " "

✓ Talladega, Ala. — 2 " "

✓ Columbus, Ga. — 2 " "

✓ Stillwater, Okla. — 1 " "

Marion, S. C.* 2-4-52 — 2 " " (1 part time)

✓ Davidson County, Tenn. — 7 plainsclothes (deputies)

✓ Rocky Mount, N. C. — 2 uniformed police

✓ Orangeburg SC — 2 "

*Press report, not confirmed by police chief

Lubbock

Waco

Grand totals:

STATES	CITIES	UNIFORMED	PLAINCLOTHES	POLICEWOMEN
13	90	410	51	34

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

October 4, 1950

NEGRO POLICEMEN IN SOUTHERN CITIES

You will be interested in this most recent tabulation of Southern towns and cities employing Negro policemen. It is based, insofar as possible, on firsthand correspondence with chiefs of police themselves. We are grateful for the cooperation of these officials in keeping an accurate record of this growing practice. The Southern Regional Council will welcome corrections or additions to its figures.

City	Negro Uniformed Policemen	Negro Plainclothesmen	Negro Policewomen
Dothan, Ala.	1		
Hot Springs, Ark.	2		
Little Rock, Ark.	6		
Clearwater, Fla.		2	
Cocoa, Fla.	1		
*Dania, Fla.	1		
Daytona Beach, Fla.	5		
Deland, Fla.	2		
*Fort Myers, Fla.	2		
Gainesville, Fla.	2		
*Jacksonville, Fla.	6		
Key West, Fla.	2		
Melbourne, Fla.	1		
Miami, Fla.	39	1	
Sanford, Fla.	2		
St. Petersburg, Fla.	4		
Tampa, Fla.	6		
*West Palm Beach, Fla.	4		
Atlanta, Ga.	12		6 (school)
1952 check ~~Macon, Ga.~~ Augusta, Ga	2		
*Savannah, Ga.	10	4	
Lexington, Ky.	2		1
Louisville, Ky.	21	6	2
Owensboro, Ky.	2		
New Orleans, La.		2	
Gulfport, Miss.	2		
Indianola, Miss.	1		
Ahoskie, N. C.	1		
Asheville, N. C.	3		
Burlington, N. C.	2		
*Carrboro, N. C.	1		
*Chapel Hill, N. C.	1		
Charlotte, N. C.	10		
Durham, N. C.	10		
Fayetteville, N. C.	3		
Gastonia, N. C.	5		
Goldsboro, N. C.	2		
Greensboro, N.C.	7		
High Point, N. C.	4		
Raleigh, N. C.	4		3 (school)
Reidsville, N. C.	2		

City	Negro Uniformed Policemen	Negro Plainclothesmen	Negro Policewomen
Salisbury, N. C.	2		
Winston Salem, N. C.	7		
Muscogee, Okla.	2		
*Oklahoma City, Okla.	7	5	
Tulsa, Okla.	9	5	1
Charleston, S. C.	4		
*Clover, S. C.	1		
Columbia, S. C.	4		
Conway, S. C.	2		
*Darlington, S. C.	1		
Florence, S. C.	2		
Rock Hill, S. C.	2		
Spartanburg, S. C.	1		
Chattanooga, Tenn.	7		1
*Knoxville, Tenn.	9		
*Memphis, Tenn.	14		
1952 check (Nashville, Tenn.)	7		
Amarillo, Tex.	2		
Austin, Tex.	6		
*Beaumont, Tex.	2		
Corpus Christi, Tex.	2		
Dallas, Tex.	4		
El Paso, Tex.	4		
*Galveston, Tex.	9	6	
*Houston, Tex.	16	1	
Orange, Tex.	2		
*Port Arthur, Tex.	10		
San Antonio, Tex.	7	4	1
Cape Charles, Va.	1		
Newport News, Va.	7	1	
Norfolk, Va.	3	5	
Petersburg, Va.			1
Portsmouth, Va.	1		
Richmond, Va.	7	1	1
Roanoke, Va.	6		

	States	Cities	Uniform	Plainclothes	Policewomen
TOTALS:	13	76	363	43	17

* Information based on newspaper account or report from SRC member; not confirmed by Chief of Police in 1950.

Send also to —

SOUTHERN CITIES OF 50,000 or more population that are <u>not</u> on 1952 Negro police list

13

Alexandria, Va.

✓ Baton Rouge, La. No

Birmingham, Ala.

✓ Covington, Ky. No

✓ Fort Worth, Tex. No

✓ Gadsden, Ala. No

Laredo, Tex.

✓ Greenville, SC No

✓ Lubock, Tex. Yes

Montgomery, Ala.

San Angelo, Tex.

Shreveport, La.

✓ Waco, Tex. Yes

✓ Wichita Falls, Tex. No

Jackson, Miss.

RECEIVED
AUG 8 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF NEWPORT NEWS, VIRGINIA

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	6	
Number of Negro policewomen	0	
This city has used Negro policemen since	1946 (Year)	

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments Very satisfactory

Date August 5, 1952

Signed W. F. Peach
W. F. Peach
Position Chief of Police
Newport News, Virginia

RECEIVED
AUG 7 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Greenville, S. C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	None	
Number of Negro policewomen	None	

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . _____ (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . --- (Date)

Comments _____

Date August 5th, 1952 Signed J H Jenkins Jr

Position CHIEF OF POLICE

RECEIVED
AUG 11 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF GADSDEN, ALABAMA

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen		
Number of Negro policewomen		

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . _____ (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . _____ (Date)

Comments This department has no negro policemen.

Date 8/5/52

Signed C. Fay Boman
C. Fay Boman

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 8 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Dothan, Ala.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	1	
Number of Negro policewomen	0	

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . ~~Several years~~ (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments

Date 8-5-52 Signed Eddie D. Kelly

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 7 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Ocala, Florida

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	1	None
Number of Negro policewomen	None	None

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . November 1, 1949 (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments None

Date August 5, 1952

Signed K.C. Alvarez

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 8 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Daytona Beach, Fla.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	6	-1
Number of Negro policewomen (part-time School Patrolwomen)	2	-
This city has used Negro policemen since	1930 (Year)	
or		
This city will hire Negro policemen on	(Date)	

Comments The employing of colored police personnel in the Daytona Beach Police Department has proven most satisfactory, as records reveal that by selective employment, they are able to obtain certain information and produce more efficiency in general, with proper supervision

Date 8/5/52

Signed H. L. Allen

Position Acting Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 8 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Clearwater Fla

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	0
Number of Negro policewomen	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since 7-1-1949 (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____ (Date)

Comments _____

Date Aug. 5, 1952 Signed Jas. T. McClamma.

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 6 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Atlanta

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	12	
Number of Negro policewomen . . . . . (8)	0	
This city has used Negro policemen since	1948 (Year)	

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments 8 Negro School Traffic Policewomen work about 2½ hrs per day on days that schools are in session and are paid for days worked.

Date 8-5-52 Signed T. I. Jenkins

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 6 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF SAVANNAH, GEORGIA

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	9	3
Number of Negro policewomen	0	0
This city has used Negro policemen since	May 15, 1947 (Year)	
or		
This city will hire Negro policemen on	(Date)	

Comments Two plainclothes men used on raiding squad.
One plainclothes man used for colored juvenile delinquents.

Date August 5, 1952 Signed Capt. S. E. Baughn

Position Executive Officer

RECEIVED
AUG 8 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF High Point, N. C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	6	
Number of Negro policewomen	1 (School)	
This city has used Negro policemen since	~~x~~ 1943 (Year)	
or		
This city will hire Negro policemen on	? (Date)	

Comments We also have one part time Negro Policeman at the colord park and a Negro woman ~~as~~ part time as a ~~EEN~~ School crossing Guard.

Date 8-5-52

Signed [illegible]

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 8 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Reidsville North Carolina

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	
Number of Negro policewomen	0	
This city has used Negro policemen since		August 1, 1950 (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . _____ (Date)

Comments _____

Date August 5,1952 Signed Maurice D Turner

Position Record Clerk

RECEIVED
AUG 6 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Spartanburg, S.C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	
Number of Negro policewomen		
This city has used Negro policemen since (Year)	6/5/1950	
or		
This city will hire Negro policemen on (Date)		

Comments These men work in Colored Section. Have done a very good job.

Date August 5, 1952 Signed Pearl L. Brice

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 11 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Rock Hill, S.C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	
Number of Negro policewomen	None	

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . July 15, 1949 (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments

Date Aug. 5, 1952 Signed F. W. Wolfe

Position Chief of Detectives.

RECEIVED
AUG 6 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Orangeburg

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	
Number of Negro policewomen		
This city has used Negro policemen since	✓ (Year)	

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . Aug. 15, 1952 (Date)

Comments We have employed 2 negro policemen who are now in process of training and are expected to be placed on six months probationary duty as of 8/15/52 There is apparently no reason why both men should not be qualified.

Date 8/5/52 Signed [illegible]

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 7 1952
Southern Regional Council

COUNTY OF Horry
(Conway, SC)

	Uniform	Plainclothes*
Number of Negro policemen	2	1 (Deputy).
Number of Negro policewomen		

This county has used Negro police since . . . . . 1942 (Year)

or

This county will hire Negro police on . . . . . (Date)

Comments Service Satisfactory -

Date 8-5-52

Signed Watson B. McCottel

Position Deputy Sheriff - Horry Co.

*Please indicate functions of plainclothes officers--deputies, juvenile delin uency officers, etc.

RECEIVED
AUG 7 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Conway, S. C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	
Number of Negro policewomen	0	

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . 1947 (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments Negro Policemen have proved to be of great help in the Negro Section of the City.

Date Aug. 5, 1952

Signed [illegible]

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 8 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Sumter, S.C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen		2
Number of Negro policewomen		
This city has used Negro policemen since	August 1, 1952 (Year)	
or		
This city will hire Negro policemen on	(Date)	

Comments Two Negro Police were put to work on the 1st of August.

Date August 5, 1952 Signed E. E. McIntosh

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 6 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Charlotte - N.C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	10	
Number of Negro policewomen		
This city has used Negro policemen since	1940 (Year)	
or		
This city will hire Negro policemen on	(Date)	

Comments Replacements from Civil Service List. Draw same pay as White, same hours etc. Have been very satisfactory

Date 8-5-1952 Signed [illegible]

Position Chief of Police

CITY OF ST. PETERSBURG, FLORIDA

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	4	
Number of Negro policewomen	-	
This city has used Negro policemen since	3½ yrs. (Year)	
or		
This city will hire Negro policemen on	Yes. (Date)	

Comments Since our hiring of colored officers, it is a proven fact that our crime has been cut down in the colored section considerably, as well as complaints. We will hire more colored officers when our budget will permit.

Date August 6, 1952

Signed J. R. Reichert

Position J. R. REICHERT
CHIEF OF POLICE

RECEIVED
AUG 7 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF GAINESVILLE, Fla.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	
Number of Negro policewomen		
This city has used Negro policemen since	3-1-46 (Year)	

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments

Date 8-6-52

Signed William D. Joiner

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 8 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Little Rock, Arkansas

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	6	
Number of Negro policewomen		
This city has used Negro policemen since	1942 (Year)	

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments

Date July 6, 1952 Signed [illegible] Potts

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 8 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Miami

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	45	3
Number of Negro policewomen	0	0
This city has used Negro policemen since	Sept. 1944 (Year)	
or		
This city will hire Negro policemen on	(Date)	

Comments These negro policemen are doing good work among their own people. They are not allowed to police in the white sections of the city.

Date Aug. 6, 1952 Signed J. A. Youngblood

Position Ass't. Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 11 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF DELAND. FLORIDA.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	1,	part time 1,
Number of Negro policewomen	None	
This city has used Negro policemen since 1932. .		(Year)
or		
This city will hire Negro policemen on		(Date)

Comments At this time we have one full time and one part time Negro Police Officers

Date August 6, 1952 Signed Geo Stone

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 8 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Amarillo, Texas

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	0
Number of Negro policewomen		

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . _____ (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . _____ (Date)

Comments None

Date August 6, 1952

Signed John J. Amend

Position Inspector of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 8 1952
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
AUG 7 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Galveston, Texas

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	11	4
Number of Negro policewomen	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . About near of 1898
(Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . _____
(Date)

Comments; _____

Date 8-6-52

Signed Wm J. Whitburn

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 11 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF San Antonio

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	8	4
Number of Negro policewomen		None
This city has used Negro policemen since (Year)		1917

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on (Date) _____

Comments Work is satisfactory

Date August 6th, 1952

Signed R. D. Allen

Position Chief

RECEIVED
AUG 8 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Petersburg Virginia

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen		
Number of Negro policewomen		1
This city has used Negro ~~policemen~~ Policewoman since	October 16 1938 (Year)	
or		
This city will hire Negro policemen on	(Date)	

Comments

We have a Negro Policewoman but for several years have not employed a White Policewoman.

She has always been honest and courteous and has always performed Her duties in a most efficient manner with both Negro & White Persons.

Date 8-6-52 Signed Willard C. Taylor Sr.

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 7 1952
National Council

CITY OF Roanoke, Virginia

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	6	0
Number of Negro policewomen	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . since June 16, 1946 (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments There will be no more employed for the time being as we only have appropriations for six unless one of the six we have would leave for some reason.

Date August 6, 1952 Signed F. H. Webb

Position Acting Supt. of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 8 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Fort Worth, Texas

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	None	
Number of Negro policewomen	None	

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . — (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments He do not plan to hire negro policemen in the near future.

Date 8-6-52

Signed Roland R. Howerton

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 11 1952

CITY OF Baton Rouge, La.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	0	0
Number of Negro policewomen	0	0
This city has used Negro policemen since	none (Year)	
or		
This city will hire Negro policemen on	Unknown (Date)	

Comments

Date Aug. 6, 1952 Signed Fred C. Parker Jr.

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 13 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Covington, Kentucky.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	None	None
Number of Negro policewomen	None	None
This city has used Negro policemen since	Never (Year)	
or		
This city will hire Negro policemen on	Cannot state (Date)	

Comments _____

Date August, 6, 1952

Signed John Bonchor

Position Chief of Police, Covington, Kentucky,

RECEIVED
AUG 7 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Summerton SC

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	none	none
Number of Negro policewomen	none	none

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . _____ (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . _____ (Date)

Comments We have not had a negro policeman for 3 or 4 yrs.

Date 8/6/52

Signed Francis Davis

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 11 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Charleston

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	8	1
Number of Negro [redacted] women School Guards	6	

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . 1897 to 1921 all 8/28/50 to date.
(Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . .
(Date)

Comments Negro women school guards first appointed 3/12/51 to date.

Date August 6, 1952

Signed Chris H. Ortmann
Chris H. Ortmann
Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 8 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Okla City Okla

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	13	5
Number of Negro policewomen	None	
This city has used Negro policemen since	1930 (Year)	

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments

Date 8-6-52

Signed Frank Thurston

Position Executive Secy Okla City Police Dept

RECEIVED
AUG 7 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Greensboro, N.C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	9	0
Number of Negro policewomen	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . August 1, 1946 (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments This department has one Negro officer with the rank of Traffic Investigator who is assigned full time as a driving instructor at Dudley High School.

Date August 6, 1952 Signed Peter L. Williamson

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 8 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Winston-Salem, N.C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	11	
Number of Negro policewomen	* 2	
This city has used Negro policemen since	1941 (Year)	
or		
This city will hire Negro policemen on	* 3 WOMEN + 1 } as soon as possible approved in budget (Date)	

Comments

Date 8/6/52

Signed James D Walker

Position Chief of Police

* School Guards
+ Parking meter checker

2

RECEIVED
AUG 8 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Indianola, Miss.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen . . . One	X	
Number of Negro policewomen	none	
This city has used Negro policemen since	1950 (Year)	
or		
This city will hire Negro policemen on	(Date)	

Comments Ben Satisfactory so far

Date 8-6-52 Signed W. Lone

Position Chief

RECEIVED
AUG 8 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Ahoskie, N.C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	1	0
Number of Negro policewomen	0	0
This city has used Negro policemen since	1946 (Year)	
or		
This city will hire Negro policemen on	(Date)	

Comments This man has proved very successful.

Date 8/6/52

Signed J. A. Bunch

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 7 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Fayetteville, N. C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	3	
Number of Negro policewomen		
This city has used Negro policemen since	Oct. 1, 1949 (Year)	

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments Very satisfactory.

Date August 6, 1952

Signed L. F. Worrell

Position L. F. WORRELL
Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 7 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Durham, N. C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	10	2
Number of Negro policewomen	0	0
This city has used Negro policemen since	1944 (Year)	
or		
This city will hire Negro policemen on	(Date)	

Comments

Date August 6, 1952

Signed H. E. King

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 7 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	4	
Number of Negro policewomen		1

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . Approx. 10 years
(Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . .
(Date)

Comments All appointments to the Police Department are made by Civil Service examination, white and colored.

Date August 6th, 1952

Signed Dudley McCloy

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 8 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Macon Georgia

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	4	
Number of Negro policewomen		

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . June 1948 (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments Have found use of Negro Police Officers very satisfactory. Hired 2 in June 1948 and on May 15-1952 hired 2 more

Date Aug 6/52 Signed Earl Watkins

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 11 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Sanford, Florida

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	1	
Number of Negro policewomen	None	
This city has used Negro policemen since	1944 (Year)	

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments

Date August 7, 1952

Signed Roy G. Williams
Roy G. Williams
Position Chief of Police
City of Sanford, Florida

RECEIVED
AUG 11 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Richmond, Va.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	10	3
Number of Negro policewomen		1
This city has used Negro policemen since	May 1, 1946 (Year)	
or		
This city will hire Negro policemen on	(Date)	

Comments

Date Aug. 7, 1952 Signed R. Schwacher

Position Chief Clerk

RECEIVED
AUG 11 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Norfolk, Va.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	6	2
Number of Negro policewomen	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . 11/7/45 (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments

Date August 7, 1952

Signed C. H. Dalby

Position Acting Police Chief

RECEIVED
AUG 11 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Waco, Texas

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	1	
Number of Negro policewomen	0	

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . 1944 (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments

Date 8-7-52

Signed J. V. Gunterman

Position Chief of Police

By McCleavelin

RECEIVED
AUG 11 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF EL PASO, TEXAS

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	4	0
Number of Negro policewomen	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . 1945 (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . ----- (Date)

Comments

Date August 7, 1952

Signed W. R. Vinson

Position Chief of Police

CITY OF EL PASO, TEXAS POLICE DEPARTMENT

RECEIVED
AUG 11 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Tulsa.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	9	5
Number of Negro policewomen		1

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . 1915 (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . No set date (Date)

Comments We find our negro officers very essential in working with their people.

Date Aug-7-1952 Signed Joe E Phillips

Position Captain of Police.

Tulsa. Oklahoma.

RECEIVED
AUG 11 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Louisville, Ky.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	34	5
Number of Negro policewomen	[illegible]	2
This city has used Negro policemen since	1925 (Year)	
or		
This city will hire Negro policemen on	(Date)	

Comments _____

Date Aug. 7, 1952

Signed Major Wm. G. Kiefer

Position Assistant Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 11 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Goldsboro, North Carolina

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	
Number of Negro policewomen		
This city has used Negro policemen since	1949 (Year)	
or		
This city will hire Negro policemen on	(Date)	

Comments These two colored policemen are very good at their work. They are cooperative with other officers.

Date 8-7-52

Signed H A Lane

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 12 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF TAMPA FLA.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	6	1
Number of Negro policewomen		
This city has used Negro policemen since	1947 (Year)	

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments

Date 8/8/52

Signed M. C. Beasley

Position Chief of Police.

RECEIVED
AUG 11 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Jacksonville, Fla.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	6	
Number of Negro policewomen		
This city has used Negro policemen since	July 1, 1950 (Year)	

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on	Unknown (Date)

Comments

Date August 8, 1952

Signed [illegible]

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 13 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Orange, Texas

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	
Number of Negro policewomen		
This city has used Negro policemen since	1943 (Year)	
or		
This city will hire Negro policemen on	(Date)	

Comments

Date August 8, 1952

Signed L. Herrington

Position Police Secretary, Records Clerk
Orange Police Department
Orange, Texas

RECEIVED
AUG 11 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF LUBBOCK, TEXAS.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	4	0
Number of Negro policewomen	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . November 16th, 1951.
(Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . .
(Date)

Comments We use Negro Policemen in two shifts - from 2 P.M. to 10 P.M. and 10 P.M. to 4 A.M. These men ride two to a car and work in the Negro Section of town only. We have found our trouble in Negro section has decreased a great deal since we are using Negro Officers and we are very pleased with the experiment.

Date August 8th, 1952

Signed Harold McInnes

Position Chief of Police

Lubbock, Texas.

RECEIVED
AUG 11 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF New Orleans, La.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	6	
Number of Negro policewomen	0	
This city has used Negro policemen since	6/16/50 (Year)	
or		
This city will hire Negro policemen on	(Date)	

Comments

These negro policemen are assigned to our Juvenile Bureau in plainclothes, but are uniformed men and do have uniforms and at times work in uniforms as well as plainclothes.

Date Aug. 8th, 1952

Signed Alva H Rankin

Position Asst. Supvr. of Personnel

RECEIVED
AUG 13 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Ft. Myers, Fla.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	
Number of Negro policewomen		
This city has used Negro policemen since	1936 (Year)	
or		
This city will hire Negro policemen on	(Date)	

Comments

Date Aug. 11, 1952

Signed George D. Ballman

Position Lt. Police Dept.

CITY OF Chattanooga Tenn

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	7	0
Number of Negro policewomen . . None		
This city has used Negro policemen since	1948 (Year)	

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments They are used only among the Colored Race and are doing a very good job

Date 8-11-52

Signed E E Williams

Position Capt of Vice Squad

RECEIVED
AUG 14 1952
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
AUG 13 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Columbia, South Carolina

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	four (4)	none
Number of Negro policewomen	none	none

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . _____ (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . _____ (Date)

Comments We feel that the colored policemen serve the department well in patroling the colored sections of the City.

Date August 11, 1952

Signed D. Campbell

Position D. J. Campbell, Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 12 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF BURLINGTON N.C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	4	
Number of Negro policewomen	0	

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . 1949 (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments

Date 8-11-52

Signed [illegible]

Position Chief of Police.

RECEIVED
AUG 15 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Wichita Falls, Texas

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen		
Number of Negro policewomen		

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . _____ (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . _____ (Date)

Comments At the present time we do not employee any colored policemen. We have vacancies for two and started employing Negro Policemen in August 1951. They worked a little over 6 months and resigned and since then none have passed the Civil Service Examination. We now have several applicants who will take the test in the very near future.

Date 8-12-52

Signed C. C. Daniel, C. C. Daniel - Chief of Police
By. Secretary
Position

RECEIVED
AUG 18 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Corpus Christi, Texas

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	1	
Number of Negro policewomen	none	
This city has used Negro policemen since	April 16, 1937 (Year)	

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments We would hire one more colored policeman but so far the ones that have taken the State Civil Service examination have not been able to qualify.

Date August 12, 1952

Signed James A. Grant

Position Ass't. Chief of Police
Police Department
Corpus Christi, Texas

RECEIVED
AUG 18 1952
Southern

CITY OF Lenoir, N.C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	
Number of Negro policewomen		
This city has used Negro policemen since	Aug 1st 1952 (Year)	
or		
This city will hire Negro policemen on	(Date)	

Comments

Starting of Very satisfactory, Working in Colored section.

Date Aug 13 1952 Signed Stanley E. Fisher

Position Chief of Police

CITY OF Carrboro N.C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2 part time	
Number of Negro policewomen		
This city has used Negro policemen since	1949 (Year)	

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments They Do a Very good Job.

Date 8-13-52 Signed J. A. Williams

Position Chief.

RECEIVED
AUG 15 1952
National Council

RECEIVED
AUG 18 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF MELBOURNE (Fla.)

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	1	
Number of Negro policewomen	NONE	
This city has used Negro policemen since	1947 (Year)	

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments VERY GOOD

Date 8-14-52 Signed John H. Thomas

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 19 1952
Southern

CITY OF Asheville, North Carolina

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	3	0
Number of Negro policewomen	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . February 15, 1946 (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . _____ (Date)

Comments The hiring of Negro policemen has proven to be quite successful.

Date August 18, 1952 Signed C. C. Waddell

Position Chief of Police

CITY OF Dallas, Texas

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	4	
Number of Negro policewomen.....	0	

This city has used Negro policemen since.... 2-10-47 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____ (Date)

Comments Proven Satisfactory

Date 8-14-50.

Signed [illegible]

Position Assistant Chief of Police.

RECEIVED
AUG 16 1950
Regional Council

CITY OF Gastonia, N.C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	4	None
Number of Negro policewomen	0	"
This city has used Negro policemen since	1948 (Year)	
or		
This city will hire Negro policemen on	1 July, 1948 (Date)	

Comments

Date 8/20/52

Signed A M Nunnery Deputy

Position Deputy Clerk of Municipal Court.

RECEIVED
AUG 26 1952
REGIONAL
Southern Region

RECEIVED
AUG 25 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Port Arthur

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	None
Number of Negro policewomen	None	None

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . 1947 (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . Unknown (Date)

Comments

Date 8-21-52

Signed G B Douglas

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 22 [illegible]
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Rocky Mount, N.C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	None
Number of Negro policewomen	None	None

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . 1950 (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . No opening (Date)

Comments Both men are doing a good job.

Date 9-12-52 Signed J. L. Nichols

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
OCT 20 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Beaufort, S.C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	Two	None
Number of Negro policewomen	—	—

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . 1951 (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments Negro Policemen proves to be very helpful in our negro communities.

Date 10-17-52 Signed L P Blount

Position Chief of Police

U — 468
P — 60
W — 43
571

RECEIVED
OCT 27 1952

COUNTY OF Hamemond (Suffolk Va.)

	Uniform	Plainclothes*
Number of Negro policemen . . . . . One .		✓
Number of policewomen . . . . . None .		

This county has used Negro police since 1948 (Year)

or

This county will hire Negro police on ✓ (Date)

Comments

Doing a very good job.

Date Oct 23-52

Signed J. H. Culpepper

Position Sheriff of Hamemond Co

*Please indicate functions of plainclothes officers: deputies, juvenile officers, etc.

RECEIVED
NOV 24 1952
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF KINSTON, NORTH CAROLINA

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	none
Number of Negro policewomen		

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . _____ (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . _____ (Date)

Comments Both are doing a good job in the negro district.

Date November 20, 1952

Signed Marion Haskins
Marion Haskins

Position Chief of Police

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A Look at FEPC

By Chester S. Davis

FOUR initials—F-E-P-C—may hold the key to the presidency in November.

Those four initials arouse a strong emotional response among millions of Americans who have sometimes had obstacles placed in their way because of their race, color, religion or ancestry.

Those initials produce an equally strong response in a contrary direction from millions of Americans in the South.

Either of these two large groups may be able to sway the presidential election. That is why we are likely to hear a great deal about FEPC during the coming months.

Here in the South the great majority of the people do not like the prospect of a compulsory Fair Employment Practices Commission. But, like it or not, we must recognize the plain fact that there is a chance—perhaps a better than average chance—that we will have to live with such a law. For this is more than an issue over which politicians publicly wrangle and then, quietly in the smoke-filled rooms or, less quietly, in Senatorial filibusters, privately bury.

Today, 11 states and 22 cities have adopted FEPC laws and ordinances. Some 60 million Americans—roughly 40% of our people live in these states and cities. Our two great political parties, unequivocally in 1948 and somewhat timidly in 1952, have endorsed a national Fair Employment Practices Commission.

Under these circumstances it is time we took a long, hard look at the history and performance of fair employment practices legislation over the past ten years.

Until the outbreak of World War I, the Negroes, largest of the nation's minority groups, worked as farm tenants and laborers, small tradesmen, craftsmen and domestic servants. Few held jobs in industry.

Because of the tight labor supply created by World War I, many Negroes found jobs in war production. But, because they worked on the edge of the economy, they did not hold their gains in the post-war years. They were the last hired and the first fired, and by 1940 there were proportionately fewer Negroes in mining, manu-

This able analysis of the issues involved in fair employment legislation is reprinted, with permission, from the Winston-Salem Journal and Sentinel. Chester S. Davis is a staff writer for that newspaper.

facturing, trade and transportation than had been the case in 1910.

To varying degrees the story of the Negroes also was the story of the other racial minorities; the Mexicans in the Southwest, the Chinese and Japanese on the West Coast, the Italians, Slavs, Jews, Puerto Ricans and others in the large cities.

When World War II broke out in 1939, the Negro leaders anticipated another opportunity to get their toe in the industrial door. But that opportunity did not come. As late as the summer of 1941, Negroes held only 2.5% of the jobs in industries working on defense and lend-lease production.

Led by A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the Negroes threatened to "March on Washington" and protest this discrimination.

PRESIDENT'S EXECUTIVE ORDER

President Franklin D. Roosevelt checked that threat on June 25, 1941, by issuing his famous Executive Order 8802. In that order the President banned discrimination for reasons of race, color, creed or national origin in all industries working on government contracts. . . .

It is unfair to report that this Executive Order was issued solely for the expedient purpose of cutting off an embarrassing demonstration by the Negroes. There was more behind it than that.

In 1941, we were edging towards war with Hitler's Germany. One of the factors pushing us was the fury aroused by the Nazi's brutal racial tyranny. It was fitting that the Federal government, the nation's largest employer and keeper of the national conscience, should renounce racial discrimination as a violation of the American creed of equal opportunity.

The war-time Federal Employment Practices Commission was the outgrowth of Executive Order 8802. The Commission had only the power to spotlight instances of discrimination with publicity and invoke (although it never did) the anti-discrimination clause found in all government contracts.

INCREASED JOB OPPORTUNITY

In the period of 1941-45, the job picture for Negroes and other minority groups brightened considerably. The number of Negro women holding clerical jobs went up to five times what it had been in 1940. By 1944, Negroes held 20% of the Federal departmental jobs in Washington. . . .

For the first time large numbers of Negro workers moved into the skilled and semi-skilled jobs and even into white collar positions.

During that period the FEPC in Washington tackled 13,000 cases. Some of them involved individuals, others involved hundreds and even thousands of workers. Most of those cases — some 8,000 — were dismissed because of lack of jurisdiction or a lack of evidence. The other 5,000 were settled on a voluntary basis.

In 1946, this voluntary FEPC program was killed by Congress. The act which did this, however, did not put an end to the Federal government's fight against discrimination.

Today, the Civil Service Commission has a part-time Fair Employment Board. The heads of the various Fed-

eral agencies have fair employment officers to advise them. The Department of Defense has continued to attack discrimination in the Army, Navy, Marines and Air Corps.

In December, 1951, President Harry S. Truman created an 11-member Committee on Contract Compliance. This Committee, like the original FEPC, is designed to combat job discrimination based on race, color, creed or national origin in industries working on Government contracts.

All programs, while they are significant, essentially are of an advisory, voluntary nature and they fall far short of an enforceable fair employment practices act.

Ever since 1944, compulsory FEPC laws have been introduced in Congress. Without exception those bills have been blocked by a combination of Southern Democrats, conservative Northern Republicans and that windy weapon known as the filibuster.

CURRENT FEPC BILL

The FEPC bill now pending in Congress was introduced by Senator Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.). This law would apply to any employer hiring 50 or more persons. In order to encourage action by the states, the Humphrey law provides that the Federal government will cede its jurisdiction in those states deemed to have adequate FEPC legislation.

With both the Democratic and Republican parties on record as favoring some sort of fair employment practices law it seems certain that the struggle in Congress over national FEPC legislation will continue and grow increasingly bitter.

In the meantime, the drive for FEPC legislation is gaining ground at the local level. Eleven states (New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Indiana, Wisconsin, Oregon, Washington, Colorado and New Mexico) have adopted fair employment laws. And in the non-FEPC states there are 22 cities — the list includes Chicago, Philadelphia, Minneapolis and Cleveland — with fair employment ordinances.

Judging from the record, these local laws are in part the reflection of a desire to put an end to discrimination in the employment field. But they also reflect an awareness of the fact, best stated by Ralph Waldo Emerson, that "The peoples of the world cannot hear what we say because what we do keeps dinning in their ears."

WORLD-WIDE STRUGGLE

For the past 10 years, the United States and Russia have been engaged in a vast struggle for the allegiance of the minds of men. This struggle is being conducted in a world in which the colored peoples make up roughly 65% of the total population.

In 1944, Wendell Willkie neatly pinned down the issue when he said, "We, as Americans, cannot be on one side abroad and on the other at home. We cannot expect small nations and men of other races and colors to credit the good faith of our professed purpose and to join us in international collaboration for future peace if we continued to practice an ugly discrimination at home against our own minorities."

Since 1944, Russia has hammered unceasingly at this lag between our professed ideals and our day to day practices. John Foster Dulles, former American delegate to the United Nations, puts it this way, "The weakest point in our relations in the United Nations is prejudice in this country.

The American delegation has decided simply to admit it and say we're trying to do something about it."

Until 1941, we tackled the problem of discrimination almost solely through education, hoping that understanding and tolerance would check discrimination. Since 1941 — and particularly since 1945 when New York adopted the first enforceable FEPC law — the problem has been attacked directly and frontally through anti-discrimination legislation.

The laws vary greatly. At least one (that in Akron, Ohio) is merely a statement of public policy. There are others in Indiana and Wisconsin, for example, that are designed along voluntary, educational lines. In Colorado and in several cities the laws carry compulsory features for public employers but are voluntary insofar as private employers are concerned.

MODEL NEW YORK LAW

But most of the laws apply to all employers and the anti-discrimination orders that are issued can be enforced in the courts. The New York law has been a model for most of the legislation in this field.

That law applies to labor unions, public and private employers and employment agencies.

Under the New York law:

1. It is illegal to discriminate in hiring, firing or promoting individuals for reasons of race, color, creed or national origin.
2. It is illegal for a labor union to discriminate in the rights and privileges of members for reasons of race, color, creed or national origin.
3. It is illegal to specify race, color, creed or national origin as a condition of employment in any advertisement or application form.
4. It is illegal for employees to refuse to work with members of a minority group.
5. It is illegal to discriminate against a person bringing an action under the anti-discrimination law.

The New York law is administered by a five-member State Commission Against Discrimination. This Commission can:

1. Receive and investigate complaints of discrimination.
2. Call conferences for the purpose of mediation and conciliation.
3. When conciliation fails, subpoena witnesses and hold public hearings.
4. Issue cease and desist orders (and orders for back pay) that are enforceable in the courts.

All acts of the Commission are subject to court review.

For the past 10 years we have had a vast war and postwar economic boom. The labor market has stayed tight and for that reason the Negroes and other minority groups have gained ground and held that ground.

While these gains have occurred in all states, there is evidence indicating that the gains have been greatest — both in the quantity and the quality of the jobs available to members of minority groups — in areas with FEPC laws. . . .

GAINS UNDER FAIR EMPLOYMENT LAWS

Surveys made in both FEPC and non-FEPC states indicate that in areas covered by anti-discrimination laws more industries report that they employ Negroes and, most important, more industries report that they hire Negroes in semi-skilled, skilled and white collar positions.

But the difference between FEPC and non-FEPC states, while it is clearly apparent, is not as spectacular as you might expect. That fact indicates that these laws have been administered with great care. They have not been used crudely to blast open places in the economy for the minority groups. In the opinion of many minority group spokesman, the progress has been too slow.

Thus far the 11 states with FEPC legislation have handled only 5,000 cases. [Nothing like the flood of complaints that was predicted has occurred.] Roughly 70% involved color or race, 16% involved religion, 8% national origin and 6% a variety of causes.

FEW COURT CASES

Fears that an FEPC law would lead to a mass of shyster-sponsored lawsuits have not proved justified. Of the 5,000 verified cases handled over the past seven years in the 11 FEPC states, only five have reached the public hearing stage and, of those, only four have gone on into the courts. One of the lawsuits (Railway Mail Association vs. Corsi) was carried to the U. S. Supreme Court where fair employment practices legislation was ruled to be a legitimate exercise of the state police power.

One of the most interesting phases of this FEPC development has been the reaction of the employers.

In the beginning employers vigorously fought proposed FEPC legislation. They feared that such laws would deprive them of a fundamental managerial right. They feared a flood of lawsuits. They feared the reaction of their white employees and they feared the reaction of the public.

The state and local chambers of commerce, retail merchants associations and manufacturers associations have opposed FEPC legislation where it has been proposed. So have many of the labor unions, particularly AFL unions and the Railway Brotherhoods.

But where an FEPC law has been adopted in the face of such formidable opposition the results have, in the words of a spokesman for the New York Chamber of Commerce, "confounded its opponents and surprised its friends."

PRAISE FROM BUSINESSMEN

A number of top U. S. corporations have publicly praised these laws.

So have business executives of the caliber of Charles Wilson (General Electric), William Batt (SKF Industries), Henry Luce (*Life-Time-Fortune*), Spyros P. Skouras (20th Century Fox), Charles Luckman (Lever Brothers) and others.

On February 25, 1950, *Business Week* announced the results of a survey made among businessmen in FEPC states and cities. The gist of the findings was, "Employers agree that FEPC laws haven't caused near the fuss that opponents predicted. . . . Some employers still think that there is no need for a law. But even those who opposed FEPC aren't actively hostile now."

It must, however, be recognized that this record of performance has occurred in Northern states. Whether you would have the same results if similar anti-discrimination rules were enforced in the South is a hotly disputed matter.

Certainly it is beyond the scope of this article to attempt to answer that question. However, by a discussion of some of the pros and cons involved in

(*Continued on page 7*)

NEGRO POLICE IN THE SOUTH, 1952

City	Uniformed Police	Plainclothes	Policewomen
Dothan, Ala.	1		
Talladega, Ala.	2		
Hot Springs, Ark.	2		
Little Rock, Ark.	6		
Clearwater, Fla.	2		
Daytona Beach, Fla.	6	1	2 (School)
Deland, Fla.	1	1	
Ft. Myers, Fla.	2		
Gainesville, Fla.	2		
Jacksonville, Fla.	6		
Key West, Fla.	2		
Melbourne, Fla.	1		
Miami, Fla.	45	3	
Ocala, Fla.	1		
Orlando, Fla.	2		
St. Petersburg, Fla.	4		
Sanford, Fla.	1		
Tallahassee, Fla.	3		
Tampa, Fla.	6	1	
West Palm Beach, Fla.	4		
Atlanta, Ga.	12		8 (School)
Augusta, Ga.	8		
Columbus, Ga.	4		
Macon, Ga.	4		
Savannah, Ga.	9	3	
Lexington, Ky.	4		1
Louisville, Ky.	34	5	2
Owensboro, Ky.	2		
New Orleans, La.	6		
Gulfport, Miss.	2		
Indianola, Miss.	1		
Ahoski, N. C.	1		
Asheville, N. C.	3		
Burlington, N. C.	4		
Carrboro, N. C.	2		
Chapel Hill, N. C.	2		
Charlotte, N. C.	10		
Durham, N. C.	10	2	
Fayetteville, N. C.	3		
Gastonia, N. C.	4		
Goldsboro, N. C.	2		
Greensboro, N. C.	9		
Greenville, N. C.	1		
Guilford County, N. C.		1	(Deputy Sheriff)
Highpoint, N. C.	6		1 (School)
Lenoir, N. C.	2		
Morganton, N. C.	2		
Raleigh, N. C.	4		3 (School)
Reidsville, N. C.	2		
Rocky Mount, N. C.	2		
Salisbury, N. C.	2		
Wilson, N. C.	2		
Winston-Salem, N. C.	11		2 (School)
Muskogee, Okla.	2		
Oklahoma City, Okla.	13	5	
Stillwater, Okla.	1		
Tulsa, Okla.	9	5	1
Beaufort County, S. C.		1	(Deputy Sheriff)
Charleston, S. C.	8	1	6 (School)
Clover, S. C.	1		
Columbia, S. C.	4		
Conway, S. C.	2		
Darlington, S. C.	1		
Dillon, S. C.	1		
Florence, S. C.	3		
Hartsville, S. C.	1		
Horry County, S. C.	2	1	(Deputy Sheriff)
Marion, S. C.	2		
Mullins, S. C.	1		
Orangeburg, S. C.	2		
Rock Hill, S. C.	2		
Spartanburg, S. C.	2		
Sumter, S. C.		2	
Timmonsville, S. C.	1		
Chattanooga, Tenn.	7		
Davidson County, Tenn.		7	(Deputies)
Knoxville, Tenn.	9		
Memphis, Tenn.	16		
Nashville, Tenn.	14		12 (School)
Amarillo, Tex.	2		
Austin, Tex.	6		
Beaumont, Tex.	2		
Corpus Christi, Tex.	1		
Dallas, Tex.	4		

City	Uniformed Police	Plainclothes	Policewomen
El Paso, Tex.	4		
Galveston, Tex.	11	4	
Houston, Tex.	16	1	
Lubbock, Tex.	4		
Orange, Tex.	2		
Port Arthur, Tex.	2		
San Antonio, Tex.	8	4	
Waco, Tex.	1		
Newport News, Va.	6		
Norfolk, Va.	6	2	
Petersburg, Va.			1
Portsmouth, Va.	1		3 (School)
Princess Anne County, Va.	1	6	
Richmond, Va.	10	3	1
Roanoke, Va.	6		

	States	Cities	Counties	Uniform	Plainclothes	Policewomen
TOTALS	13	94	5	466	59	43

A Look at FEPC

(*Continued from page* 5)

this controversy, it is possible to provide you with material from which you may be able to fashion some conclusion in your own mind.

Businessmen are particularly fearful that FEPC legislation will deprive them of the right to hire, fire and promote within their own organization.

The FEPC laws deny that right where the hiring, firing or promoting is based on discriminatory reasons of race, color or creed.

The employer is free to set his own standards. He can set them as high as he likes so long as they are reasonable and based on the skill required. Once those standards are set, the FEPC then seeks to assure that they are applied fairly to all applicants, regardless of their color, race or religion.

The FEPC does not, for example, attempt to tell an employer that he must hire so many Negroes or Jews. It does not attempt to tell him which individuals can be hired, fired or promoted. These laws are carefully designed so that they do not protect incompetents.

The purpose of FEPC laws is to guarantee — insofar as is possible — that jobs will be filled on the basis of individual merit and not on a basis of race, religion or color.

It is said, and with a good deal of justification, that an FEPC law marks the breakdown of the entire system of racial segregation. That fact — and it is a fact — is one of the great stumbling blocks in the South.

In FEPC states like New York and Connecticut, the anti-discrimination commissions work in many other fields than employment. They are combating discrimination in the National Guard, in public schools, in public housing and in the use of such public accommodations as hotels and restaurants.

Southern states certainly will balk at extending anti-discrimination laws into those areas.

Another common argument against FEPC legislation is, "You cannot legislate against prejudice."

That really isn't a relevant argument. Prejudice is a personal matter. The FEPC laws are focused on discrimination which is a public manifestation of prejudice.

Of course these laws will not erase prejudice. They aren't intended to do so any more than a law against murder is intended to erase the act of murder. FEPC laws, like murder laws, are intended to make the overt act

SRC ANNUAL MEETING

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council, at its meeting of September 27, postponed the annual membership meeting until Wednesday, February 11, 1953. The Board of Directors will meet on Tuesday, February 10.

— in this case, the act of discrimination — less common.

They place a clear-cut public ban on discrimination. Today racial discrimination is, at least by implication, sanctioned in non-FEPC states. . . .

RACIAL ANTAGONISMS?

There are those who argue that an FEPC, by creating job competition between the races, will arouse racial antagonisms.

The CIO, an organization that certainly is interested in that possibility, strongly favors FEPC legislation. Instead of creating greater competition for the same number of jobs, many CIO leaders feel that an FEPC will create more jobs by enabling a large part of the population to increase their earnings and, thereby, enlarge their buying power.

In the South, even among the leading liberal spokesmen, there is a strong belief that the desired goals can be reached through a voluntary program based on education rather than through a compulsory law.

There is no question that progress is being made against discrimination on a voluntary basis. In Winston-Salem, for example, the fact that we have Negro policemen and firemen is evidence of such progress. Some large corporations with plants in the South, the International Harvester and the Firestone Tire and Rubber plants in Memphis, for instance, have voluntarily banned discrimination in their employment programs.

The question raised by proponents of FEPC legislation is whether the pace of this voluntary progress is sufficiently rapid.

In Cleveland, business leaders, in an effort to head off a proposed FEPC ordinance, launched a rather large-scale anti-discrimination educational campaign in 1950-51. That campaign, while it was widely publicized, accomplished very little in the way of removing discrimination in employment. As a result, Cleveland dropped the voluntary approach and turned to a compulsory FEPC law.

In the South the great question-mark rises from the impact a compulsory FEPC law will have on a society where racial prejudices are powerful and deep-seated.

The fact that FEPC laws have worked with surprisingly little friction in the large Northern cities and in all parts of the nation, excepting the South, does not answer that question.

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ATLANTA, GEORGIA, SEPTEMBER, 1952

To attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region.

Note re Negro police:

Of the 58 cities in the South with a population of 50,000 or more 45 have Negro police; one of the 13 not employing Negro police generally does, but at present no Negroes have passed civil service exam to fill the two vacancies (Wichita Falls, Tex.)

AH

The Southern PACKET

BOOK LIST

A reprint of 215 titles reviewed or listed from

June 1945 through December 1946

The listings are printed as they originally appeared, with month and year added to show the issue if reviewed in the *Packet*.

Biography

LILLIE OF SIX-SHOOTER JUNCTION. *By Florence Guild Bruce.* The Naylor Co. 1946. 232 pp. $3.00. Biography of Lillie Drennan, first licensed woman truck operator in Texas, with much background material on the section of Texas in which she lives.

JAMES MONROE. By W. P. Cresson. University of North Carolina Press. 1946. 577 pp. $5.00

SEARGENT S. PRENTISS, WHIG ORATOR OF THE OLD SOUTH. *By Dallas C. Dickey.* Louisiana State University Press. 1945. 412 pp. $4.00. A prominent name of the 1830-45 period in Mississippi. r. 12-45.

PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. The Dietz Press, Inc. 1944. 69 pp. Paper. Portraits and Biographies of presidents through Franklin D. Roosevelt.

JAMES BOWIE: THE LIFE OF A BRAVO. *By C. L. Douglas.* **Banks, Upshaw and Co. $2.00.** The story of the wielder of the famous knife.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, AMERICAN TOURIST. Edward Dumbauld. University of Oklahoma Press. 1946. 266 pp. $3.00. r. 12-46.

MY AUNT LOUISA AND WOODROW WILSON. *By Margaret Axson Elliott.* University of North Carolina Press. 1944. 302 pp. $3.00. Recollections of a niece who lived in the Wilson household. r. 10-45.

THE JOURNAL OF PHILIP VICKERS FITHIAN. *Edited with an introduction by Hunter Dickinson Farish.* The Dietz Press. $4.00. Diary of a plantation tutor depicting the social and economic life of Colonial Virginia during the "Golden Age."

A GEORGIA LAWYER. *By Stirling Price Gilbert.* The University of Georgia Press. 1946. 257 pp. $3.00. Judge S. P. Gilbert. r. 11-46.

NINETY BITS OF NORTH CAROLINA BIOGRAPHY. By C. H. Hamlin. Published by the author. 148 pp. $2.00, cloth binding. $1.25, flexible binding.

WHEN WE'RE GREEN WE GROW. *By Jane Simpson McKimmon.* University of North Carolina Press. 1945. 353 pp. Illustrated with photographs. The pioneer of home demonstration agents in N. C. r. 7-45.

LINCOLN'S OTHER MARY. *By Olive Carruthers and R. Gerald McMurty.* Ziff-Davis Publishing Co. 1946. 229 pp. $2.50. r. 12-46.

THE FERGUSONS OF TEXAS. By Ouida Ferguson Nalle. The Naylor Co. 1946. 272 pp. $3.00. To be reviewed.

THE JOURNAL OF ANDREW LEARY O'BRIEN. The University of Georgia Press. 1946. 76 pp. $1.50. An Irish schoolmaster in Georgia, 1840-1860. r. 5-46.

BELLE BOYD, CONFEDERATE SPY. *By Louis A. Sigaud.* The Dietz Press, Inc., second edition. 1945. 254 pp. 9 photographs. $3.00. r. 6-45.

PITCHFORK BEN TILLMAN: SOUTH CAROLINIAN. *By Francis Butler Simpkins.* Louisiana State University Press. 1944. 577 pp. Illustrated. $4.50 South Carolina's colorful champion of the people. r. 6-45.

ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS. *By Rudolph Von Abele.* Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. 1946. 337 pp. $4.00. A biography of the outstanding Southern statesman and leader who became Vice-President of the Confederacy. r. 11-46.

WANDERING IN THE WILDERNESS. *By E. J. C. Wood. Compiled by William Elliott Wood.* Dietz Printing Co. 1945. 288 pp. $3.00. Journal of life in South Carolina, 1852-94, largely personal.

Domestic Arts

THE CREOLE KITCHEN COOK BOOK. *By Virginia M. Cooper.* The Naylor Co. 1946. 248 pp. $2.50. r. 6-46.

GAY NINETIES COOK BOOK. *Compiled, written, and done by F. Meredith Dietz and August Dietz, Jr.* The Dietz Press, Inc. 1945. 318 pp. $3.00. "Recipes from books of the 1890's, favorite dishes, etiquette for ladies and gentlemen." Profusely illustrated. r. 12-45.

KEEP YOURSELF IN STITCHES. *By Dolores Boland. Drawings by Gertrude Dwyer.* Dietz Press. 79 pp. Paper. $1.00. Clever suggestions for the women who want to make smart accessories for their costumes.

BEVERAGES AND SAUCES OF COLONIAL VIRGINIA. *By Laura C. Fitchett.* William Byrd Press. $2.00.

FAVORITE RECIPES OF NORTH CAROLINA. *Edited by York Kiker.* State Dept. of Agriculture, Raleigh, N. C. 1945. 128 pp. Paper. 40c. Tested recipes featuring dairy products.

CONCHA'S MEXICAN KITCHEN COOK BOOK. By Catharine Ulmer Stoker. The Naylor Co. 1946. 244 pp. $3.00.

Education

UNIVERSAL EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH. *By Charles William Dabney.* University of North Carolina Press. 1936. 2 Vols. $3.75 each.

THE LITTLE RED SCHOOL HOUSE, SOUTHERN STYLE. *By Edwin R. Embree.* Published by the Julius Rosenwald Fund, Chicago. 1938. 25 pp. Paper. Gratis.

THE HUMANITIES AND THE COMMON MAN. *By Norman Foerster.* University of North Carolina Press. 1946. 60 pp. $1.50. r. 4-46.

FOREVER GROWING, SOME NOTES ON A CREDO FOR TEACHERS. *By Paul Green.* University of North Carolina Press. 1945. 42 pp. $1.50. r. 1-46.

EDUCATION FOR FREEDOM. *By Robert M. Hutchins.* Louisiana State University Press.

1943. 108 pp. $1.50. Part of the Edward Douglass White lectures at Louisiana State University by the President of the University of Chicago, with additional material.

A STATE UNIVERSITY SURVEYS THE HUMANITIES. *Edited by L. C. MacKinney et al.* University of North Carolina Press. 1945. 273 pp.. $4.00. Seventeen essays on the humanities in relation to varied fields of college study. r. 12-45.

THE FRUIT OF THIS TREE. *By Charles Morgan.* Berea College. 1946. 268 pp. $2.50. Background and beliefs which shaped this unusual college. r. 12-46.

BUILDING A BETTER SOUTHERN REGION THROUGH EDUCATION. *Edited by Edgar L. Morphet, with the assistance of the Co-ordinators, Chairmen and Executive Committee.* The Southern States Works-Conference on School Administratiive Problems. Tallahassee, Fla. 1945. 434 pp. Paper. $1.50. Cloth $2.50. r. 9-45.

SECONDARY EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH. *Edited by W. Carson Ryan, J. Minor Gwynn, Arnold R. King.* The University of North Carolina Press. 1946. 269 pp. $3.00. The story since the Civil War, thoroughly told. r. 5-46.

LIFE AT SAINT MARY'S. *Edited by Katherine Batts Salley.* University of North Carolina Press. 1942. 300 pp. $2.50. One Hundredth Anniversary publication of well-known Southern junior college.

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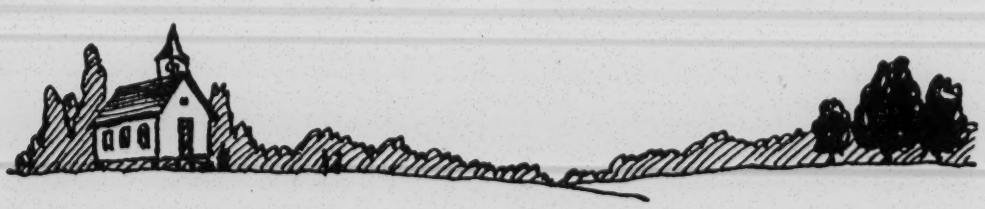

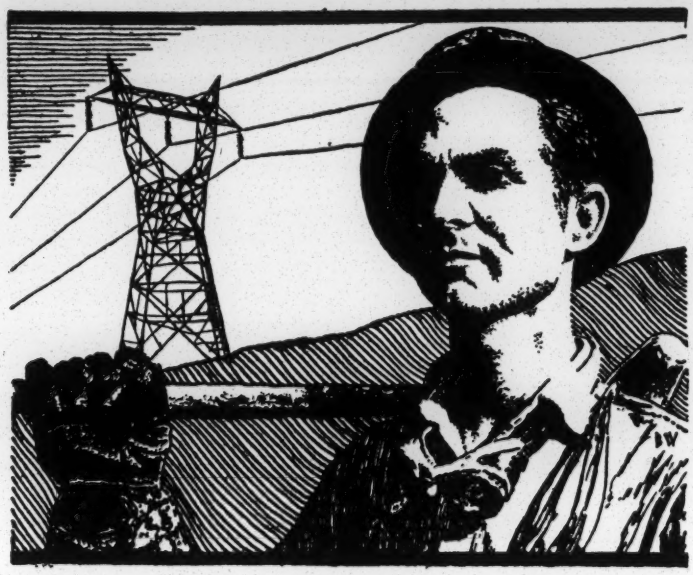

Economics and Sociology

THE SHORE DIMLY SEEN. *By Ellis Gibbs Arnall.* J. P. Lippincott Company. 1946. 312 pp. $3.00. Ideas, economic, social and political, by Georgia's dynamic governor 1942-46.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS IN THE SOUTHEASTERN STATES IN 1944. *By Roscoe Arant.* U. S. Department of Commerce. Regional Office: 801 East Broad St., Room 2, Richmond 19, Virginia. 9 pp. Gratis. Paper.

COMMUNITIES FOR LIVING. *By F. Stuart Chapin, Jr., in collaboration with Sam Schiller.* The University of Georgia Press. 56 pp. 60c. Paper. Physical planning considerations in all kinds of communities, designed to meet postwar problems. Photographs, maps, and charts.

RESEARCH AND REGIONAL WELFARE. *Edited by Robert E. Coker.* The University of North Carolina Press. 1946. 229 pp. $3.00. Papers from the Southern Research Conference at Chapel Hill, 1945. r. 6-46.

A COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION PROGRAM FOR SMALL COMMUNITIES. *By Dan R. Davis.* Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas. Paper. Six Pages. 1945. Gratis.

WANTEDS A HEALTHY SOUTH. *By Dorothy Dickens.* Southern Regional Council, Inc. 33 pp. Paper. 25c. r. 9-46.

SOUTHERN PLANTATIONS: A STUDY IN THE DEVELOPMENT AND THE ACCURACY OF A TRADITION. *By Francis Pendleton Gaines.* Columbia University Press. 1942. 243 pp. $2.50.

DEEP SOUTH. *By Allison Davis, Burleigh Bradford Gardner, and Mrs. Mary R. Gardner.* University of Chicago Press. 1942. 558 pp. $4.50.

INDUSTRALIZATION AS A MEANS TO SOUTHERN PROGRESS. *Institute of Citizenship.* Emory University. Georgia State Engineering Experiment Station. 1940. 16 pp. 10c. Paper. (Publications of the Georgia School of Technology.)

ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE SOUTH. *By Emory Quinter Hawk.* Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1934 557 pp. $5.00.

OUR COMMON MOORING. *By Ellis F. Hartford.* The University of Georgia Press. 1941. 83 pp. Prepared for the Advisory Panel on Regional Materials of Instruction for the Tennessee Valley.

SOUTHERN INDUSTRY AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT. *By Harriet L. Herring.* University of North Carolina Press. 1940. 103 pp. $1.00. A working manual for planning groups and chambers of commerce. r. 8-45.

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INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN THE SOUTH. *By Broadus Mitchell and George Mitchell.* Johns Hopkins University Press. 1930. 298 pp. $2.75.

I'LL TAKE MY STAND: THE SOUTH AND THE AGRARIAN TRADITION. *By 12 Southerners.* Harpers. 1930. 359 pp. $3.00.

PRODUCTION CREDIT FOR SOUTHERN COTTON GROWERS. *By A. E. Nielsen.* King's Crown Press. 1946. 198 pp. $2.50. Paper.

FORTY ACRES AND STEEL MULES. *By Herman Clarence Nixon.* University of North Carolina Press. 1938. 98 pp. $2.50. Photographs from the Division of Information of the Farm Security Administration.

POSSUM TROT, RURAL COMMUNITY, SOUTH. *By Herman Clarence Nixon.* University of Oklahoma Press. 1942. 192 pp. $2.50.

YOUR CHILDREN, TOO. Southern Conference For Human Welfare, 506 Presbyterian Bldg.,

Nashville 3, Tenn. 1945. 26 pp. Paper. 10c. A simple statement of labor union aims in terms of children and their future in the South. Excellent photographs.

THE SOUTH: AMERICA'S OPPORTUNITY NUMBER ONE. Southern Regional Council, 63 Auborn Ave. NE, Atlanta, Ga. 44 pp. 50c. Six prominent economists analyze agriculture, labor, small industry, markets, foreign trade, freight rates, and housing for the post-war South.

ALL THESE PEOPLE. *By Rupert B. Vance, in collaboration with Nadia Danilevsky.* University of North Carolina Press. 1945. 503 pp. $5.00. A monumental study of population characteristics. r. 7-46.

HOW THE OTHER HALF IS HOUSED: A PICTORIAL RECORD OF SUB-MINIMUM FARM HOUSING IN THE SOUTH. *By R. B. Vance.* University of N. C. Press. 1936. 16 pp. 15c. Paper. (Southern Policy Papers, No. 4.)

HUMAN GEOGRAPHY OF THE SOUTH; A STUDY IN REGIONAL RESOURCES AND HUMAN ADEQUACY. *By Rupert Bayliss Vance.* 2nd ed. University of North Carolina Press. 1935. 369 pp. $2.50. (The University of North Carolina Social Study series.)

NEW FARM HOMES FOR OLD. *A Study of Rural Public Housing in the South. By Rupert B. Vance and Gordon W. Blackwell, with the collaboration of Howard G. McClain.* University of Alabama Press. 1946. 245 pp. (including 187 statistical tables). $3.00. r. 11-46.

PLANNING FOR THE SOUTH: AN INQUIRY INTO THE ECONOMICS OF REGIONALISM. *By John Van Sickle.* Vanderbilt University Press. 1943. 255 pp. $2.75. Regional planning and the influence of recent population and legislative changes. r. 8-45.

WANTED: THE SOUTH'S FUTURE FOR THE NATION. *By Rupert B. Vance.* Southern Regional Council, Inc. 30 pp. Paper. 25 cents. The final chapter of *All These People.* r. 6-46.

PUBLIC WORKS, ECONOMIC STABILIZATION AND THE RURAL SOUTH. *By John Valentine Van Sickle.* Vanderbilt University Press. 1942. 33 pp. 35c. Paper. (Vanderbilt University Institute of Research and Training in the Social Sciences. Papers No. 2.)

NEW DOMINION SERIES. University of Virginia Extension Division, Charlottesville, Virginia. The leaflets in this series are published monthly January-June and twice monthly July-December, and are distributed free of charge. Series describes experimental approaches to democratic living as practiced in various communities. These are well-written, interesting pamphlets. Representative titles: No. 4, Planning Tomorrow's Community; No. 11, A Planned Rural Community.

MISSISSIPPI FARMERS. *By Herbert Weaver.* Vanderbilt University Press. 1945. 139 pp. $2.50. A second book resulting from a group of studies on the plain people of the Old South.

FREEDOM UNDER PLANNING. *By Barbara Wootton.* University of North Carolina Press. 1945. 180 pp. $2.00. Planning that makes for freedom of enterprise by alleviating unemployment and inadequate income conditions. r. 1-46.

CHANNELING RESEARCH INTO EDUCATION. *By John Eli Ivey.* Published by the American Council on Education, Washington, D. C. 1944. 187 pp. $1.50.

EDUCATE A WOMAN: FIFTY YEARS OF LIFE AT THE WOMAN'S COLLEGE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA. *Compiled by Virginia Terrell Lathrop.* University of North Carolina Press. 1942. 111 pp. $3.00.

Farming and Forestry

BEHOLD OUR GREEN MANSIONS. *By Richard H. D. Boerker.* University of North Carolina Press. $4.00. A book about American forests. r. 8-45.

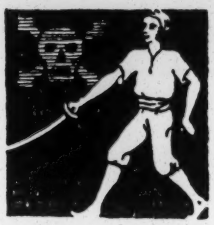
PRACTICAL FARMING FOR THE SOUTH. *By Benjamin F. Bullock.* University of North Carolina Press. 1944. 510 pp., over 200 illustrations. $2.50. r. 6-45.

FERTILIZING PEANUTS. *By W. E. Colwell, N. C. Brady, and J. Fielding Reed.* Bulletin No. 356, North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station, Raleigh, N. C. 1946. 21 pp. Free. Address the publisher.

GRAZING AND CREEP FEEDING CALVES ON NATIVE RANGE. *By J. E. Foster, H. H. Biswell, and E. H. Hostetler.* Bulletin No. 355, North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station, Raleigh, N. C. 1946. 14 pp. Paper. Free. Address the publisher.

LIVING BY THE LAND. *By John C. Gifford.* Glade House. 1945. 139 pp. $2.50. Farming around the Caribbean. r. 7-46.

MACHINES IN THE COTTON FIELDS. *By Arthur Raper.* (September, 1946, issue of *New South.)* Southern Regional Council, Inc., 63 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta 3, Ga. The cotton South's future under mechanical farming by a leading thinker, well illustrated. 34 pp. Paper. 25 cents per copy, 5 copies, $1.00. Address the publisher.



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TIME LAY ASLEEP. By Carman Barnes. Harper and Bros. 1946. 243 pp. $2.50.

THERE WERE TWO PIRATES. *By James Branch Cabell.* Farrar, Straus & Co., Inc. 1946. 121 pp. $3.00. A character study of 18th century Spain. r. 9-46.

TOIL OF THE BRAVE. By Inglis Fletcher. The Bobbs-Merrill Co. 1946. 547 pp. $3.00.

SALVATION ON A STRING. *By Paul Green.* Harper and Brothers. 1946. 278 pp. $2.50. r. 11-46.

SOUTHERN CHARACTER SKETCHES. By Betsy Hamilton. The Dietz Press. 1937. 126 pp.

FOR HERE IS MY FORTUNE. By Amos R. Harlin. Whittlesey House. 1946. 290 pp. $2.50.

JANEY JEEMS. *By Bernice Kelly Harris.* Doubleday & Company, Inc. 1946. 306 pp. $2.50. The tenant's struggle to be a "title deed" farmer. r. 8-46.

CROSS ON THE MOON. *By John Hewlett.* Whittlesey House. 1946. 316 pp. $2.75. Rural Georgia's dramatic human problems. r. 11-46.

LOUISIANA IN THE SHORT STORY. Edited by Lizzie Carter McVoy. Louisiana State University Press. 1940. 305 pp. $3.50. Collection of fifteen short stories dealing with Louisiana's rich and varied life.

SHOD WITH FLAME. By Helen Topping Miller. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1946. 270 pp. $2.75.

STRAIGHT DOWN A CROOKED LANE. *By Martha Byrd* Porter. The Dietz Press, Inc. 1945. 234 pp. $3.00. The story of a life in the Virginia-Carolina's of early twentieth century. r. 6-45.

STORM BEFORE DAYBREAK. By Marian Sims. J. B. Lippincott Co. 1946. 295 pp. $2.50.

MOONRISE. By Theodore Strauss. The Viking Press. 1946. 216 pp. $2.50.

TALES FROM THE PLUM GROVE HILLS. By Jesse Stuart. E. P. Dutton & Co. 1946. 256 pp. $2.75.

ALL THE KING'S MEN. *By Robert Penn Warren.* Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1946. 464 pp. $3.00. The political despot of the Deep South. r. 9-46.

CLOUDY TROPHIES. *By Anne Goodwin Winslow.* Alfred A. Knopf. 1946. 237 pp. $2.50. Life in a serene southern rural setting. r. 7-46.

Folklore

WORD-LISTS FROM THE SOUTH. Published by the American Dialect Society. 1944. 72 pp. 50c. Contains word lists from Alabama, Kentucky, North Carolina, Virginia, and Missouri, and list of tobacco words.

THE JACK TALES. *Told by R. M. Ward and his kindred in the Beech Mountain section of Western North Carolina and by other descendants of Council Harmon (1803-1896) elsewhere in the Southern Mountains; with three tales from Wise County, Virginia. Edited by Richard Chase.* 1943. 202 pp. $2.50. Houghton Mifflin Co., The Riverside Press, Cambridge, Mass. r. 7-45.

BUNDLE OF TROUBLES AND OTHER TARHEEL TALES. *By Workers of the Writer's Program of the Work Projects Administration in the state of North Carolina. Edited by W. C. Hendricks.* Duke University Press. 1943. 206 pp. $2.50.

A GLOSSARY OF VIRGINIA WORDS. By Phyllis J. Nixon. Published by the American Dialect Society. 1946. 45 pp. Obtainable from the Secretary of the Society, Woman's College, UNC, Greensboro, N. C.

FROM HELL TO BREAKFAST. Texas Folk-Lore Society Publications No. XIX. 1944. $2.50. "When a man travels from hell to breakfast, he goes a far piece and covers a lot of territory; he sees the elephant and hears the owl."

Folk Music

SINGING GAMES AND FOLK DANCES. *Collected and translated by John C. Campbell Folk School.* John C. Campbell Folk School. 1941. 56 pp. 60c. An excellent collection of Scandinavian singing games and folk dances.

OLD SONGS AND SINGING GAMES. *By Richard Chase.* University of North Carolina Press. 64 pp. Paper. 75c. Tunes, words, directions. Notes and introduction for teachers.

THE STORY OF THE SACRED HARP. *By George Pullen Jackson.* Vanderbilt University Press. 1944. 46 pp. $1.00.

WHITE AND NEGRO SPIRITUALS. *By George Pullen Jackson, J. J. Augustin.* 1943. 373 pp. Illustrated with pictures and music. $5.50. Religious songs of the 19th century rural South. r. 10-45.

WHITE SPIRITUALS IN THE SOUTHERN UPLANDS. *By George Pullen Jackson.* University of North Carolina Press. $4.50. A complete and scholarly work on the tradition of shape-notes and of southern sacred music.

THIRTY AND ONE FOLK SONGS FROM THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAINS. *By Bascom Lamar Lunsford and Lamar Stringfield.* Carl Fischer, Inc. 1929. Paper. 75c. Typical songs, with piano accompaniment. Interesting explanatory notes.

SONGS OF THE HILL FOLK and four similar pamphlets of about fifteen songs each. Collected by John Jacob Niles. G. Schirmer, Inc. 50c each. Some of the best, with simple and natural piano arrangement.

LOUISIANA FRENCH FOLK SONGS. *Collected by Irene Therese Whitfield.* Louisiana State University Press. 1934. 159 pp. Cloth.

History

DUCKTOWN, BACK IN RAHT'S TIME. By R. E. Barclay. University of North Carolina Press. 1946. 286 pp. $5.00.

MEMORIES OF AN OLD-TIME TAR HEEL. *By Kemp Plummer Battle. Edited by his son, William J. Battle.* University of North Carolina Press. 1945. Illustrated. $3.00. Picturesque and turbulent years from 1830 to 1880, seen through the eyes of "Pres." Battle of Chapel Hill. r. 11-45.

ONE HUNDRED GREAT YEARS: THE STORY OF THE TIMES-PICAYUNE FROM ITS FOUNDING TO 1940. *By Thomas Ewing Dabney.* Louisiana State University Press. $4.00.

THE WILSON ERA. YEARS OF WAR AND AFTER 1917-1923. *By Josephus Daniels.* University of North Carolina Press. 1946. 653 pp. $4.00. r. 7-46.

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF BAYARD TAYLOR AND PAUL HAMILTON HAYNE. *By Charles Duffy.* Louisiana State University Press. 1945. 111 pp. $2.00. Sheds light upon conditions under which writers worked in the post-Civil War North and South. r. 2-46.

HORTICULTURE AND HORTICULTURISTS IN EARLY TEXAS. *By Samuel Wood Geiser.* University Press in Dallas. 1945. 102 pp. Paper. $1; cloth, $1.50. Fruit culture and sketches of horticulturists, 1938-1910.

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THE FAMOUS CASE OF MYRA CLARK GAINES. *By Nolan B. Harmon, Jr.* Louisiana State University Press. 1946. 481 pp. $3.50. The sensational New Orleans inheritance case. r. 9-46.

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THE ANTE-BELLUM CHARLESTON THEATRE. By W. Stanley Hoole. University of Alabama Press. 1946. 230 pp. $3.50. r. 8-46.

W. LEE O'DANIEL AND TEXAS POLITICS, 1939-1942. *By Seth Shepard McKay.* Texas Technological College Press. 1945. 628 pp. $4.00. r. 9-45.

FLORIDA DURING THE TERRITORIAL DAYS. *By Sidney Walter Martin.* University of Georgia Press. $3.00. Centeninal Edition.

HISTORY OF VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY. By Edwin Mims. Vanderbilt University Press. 1946. 497 pp. $4.75.

JEFFERSON DAVIS AND HIS CABINET. *By Rembert W. Patrick.* Louisiana State University Press. 400 pp. $3.75. r. 8-45.

LIFE AND LABOR IN THE OLD SOUTH. *By Ulrich Bonnell Phillips.* Little, Brown and Company. 1929. 375 pp. $4.00. Awarded the prize of $2,500 offered in 1928 by Little, Brown and Company for the best unpublished work on American history.

BEHIND THE LINES IN THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY. *By Charles W. Ramsdell.* Louisiana State University Press. 1944. About 166 pp. $2.00. Wartime economic, social and political problems on home front of the Confederacy.

LINCOLN AND THE SOUTH. *By J. G. Ramsdell.* Louisiana State University Press. 1946. 166 pp. $1.50. r. 4-46.

THE SPRINGS OF VIRGINIA. *By Perceval Reniers.* University of North Carolina Press. 1941. 282 pp. $4.00. The ante-bellum resorts, with early illustrations. r. 12-45.

RIDDLE OF THE LOST COLONY. *By Melvin Robinson.* Owen G. Dunn Co. 1946. 64 pp. $1. Another answer to the mystery of Sir Walter Raleigh's lost colony.

TENNESSEE PRINTERS, 1791-1945. *By Joseph Hamblen Sears.* Privately printed by the Kingsport Press, Inc. 47 pp. Gratis. A review of printing history from Roulstone's first press to printers of the present, and itself a model of good bookmaking.

THE SOUTH AND THE NATION. *By George H. Slappey, Haywood J. Pearce, Jr., and Pansy A. Slappey.* Stratford House, Inc. 1946. 462 pp. $3.50. History seen from a modern but strictly southern viewpoint. r. 7-46.

TENNESSEE DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR. *By Samuel Cole Williams LLD., L.H.D.* The Tennessee Historical Commission. 1944. $4.00. With maps, facsimiles, etc.; index.

Juvenile

GOLDILOCKS Y LOS TRES OSOS Y OTROS CUENTOS. *Retold in Spanish and illustrated by Helen Harter.* Banks and Upshaw and Company. 1945. 128 pp. $1.50. r. 3-46.

BLUE RIDGE BILLY. Written and Illustrated By Lois Lenski. J. B. Lippincott Co. 1946. 200 pp. $2.50. Story of a modern mountain boy and his inborn talent for old-time music. r. 10-46.

PETIE PIG. *By Gilchrist and Bonnie Throckmorton.* The Dietz Press, Inc.. 1945. 44 pp. $1.50. Paper. Well illustrated, and good text.

MARGO. *By Sugar Poling and Ginny Ryan.* The Dietz Press, Inc. 1945. 31 pp. $1.50. Bright illustrations, extra large print.

JOCKEY AND OTHER STORIES OF BOY LIFE ON A SOUTHERN FARM. *By T. Oregon Lawton.* Keys Printing Co. 1928. 190 pp. $1.50.

THE STORY OF THE SOUTHERN HIGHLANDS. *By May McNeer.* Harper & Bros. 1945. 32 pp. $1.50. Cornelius De Witt's sprightly human lithographs on every page (half are in bright colors) make a rare picture-book with text.

OUR FRIENDLY NEIGHBORS. *By Willis A. Parker. Illustrated by George Daniel Hoffman.* The Stephens Press. 1945. 32 pp. $1.50. A natural history in sprightly verse with lithograph drawings. r. 11-45.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL LITERATURE FOR CHILDREN (Southern Life and Literary Culture Series No. 3). Directed by Susan B. Riley. George Peabody College For Teachers, Nashville, Tenn. 1945. 34 pp., mimeographed. Paper. 40c. Order from publisher. Ample descriptive lists by states of books with southern heroes or locale, with school grade placements.

TOBE. *By Stella Gentry Sharp.* With photographs by Charles Farrell. University of North Carolina Press. 1939. 121 pp. $2.00. Life of a southern Negro family told in pictures and simple text.

THE CITY OF ONCE UPON A TIME. *A children's true story of Williamsburg in Virginia. By Gilchrist Waring. Illustrated by Elmo Jones.* Dietz Press. 1946. 57 pp. $2.00. r. 11-46.

DOLLY MADISON'S SURPRISE. Written and illustrated by Peter Wells. The John C. Winston Co. 1946. 46 pp. $1.25. A child's book for ages six to ten. r. 12-46.

Libraries

SIMPLE LIBRARY CATALOGUING. *By Susan Gray Akers.* Am. Library Assn., Chicago, 1944. 197 pp. $2.25. Standard practice for most public libraries, adapted for home libraries.

TEACHER-LIBRARIAN'S HANDBOOK. *By Mary Peacock Douglas.* ..Am. Library Assn., Chicago. 1941. 138 pp. $2.25. Buying, organizing, and maintaining the school library.

MANUAL OF TECHNIQUE IN LIBRARY ORGANIZATION. *By Ruby Ethel Cundiff.* Peabody Press. 1945. 73 pp. Paper. Starting a library. r. 10-45.

RESOURCES OF SOUTHERN LIBRARIES. *Edited by Robert B. Downs.* Am. Library Assn., Chicago. 1938. 370 pp. $4.50. A descriptive list by classifications of special book collections in libraries of 13 southern states, plus chapters on manuscripts and periodicals, with large index, bibliography, and list of libraries.

BASIC REFERENCE BOOKS. *By Louis Shores.* Am. Library Assn., Chicago, 1939. 485 pp. $4.75. How to use library reference material, with a large descriptive list of basic reference books.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF READING. *By Louis Round Wilson.* Am. Library Assn., Chicago. 1938. 505 pp. $4.00. Texts and charts showing where and how adequate libraries are—and are not. The result of a thorough survey, useful to the citizen working for better libraries.

Poetry

THE FIELDS BEYOND. *By Susie Dawson Johnson.* University of South Carolina Press. 1945. 81 pp. $2.00. A collection of widely published poems of the seasons, people , meditation. r. 1-46.

THE CENTENNIAL EDITION OF THE WORKS OF SIDNEY LANIER. Edited by Charles R. Anderson and Associates. The Johns Hopkins Press. 1946. 10 Vols. $30.00.

CLODS OF SOUTHERN EARTH. *By Don West,* Boni and Gaer. 1946. 150 pp. Paper. $2.50. Unusual poems of a teacher and liberal. r. 8-46.

SIDNEY LANIER, POET AND PROSODIST. *By Richard Webb and Edwin R. Coulson.* University of Georgia Press. 1941. 108 pp. $2.00. Two significant essays on one of the South's greatest poets. r. 4-46.

UNCERTAIN FLIGHT. *By E. Eager Wood.* The Wayside Press. 1945. 99 pp. A collection of poems written about the simple, every day things of life, by a Virginian who obviously loves his state. $3.00.

Recreation

SHOTGUN SHOOTING. By Fred Etchen. Standard Publications, Inc. 187 pp. $6.00.

BASS FISHING. *By Jim Gasque.* Alfred A. Knopf. 1945. 206 pp. $4.00. Chiefly upland stream and lake methods, popular style. r. 11-45.

THE FUN ENCYCLOPEDIA. *By Elvin Oscar Harbin.* Cokesbury Press. 1940. 1008 pp. $2.75. A comprehensive, all-purpose entertainment plan-book for the home, club, school, church, and playground. Suggestions are offered for home recreation, for clubrooms, hobbies, banquets, sports, picnics, indoor and outdoor games, parties, music and musical games, for dramatics, and for puppetry.

KEITH'S RIFLES FOR LARGE GAME. By Elmer Keith. Standard Publications, Inc. 400 pp. $10.00.

RIFLEMAN'S PROGRESS. By Ellis Christian Lenz. Standard Publications, Inc. 205 pp. $8.00.

Race Relations

WHAT THE NEGRO WANTS. *Edited by Rayford W. Logan.* University of North Carolina Press. 1944. 352 pp. $3.50. Negro leaders of varied views state their opinions. r. 11-45.

UNDERSTANDING OUR NEIGHBORS. Southern Regional Council, Inc,. 63 Auburn Ave., Atlanta 3, Ga. Revised 1945. 32 pp. Paper, 10c. A concise factual handbook on racial groups in the U. S. A., with emphasis on the Negro.

TUSKEGEE AND THE BLACK BELT. *By Anne Kendrick Walker.* Dietz Press, Inc. $3.00.

Religion

HEADS UP FOR COLLEGE. *By Joseph M. Garrison.* John Knox Press. 1944. 60 pp. Paper. 40c. The religious life and growth of college students. r. 9-45.

SCIENCE AND THE IDEA OF GOD. *By William Ernest Hocking.* University of North Carolina Press. 1944. 124 pp. $1.50 The McNair lectures at Chapel Hill, 1940. r. 10-45.

GREAT WRITERS AS INTERPRETERS OF RELIGION. *By Edwin Mims.* Abingdon-Cokesbury Press. 1945. 176 pp. $1.50. Literature seen as a means by which God has inspired revelation of truth.

LOWELL MASON. "The Father of Singing Among the Children." *By Arthur Lowndes Rich.* University of North Carolina Press. 1946. 224 pages. $3.00. r. 12-46.

PERSONALITIES OF THE PASSION. *By Leslie D. Weatherhead.* Abingdon - Cokesbury Press. 1943. 183 pp. $1.50. The last associates of Christ as they reveal religious inspiration for today's world. r. 8-45.

Southern Appalachians

SWING YOUR MOUNTAIN GAL. *By Rebecca Cushman.* Houghton, Mifflin Co. 1934. $3.00. Sketches of life in the Southern Highlands, in blank verse. An unusual, charming, and authentic portrayal of folk life.

FROM MY HIGHEST HILL. *By Olive Tilford Dargan.* J. B. Lippincott Co. $3.50. Stories of the mountain people, with photographs by Bayard Wootten.

HANDICRAFTS OF THE SOUTHERN HIGHLANDS. *By Allen H. Eaton.* Russell Sage Foundation. 1937. $3.50. The standard work on handicrafts, with revealing photographs of the people by Doris Ulmann.

THE CHEROKEES. *By Horace Kephart.* Published by Laura Mack Kephart. 50c. A well written pamphlet of historical and general information, suitable for schools.

OUR SOUTHERN HIGHLANDERS. *By Horace Kephart.* The MacMillan Co. 1924. $3.50. The father of Smokies mountaineer books, written in the early 1900's.

GREAT SMOKY MOUNTAINS NATIONAL PARK, THE LAND AND ITS PEOPLE. National Park Service. Booklet, 10c, Park Offices, or Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C.

THE GREAT SMOKIES AND THE BLUE RIDGE. *Edited by Roderick Peattie.* The Vanguard Press. 1943. 380 pp. $3.75. Varied background material, well illustrated.

SEEING THE SMOKIES. The Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Text by George Myers Stephens. Designed by Burnley Weaver. The Stephens Press. 1946. 15 pp. 67 photographs. Paper. 35c.

THE SMOKIES GUIDE. *By George Myers Stephens.* The Stephens Press. 1942. 64 pp. paper. 50c. The Great Smoky Mountains National Park; its forests, Indian and white people, animals, and birds. Highway trail, and camping information; a wild flower chart.

HIGHLAND HERITAGE. *By E. E. White.* Friendship Press. 1937. pp. $. One of the most up-to-date books on the region.

TVA

THE VALLEY AND ITS PEOPLE: A PORTRAIT OF TVA. *By R. L. Duffus and Charles Krutch.* Alfred A. Knopf. 1944. $2.75. Striking pictures and superbly written text in popular style.

THE TVA: LESSONS FOR INTERNATIONAL APPLICATION. *By Herman Finer.* International Labour Office. $2.00. A methodical, documented analysis from a detached viewpoint.

TVA: DEMOCRACY ON THE MARCH. *By David Lilienthal.* Harper & Bros. 1944. $3.00. The broad program and its underlying philosophy stirringly written. Full bibliography.

THE TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY: A STUDY IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION. *By C. Herman Pritchett.* University of North Carolina Press. 1944. $3.50. A readable account of the epoch-making plan in operation.

AN INDEXED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY, CUMULATIVE SUPPLEMENT JANUARY 1943. *Compiled by Bernard L. Foy, Technical Librarian.* January 1943-December 1944. 60 pp. Mimeographed. Tennessee Valley Authority, Knoxville, Tenn. Gratis.

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REGIONAL AUTHORITY DEVELOPMENTS. A Selected List Of References, including Legislative Bills Introduced in Congress, 1933-1945. Tennessee Valley Authority, Knoxville, Tenn. 13 pp. Mimeographed. Gratis.

RESOURCES: A BASIS FOR UNDERSTANDING. Tennessee Valley Authority. Drafted at Request of Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education of the American Council on Education. Mimeographed. 23 pp. Gratis.

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Miscellaneous

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FREUDIANISM AND THE LITERARY MIND, By Frederick J. Hoffman. Louisiana State University Press. 1945. 34 5pp. $4.00. r. 10-46.

HISTORY OF THE SHRODE FAMILY IN AMERICA. *By I. T. Taylor.* Published by the author at Edna, Texas. 1945. 500 pp. $15.00. (Order from publisher). Includes data on Duffy, Jamison, and Maj. James Taylor families.

THE MIND OF THE SOUTH. *By W. J. Cash.* Alfred A. Knopf. 1941. 429 pp. $3.75. A brilliant analysis and interpretation of the philosophy, temperament and social customs of the South.

LIBERALISM IN THE SOUTH. *By Virginius Dabney.* University of North Carolina Press. 1932. 456 pp. $3.50.

NEW HORIZONS IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION. *A Symposium.* University of Alabama Press. 1945. 145 pp. $2.00. r. 3-46.

NOWHERE WAS SOMEWHERE. *By Arthur E. Morgan.* University of North Carolina Press. 1946. 234 pp. $2.50. r. 11-46.

OIL AND DEEP WATER. *By Kaj Klitgaard.* University of North Carolina Press. 1945. 182 pp. $2.50 Adventure on a tanker in wartime. r. 1-46.

STAY YOUNG AND LIVE! *By J. Clarence Funk* ScD. The Dietz Press, Inc. 1943. 125 pp. $1.75. Written as common sense about health in war time, but equally good for peace time.

THE SOUTH: A SUGGESTED READING LIST. Published by George Peabody College for Teachers. 1940. 30 pp. Paper. (Contribution to Southern Life and Literature No. 2).

TAR ON MY HEELS. Bill Sharpe. The Tar Heels. 1946. 229 pp. $3.00. r. 6-46.

SOUTHERN LITERARY CULTURE. An Annotated Bibliography for 1945. By Herman E. Spivey. Published as a supplement to the *South Atlantic Bulletin.* Vol. XII. South Atlantic Modern Language Asociation. Published at Chapel Hill, N. C.

A NATION'S GETHSEMANE. *By Henry Powell Spring.* The Orange Press. 1945. 150 pp. A longtime American resident of Germany speaks his mind on its people and their rehabilitation.

PAGES FROM THE BOOK OF EVE. By Eva Pate Stewart. The Naylor Co. 1946. 249 pp. $3.00.

OTHER PLACES. By Elizabeth O'Neill Verner. Bostick & Thornley. Collection of etchings and pencil drawings from all over the world by this well-known Southern author-artist. Large quarto, page size 9" by 12". 1946. $10.00.

Southern States

ALABAMA

A CHECK LIST OF ALABAMA IMPRINTS 1807-1870. By Rhoda Coleman Ellison. University of Alabama Press. 1946. 151 pp. $1.75.

FLORIDA

RECOMMENDED READINGS FOR THE FLORIDA CENTENNIAL. *By A. J. Hanna.* Union Catalog of Floridiana. 1945. 63 pp. Paper, 50c; cloth, $1.00. Descriptive booklist by subjects, attractively written, but without names of the book publishers.

GEORGIA

BIRDS OF GEORGIA: A PRELIMINARY CHECK-LIST AND BIBLIOGRAPHY OF GEORGIA ORNITHOLOGY. *By Earl Greene, William Griffin, Eugene Odum, Herbert Stoddard and Ivan Tomkins.* University of Georgia Press $2.00.

GEORGIA FACTS IN FIGURES; A Source Book. Compiled by Citizens' Fact-Finding Movement of Georgia. University of Georgia Press, 1946. 179 pp.

KENTUCKY

THE LURE OF KENTUCKY. *By Mrs. Maude Ward Lafferty.* The Standard Printing Co. $3.00. Kentucky history told along the trail of its 17 main highways.

GHOST STORIES OF OLD NEW ORLEANS. By Jeanne deLavigne. Rinehart and Company, Inc. 1946. 374 pp. $3.50.

NORTH CAROLINA

LIBRARY RESOURCES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA. *A Summary of Facilities for Study and Research. Edited with a foreword by Charles E. Rush.* The University of North Carolina Press. 1945. 264 pp. $3.50. r. 2-46.

NORTH CAROLINA'S NEW INDUSTRIAL OPPORTUNITY. *By Harriet L. Herring.* North Carolina State Planning Board. 1945. Paper. 32 pp. Gratis. Photographs by State Department of Conservation and Development.

SOUTH CAROLINA

PRINTS AND IMPRESSIONS OF CHARLESTON. *Forty-eight etchings by Elizabeth O'Neill Verner, with an introduction by the artist.* Bostick & Thornley. 1945. 78 pp. 9"x12". $7.50. r. 11-45.

SOUTH CAROLINA: ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL. *Edited by W. H. Callcott.* University of South Carolina Press. 1945. 239 pp. $2.50. Data and analysis. r. 9-45.

TENNESSEE

HISTORIC MADISON. By Emma Inman Williams. Madison County Historical Society. 1946. 553 pp. $5.00.

TEXAS

THOSE TEXANS. *By James Farber.* 182 pp. $2.50; I GIVE YOU TEXAS. *By Boyce House.* 100 pp. $1.79; TALL TALK FROM TEXAS. *By Boyce House.* 104 pp. $1.79. The Naylor Company. Three books of anecdotes of Texas.

TEXAS—PROUD AND LOUD. *By Boyce House.* The Naylor Company. 1945. 104 pp. $1.79. More Texas jokes, and some annexed.

A CATALOG OF DIME NOVELS AND BOOKS RELATING TO TEXAS & SOUTHWEST. Clyde I. Price, Bookseller, Clarendon, Texas. Gratis. The first inclusion of a distinguished list of booklet and other Dime Novels in a Texiana Catalogue.

CONFERENCE ON THE PROBLEMS OF THE CITY—THE TOWN—AND THE COMMUNITY OF TEXAS. Texas University. (Proceedings of) the conference on the problems of the city—the town—and the community of Texas as they awaken to their own responsibilities. 1944. 84 pp. $1.00, The Conference, University of Texas, Austin 12, Texas.

TEXAS LOOKS AHEAD: RESOURCES OF TEXAS. University Publications, The University of Texas. $1.00.

VIRGINIA

THE MANSIONS OF VIRGINIA 1706-1776. Compiled by Thomas Tileston Waterman. University of North Carolina Press. 1946. 456 pp. $10.00. The grandeur of Virginia well portrayed in picture and text.

MEXICO

GARDENS AND HOMES OF MEXICO. *By Cora M. Oneal.* Published by Banks Upshaw and Co., Dallas. 221 pp. $3.75. r. 2-46.

MEXICAN VILLAGE. *By Josephine Niggli.* University of North Carolina Press. 1945. 491 pp. $3.00. Colorful narrative of daily life. r. 11-45.

OF THE NIGHT WIND'S TELLING. Legends From The Valley of Mexico. By E. Adams Davis. University of Oklahoma Press. 1946. 276 pp. $3.00. r. 10-46.

THE SOUTHERN PACKET brings you each month notices of new books published in the South. It will review books of special interest to the region. It will carry a timely list of material on some phase of the South's culture, as well as news on writers, libraries and publishing.

This is your invitation to share in book news from the South as a regular subscriber.

REGISTRATION CLOSING DATES
for Southern States

Sources: Election Laws of the 48 States, by Bertram M. Bernard, 1950
You Can Vote, Ethel Y. Black, Absentee Voters Bureau, Democratic National Committee, August 1, 1950.

ALABAMA:

In larger counties the Registration Board meets on the second Monday in June and stays in session until the third Saturday in October. Residents of smaller counties may apply to their County Board on one of 10 days in January, five days in July, or, in odd years, at least ½ day in each precinct from October to December. Annual poll tax is payable between October 1 and February 1.

ARKANSAS:

Poll tax is payable between October 2 and October 1 of the succeeding year. Our sources mention no further registration procedure.

DELAWARE:

Registration dates evidently are selected by the Registration Board. "Registration ...may be affected ...on July 12, 1950, and October 21, 1950, and at least once each week during April, May, and June."

FLORIDA:

Application may be made in January in general election year or at least one day a week during the rest of the year up to 30 days before election. All registration terminates 30 days before and 5 days following the election day.

GEORGIA:

Application may be made not later than 6 months before an election.

KENTUCKY:

If applicant resides in a city of first class, he may register at any time except during the 59 days preceding the Primary and General elections and 10 days thereafter.

LOUISIANA:

Primary registration must be made ...at least 30 days prior to an election. In parishes of over 12,000 people, registration closes 30 days before a general election, and inother parishes, registration for general elections may be made 2 days a week every second month before the election.

MARYLAND:

Closing date varies from county to county. In Anne Arundel, Howard, Montgomery, and Washington Counties, registration may be affected any time except during the 30 days preceding and 10 days following a primary, general, or special election. Closing dates are the same in Baltimore City for primary and special elections; however, registration may not be made during the 45 days preceding and 10 days following a general election. Other counties hold special registration meetings.

MISSISSIPPI:

Registration must be made at least 4 months before any election.

MISSOURI:

(1) Cities of 10,000 -30,000; Registration terminates at 5:00 P.M. on the Wednesday of the 2nd week preceding the election.
(2) Cities of 30,000 to 50,000: The last day of registration is the 25th day before the election.
(3) Cities of 50,000 to 100,000: Closing date - 28 days prior to any primary or general election.
(4) Cities of 300,000 to 700,000: Registration closes on the 4th Friday prior to the day of election.
(5) Cities of over 600,000: Registration closes on the 24th day preceding the election, except in the case of municipal elections, when registration is terminated on the 45th day prior to election.
(6) Counties of 200,000 to 450,000: Registration may be made at any time except 5 weeks prior to and 15 days following a general, special, or primary election.
(7) In counties of 450,000 or over, the Board of Election Commissioners designates days of registration not less than 3 weeks before each election.

NORTH CAROLINA:

Registration may be made from 9 A.M. on the fourth Saturday before an election until sunset on the second Saturday before an election.

SOUTH CAROLINA:

Registration may be made only on dates fixed by the County Board of Registration. (1950: from May 1, 1950 through June 10, 1950, and from August 1, 1950 through August 15, 1950.)

TENNESSEE:

Registration may be made at any time except 20 days prior to an election.

TEXAS:

No registration system exists. Voter presents poll tax receipt, and our source does not indicate deadline for payment of this tax.

VIRGINIA:

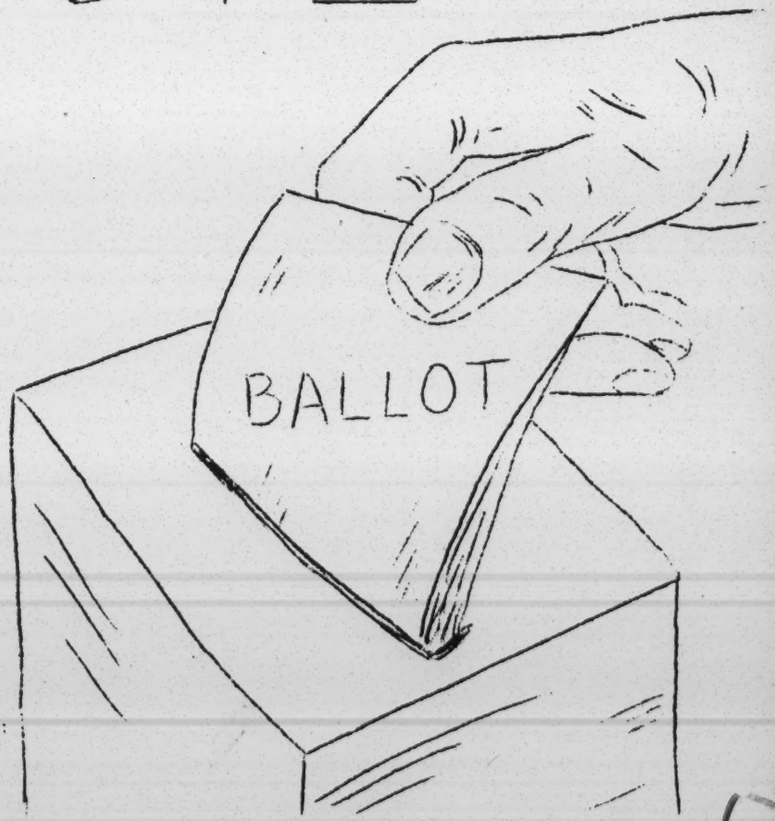
Registration may be made at any time except during the 30 days prior to a primary or general election.

WEST VIRGINIA:

Dates for registration vary with and are announced in the magisterial districts.

Suffrage

SURVEY OF THE NEGRO VOTE IN THE 1952 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION



NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

SURVEY OF THE NEGRO VOTE IN THE 1952 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION
Based on Reports Received From 47 Cities by the NAACP

State	City	Steven-son	Eisen-hower	Percentage Stev.	Percentage Eis.	Other Particulars
Alabama	Tuskegee Institute 2 precincts	558	237	70	30	
Colorado	Denver 12 predom.Negro prec.	3,827	898	81	19	
	9 Negro-Mexican prec.	6,375	4,444	59	41	
Connecticut	New Haven 1 predom. Negro ward	1,709	732	70	30	
Florida	Miami 15 prec. about 50% Negro	12,146	6,699	65	35	Dade County, Fla.,(Miami), in which Negro voters gave Stevenson a plurality of 6,000, gave Eisenhower a plurality of more than 24,000.
Georgia	Atlanta 7 predom. Negro prec.	4,764	1,594	75	25	In Atlanta's Ward 3-B, the predominantly Negro ward accused of "bloc voting" by Gov. Talmadge, the vote was 1,333 against the county unit amendment and 37 for it.
	Gainesville 1 predom. Negro box	425	7	98	2	In the predominantly Negro ward in Gainesville, the vote on the county unit amendment was 430 against and none for.

2. SURVEY OF THE NEGRO VOTE IN THE 1952 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

State	City	Stevenson	Eisenhower	Percentage Stev.	Percentage Eis.	Other Particulars
Georgia (cont'd)						At all Negro voting places in Macon, supporters of both Eisenhower and Stevenson were giving out circulars explaining how to vote for their candidates. At one place, both Eisenhower and Stevenson supporters were giving out sheets telling how to vote against the county unit amendment. A total of 144,828 Negroes registered in Georgia; 11% of the state's total registered voters. In one county there were more Negro voters than white; in two others there were almost as many Negro voters as white.
Illinois	Chicago 6 predom. Negro wards	146,975	62,937	70	30	
	Springfield 6 prec.about 50%Negro	1,173	921	56	44	
Indiana	South Bend 6 predom. Negro prec.	3,390	886	79	21	St. Joseph County, Indiana, elected three state representatives friendly to the NAACP; also prosecutor and coroner.
Louisiana	New Orleans 21 predom. Negro prec.	10,148	2,575	80	20	Of 232,115 registered voters in New Orleans, 28,005 were Negro voters. Since Stevenson carried New Orleans by about 6,000 votes and the state by 31,000, the Negro vote was undoubtedly of great importance. In

3. SURVEY OF THE NEGRO VOTE IN THE 1952 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

State	City	Stevenson	Eisenhower	Percentage Stev.	Percentage Eis.	Other Particulars
Louisiana (cont'd)						a poll at Dillard University, the students and faculty voted 326 for Stevenson and 14 for Eisenhower.
Maryland	Baltimore 23 predom. Negro prec.	61,253	30,776	67	33	
Michigan	Detroit 9 prec. with machines	3,681	366	91	9	In Detroit, Negroes voted 91% for Stevenson as compared with his city-wide total of 61%. In one slum area, the vote ran 21 to 1 for Stevenson. In the more prosperous Arden Road area, it was 5 to 1 for Stevenson. Governor Williams and Senator Moody ran ahead of Stevenson in all of these precincts.
Missouri	Kansas City 3 predom. Negro wards	21,535	7,344	75	25	The three Negro incumbents for the Missouri General Assembly were all returned to their seats.
	St. Louis 4 predom. Negro wards	36,388	9,794	79	21	
New Jersey	Atlantic City 13 predom. Negro prec.	3,829	1,233	76	24	
	Belleville 2 predom. Negro prec.	5,621	3,800	59	41	
	Jersey City 2 predom. Negro wards	17,186	13,518	56	44	
	Montclair 7 predom. Negro dist.	2,775	1,695	62	38	Montclair's fourth ward, 80% Negro, was the only ward in the city that went for Stevenson -- the others were all overwhelmingly for Eisenhower.

4. SURVEY OF THE NEGRO VOTE IN THE 1952 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

State	City	Stevenson	Eisenhower	Percentage Stev.	Percentage Eis.	Other Particulars
New Jersey (cont'd)	Newark 3 predom. Negro wards	14,942	5,561	73	27	In Newark, the Democratic senatorial candidate ran about 200 votes ahead of Stevenson in each of the predominantly Negro wards.
New York	New York City 8 predom. Negro Assembly Districts	241,987	62,043	77	19	Hallinan received 9,519 votes in these N.Y.C. districts, 4% of the total vote.
	Rochester 3 predom. Negro wards	5,751	4,629	55	45	
North Carolina	Durham 3 predom. Negro prec.	3,562	498	88	12	
	Greensboro 2 predom. Negro prec.	3,037	475	86	14	
	Raleigh 3 predom. Negro prec.	2,177	310	88	12	
	Wilmington 2 predom. Negro prec.	961	84	92	8	
Ohio	Akron 35 predom. Negro prec.	9,948	2,865	79	21	
	Canton 10 predom. Negro prec.	3,133	598	85	15	
	Cleveland 6 wards with heavy Negro vote	43,845	17,438	72	28	

5. SURVEY OF THE NEGRO VOTE IN THE 1952 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

State	City	Stevenson	Eisenhower	Percentage Stev.	Percentage Eis.	Other Particulars
Ohio (cont'd)	Cleveland (cont'd) 4 wards with moderate concentration of Negroes	31,837	19,264	62	38	
	Columbus 12 predom.Negro prec.	2,834	1,261	69	31	
	Toledo 34 predom.Negro prec.	9,561	2,730	78	22	
	Youngstown 2predom. Negro wards	10,375	3,322	76	24	
Pennsylvania	Philadelphia 10 predom.Negro wards	114,980	42,055	70	30	
	Pittsburgh 3 predom.Negro wards	19,969	5,719	78	22	
South Carolina	Columbia 1 predom.Negro ward	1,250	109	92	8	The Columbia, S.C. Record editorialized: "Except for the Negro vote, the entire state would have gone for Eisenhower ... Obviously the Negro vote was decisive in S.C. The Negro voters held the balance of power as they predicted they would.
	Darlington 1 Negro ward	509	5	99	1	
Tennessee	Chattanooga 4 predom.Negro wards and 3 predom. Negro precincts	2,969	769	79	21	
	2 prec. about 50% Negro	946	906	51	49	
	Knoxville 8 predom.Negro wards	2,955	1,254	70	30	
	Memphis 50 predom.Negro prec.	26,020	12,173	68	32	In Memphis, S.A. Owen, a Negro

SURVEY OF THE NEGRO VOTE IN THE 1952 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

State	City	Stevenson	Eisenhower	Percentage Stev.	Percentage Eis.	Other Particulars
Tennessee (cont'd)	Memphis (cont'd)					minister running for delegate to the State Constitutional Convention, polled about 17,000 votes -- too few for election but the highest number received by a Negro here in recent history.
Texas	Corpus Christi 7 wards -- mostly Negroes & Mexicans	3,340	369	90	10	
	Dallas 5 predom.Negro prec.					
	18 other prec. with large Negro pop.	6,242	1,234	85	15	Every section of Dallas except South Dallas and West Dallas went for Eisenhower; these went 85% for Stevenson.
	Fort Worth 10 predom.Negro prec.	3,445	728	83	17	
	Houston 20 predom.Negro boxes	21,128	1,618	93	7	
	San Antonio 9 predom.Negro wards	7,840	2,491	76	24	
Virginia	Newport News 3 predom.Negro prec.	1,371	253	84	16	
	Norfolk 6 predom.Negro wards	1,451	240	89	11	
	Richmond 21 predom.Negro prec.	8,269	4,253	68	32	
Wisconsin	Milwaukee 1 ward about 50% Negro	6,143	1,890	76	24	
TOTAL: 47 Cities		956,535	347,600	73%	27%	

DECEMBER, 1952

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SUMMARY OF ELECTION LAWS OF THIRTEEN SOUTHERN STATES

Additional copies of this Summary may be had by writing to
Miss Margaret Fisher, Executive Assistant
The Committee of Editors and Writers of the South
939 Piedmont Avenue, Atlanta, Georgia

County	Negro Registration	White Registration	% Potential Negroes Registered	% Potential Whites Registered	% Negroes Are Of Total Registered	% Population Non-White	% Population Change-County	% Population Change Non-Whit
Abbeville	15	6,000	.1		.2	33.5	-2.1	-22.8
Aiken	1,500	6,500	15.2		19.0	36.4	6.5	- 7.7
Allendale	350	1,900	9.0		15.5	72.3	-9.7	9.5
Anderson	3,000	20,000	30.0		13.0	21.3	2.2	17.5
Bamberg	500	3,450	11.2		13.0	57.8	-6.0	10.3
Barnwell	750	3,500	15.7		17.6	61.7	-14.3	15.6
Beaufort	2,000	3,200	26.2		38.5	57.5	22.5	5.0
Berkley	3,200	5,000	39.4		39.0	63.2	11.5	9.7
Calhoun	-0-	2,500	-0-		-0-	70.8	-9.1	-12.0
Charleston	6,000	4,500	17.0		12.0	41.5	36.1	14.7
Cherokee	1,000	12,000	27.2		13.7	22.1	5.1	- 0.6
Chester	650	9,000	9.58		6.7	42.2	0.1	-11.9
Chesterfield	3,500	10,000	57.8		26.0	39.0	0.8	3.2
Clarendon	1,200	3,500	12.9		25.5	70.9	2.3	1.2
Colleton	1,200	7,200	17.7		14.3	53.3	7.2	7.3
Darlington	9,000	13,000	86.1		40.9	46.4	10.7	2.9
Dillon	4,000	6,000	61.1		40.0	48.3	4.4	1.4
Dorchester	800	5,000	13.9		13.8	55.2	13.4	9.1
Edgefield	800	2,200	18.[illegible]		26.7	59.4	-7.3	-12.1
Fairfield	550	4,000	9.[illegible]		12.1	59.3	-10.0	-13.7
Florence	1,600	15,000	9.[illegible]		9.7	44.9	12.9	12.0
Georgetown	2,100	5,400	28.7		28.0	53.1	20.5	9.7
Greenville	9,000	66,000	52.5		12.0	18.7	23.7	3.6
Greenwood	2,500	12,000	30.8		17.2	30.2	3.9	-15.5
Hampton	350	4,300	7.5		7.7	55.9	3.2	- 0.1
Harry	2,700	18,300	38.7		12.9	26.9	15.1	14.3
Jasper	1,100	1,800	35.5		27.9	65.2	-0.1	1.6
Kershaw	1,000	7,500	14.2		11.9	48.4	-1.9	-10.6
Lancaster	1,500	13,000	29.4		10.3	29.9	10.2	- 5.8
Laurens	700	14,500	9.2		4.6	31.1	6.1	6.3
Lee	1,500	3,000	24.[illegible]		33.3	66.9	-7.0	- 5.0
Lexington	150	15,000	[illegible]		1.0	21.4	23.0	6.0
Marion	1,500	7,000	17.[illegible]		17.2	46.0	10.0	10.2
Marlboro	[illegible]	7,200	[illegible]		14.9	[illegible]	[illegible]	- 8.1

% Population Change Non-White	% Urbanization	% Industrialization	% Tenancy For Negro Farm Operation	Median School Years Completed County	Median School Years Completed Non-White	Median Family Income County	Median Family Income Non-White
-22.8	24.2	36.2	71.0	7.6	4.6	$1,630	$ 530
- 7.7	23.5	33.7	60.2	7.3	4.5	1,705	758
9.5	-	12.2	70.1	5.9	3.9	731	542
17.5	44.7	12.7	85.1	7.7	5.2	2,095	764
10.3	32.9	16.1	70.5	7.2	4.7	981	655
15.6	-	10.3	76.3	6.6	4.4	746	525
5.0	18.8	[illegible]	12.1	6.3	4.0	943	712
8.7	-	22.2	14.4	5.6	3.8	1,048	683
-12.0	-	[illegible]	75.2	6.4	4.3	815	491
14.7	73.0	24.3	9.2	8.7	4.9	1,701	839
- 8.6	35.5	38.6	80.2	6.9	5.1	1,853	945
-11.9	32.0	40.0	73.6	6.9	4.5	1,847	623
3.2	13.3	20.7	63.7	6.5	4.4	1,057	682
1.1	8.6	7.5	74.0	5.9	4.2	943	703
7.3	16.3	15.6	30.3	6.6	4.2	1,042	627
2.9	24.5	24.3	85.1	6.9	4.5	1,400	761
1.4	16.7	11.6	92.6	6.4	4.8	1,327	972
9.1	14.7	24.4	34.2	6.9	4.3	1,172	769
-12.1	15.2	22.6	81.8	7.4	4.8	1,213	657
-13.7	28.5	35.4	53.9	6.9	5.1	1,387	850
12.0	34.7	8.6	81.4	7.6	4.4	1,448	813
9.7	43.2	29.4	28.8	6.4	3.8	1,636	951
3.6	59.9	37.9	73.0	8.4	5.5	2,386	1,249
-15.5	49.4	48.2	73.6	7.9	5.0	2,416	1,113
- 0.1	-	86.4	52.7	6.3	4.2	1,002	707
14.3	15.7	3.1	52.7	6.9	4.4	1,426	908
1.6	-	25.1	31.3	5.2	3.6	1,061	753
-10.6	21.6	21.0	62.3	7.0	4.9	1,310	733
- 5.9	30.9	50.0	72.9	7.5	5.2	2,243	1,007
6.3	10.6	42.2	84.7	7.4	4.6	1,932	726
- 5.0	13.3	9.5	82.4	6.0	4.1	697	459
6.0	29.5	27.0	59.5	8.2	4.9	1,938	918
10.2	35.5	9.9	75.2	6.9	4.9	2,257	854
- 8.1	24.6	18.3	88.4	6.1	4.2	833	446

County	Negro Registration	White Registration	% Potential Negroes Registered	Potential Whites Registered	% Negroes Are Of Total Registered	% Population Non-White	Population Change
McCormick	0	2,025	-		0	62.6	-7.6
Newberry	775	10,000	13.1		7.0	37.2	-5.4
Oconee	2,000	7,000	81.4		22.2	12.2	[illegible].0
Orangeburg	2,200	10,500	14.5		17.3	63.2	[illegible].9
Pickens	900	13,000	38.1		6.6	11.2	[illegible].9
Richland	12,500	31,700	44.0		28.2	35.4	36.0
Saluda	500	3,000	16.8		14.3	42.6	-7.4
Spartanburg	7,000	64,000	39.9		9.9	22.4	17.7
Sumter	1,800	6,100	12.2		22.8	57.3	9.9
Union	1,500	9,500	30.7		13.6	32.1	-0.1
Williamsburg	900	6,500	7.4		12.2	67.6	6.8
York	2,900	22,000	26.6		11.6	31.0	22.0

Population Change Non-White	% Urbanization	% Industrialization	% Tenancy For Negro Farm Operation	Median School Years Completed County	Median School Years Completed Non-White	Median Family Income County	Median Family Income Non-White
-14.9	-	24.3	82.0	6.4	4.1	$1,033	$ 559
-17.0	33.2	35.3	80.9	7.9	4.9	1,757	850
[illegible].2	17.3	35.9	66.8	7.4	5.7	1,195	755
8.8	22.3	13.0	64.9	7.1	4.8	878	544
8.6	15.8	44.0	70.2	7.5	5.5	2,170	1,250
19.2	77.6	11.6	42.2	9.6	5.9	2,031	1,060
-11.2	1.4	24.2	77.1	7.9	4.8	99[illegible]	511
10.4	34.6	40.3	78.6	7.7	5.5	2,255	1,004
2.2	45.1	15.3	65.5	7.8	5.2	1,372	748
-10.6	31.1	48.2	68.7	6.9	4.9	1,977	696
8.7	8.4	5.0	63.8	6.0	4.5	872	655
3.7	49.1	43.3	85.0	7.7	5.1	2,223	889

m

Minutes of the Exec. Committee Meeting, Nov. 1945 at which the recommendations of the special Sub-Committee for the study of the Segregation Report was presented.

ok

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Meeting of the Executive Committee

The Executive Committee met at 10:45 A. M. Tuesday November 13, 1945, in the Conference Room of the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia. The meeting was called to order by the Chairman, Charles S. Johnson, with the following present: Rufus E. Clement, C. H. Gillman, Gordon B. Hancock, Charles S. Johnson, Guy B. Johnson, T. James McNamara, Howard W. Odum, Ira De A. Reid, Josephine Wilkins, and Emily H. Clay, Secretary. Mr. Louis I. Jaffe and Mr. John G. Pollard, Jr., who were present for the meeting of the Board of Directors, were invited to sit with the Committee.

As the first item of business, Dr. Guy Johnson called attention to several items in the by-laws for which he recommended amendments. These were reported as follows:

(1) That the portion of ARTICLE VI, Section 1, which reads,

"The Executive Director and the Associate Executive Director need not be members at the time of their election, but, by virtue of their office, shall become members of the corporation and of the Board with all the privileges of Board members, except that they may not be members of the Executive Committee of the Board,"

be amended by striking out the words,

"except that they may not be members of the Executive Committee of the Board."

(Purpose of amendment to remove a conflict with ARTICLE V, Section 1.)

On motion, duly seconded-

1. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Committee recommend the adoption of this amendment to the by-laws.

(2) That the portion of ARTICLE IV, Section 1, which reads,

"Each director elected at any subsequent meeting of the Board shall hold office for four years..."

be amended to read,

"Each director elected at any subsequent meeting of members or of the Board, except such directors as are elected by the Board to fill unexpired terms, shall hold office for four years..."

(Present wording in conflict with the remainder of the Section, since all directors are elected by the members except those who are elected by the Board to fill vacancies.)

On motion, duly seconded-

2. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Committee recommend the adoption of this amendment to the by-laws.

(3) That the provision concerning a quorum in ARTICLE II, Section 6 of the by-laws be considered with a view to amendment.

After discussion and on motion, duly seconded-

3. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Committee recommend that ARTICLE II, Section 6, which reads as follows, be deleted:

"At all meetings of members the presence, in person or by proxy, of not less than one-fourth of the entire membership, shall be necessary to constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, but in the absence of a quorum the members present in person or by proxy at the time and place fixed by Section 3 of this ARTICLE II for an annual meeting, or fixed by the notice of a special meeting, or at the time and place of any adjournment thereof, by majority vote may adjourn the meeting from time to time, but not for a period of over sixty days at any one time, without notice other than by announcement at the meeting, until a quorum shall attend. At any such adjourned meeting at which a quorum shall be present, any business may be transacted which might have been transacted at the meeting as originally notified."

(4) That provision be made in the by-laws for balloting by mail on certain questions.

On motion, duly seconded-

4. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Committee recommend that ARTICLE II, Section 7, which reads-

"Each member shall have one vote and, except in cases in which it is by the charter or by these by-laws otherwise provided, a majority of the votes cast shall be sufficient to elect and to pass any measure,"

be amended by the following addition:

"Voting by mail may be conducted on such questions and in such manner as may be provided by the Board of Directors."

(5) That the members discuss the question of the time of the annual meeting and that if a more suitable date can be established the by-laws be amended accordingly.

After discussion and on motion, duly seconded-

5. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Committee recommend that the portion of ARTICLE II, Section 3, which reads:

"The Corporation shall hold annually a meeting of its members for the election of directors and for the transaction of general business at its principal office in Atlanta at ten o'clock A.M. on the second Wednesday in October..."

be amended to read,

"The Corporation shall hold annually a meeting of its members for the election of directors and for the transaction of general business at its principal office in Atlanta at ten o'clock A.M. on the second Wednesday in November..."

Dr. Guy Johnson suggested that the Executive Committee submit to the members a resolution raising the annual dues for Council membership. It was his opinion that the dues should be not less than $2.00 a year, and he said that there was much to be said for making them still higher.

After discussion and on motion, duly seconded-

6. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Committee recommend that the annual dues be set at $2.00 for regular members and $5.00 for sustaining members.

It was suggested that members joining toward the latter part of the year be entered for membership for the following year.

Dr. Charles Johnson asked how much effort was being made to enlarge the membership. Dr. Guy Johnson replied that while a good many nominees are being invited, no special campaign was being carried on at the present time, but that Mr. Warwick is now preparing material for use in a membership campaign which we hope to begin early in the year.

Dr. Guy Johnson said that experience during the past year indicates that it is probably unreasonable to expect busy persons who live as far away from Atlanta as Virginia and Texas to attend bi-monthly meetings of the Executive Com-

Dr. Guy Johnson asked that the members consider the question of whether the Charter of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation should be surrendered. After discussion, it was agreed that the Charter should be allowed to continue to its expiration, which will be July 1, 1949.

Another matter of pressing importance, Dr. Johnson said, is the report of the special committee, consisting of John A. Griffin, Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, Mrs. E. G. Mackay, Benjamin E. Mays, Philip Shulhafer, Guy B. Johnson, and Ira De A. Reid, which was authorized by the Executive Committee at its September meeting, to consider the results of the study of racial separation in transportation in Atlanta. Dr. Reid was asked to report the action taken by the special committee, which had held two meetings. He said that the committee had agreed on the following report to the Executive Committee:

> The committee which you named to discuss the SRC's study of racial separation in transportation in Atlanta and to make suggestions thereon submits the following report:
>
> The purpose of this study of racial separation in transportation was to explore the ways and means of racial separation and discrimination in Atlanta's transportation systems; to show how racial separation works and what people believe about it; and, by interpreting its patterns and practices in the community, seek to devise therefrom techniques for promoting both the theory and the structure of equality under the law.
>
> The evidence we have examined in this study reveals that little if any equality exists under the present interpretation, application, and enforcement of the laws and practices regulating the separation of races in Atlanta's transportation systems.
>
> At the present time, the social temper of the South is such that we must first achieve first steps toward the ultimate goal of equal opportunity for all people in the region. In recognition of this fact, we believe that we may immediately take the following steps of social and legal action:
>
> (a) action designed to actually achieve the equality implicit in the law;
> (b) action designed to discourage, and to seek penalties for, extra-legal and administrative discriminatory practices at tending racial separation.
>
> And, since evidence secured in this study seems to indicate that without the repeal or revision of existing laws equal opportunity for all

people is not possible, we further suggest:

(c) the establishment of educational programs designed to promote public thought and discussion of the question, "Can equal opportunity actually be achieved under the 'separate but equal' tradition?"

It is suggested that the above recommendations on the Atlanta transportation study be used as the basis for immediate action in this community in concert with other agencies, if possible, and if this is not possible, by the SRC acting alone.

It is suggested that a full and complete analysis of conflict and undemocratic situations arising under the separate but equal laws of Atlanta be undertaken by the Southern Regional Council. It is our opinion that the next fields of analysis should be those of health and law enforcement and observance.

It is suggested that as these studies are made, and whenever there is sufficient material to warrant and justify action, that the Council initiate such action forthwith by going to the authorities, agencies, or institutions involved, presenting the material and urging corrective action. In making these presentations the Council should enlist the support and cooperation of other agencies, such as the Chamber of Commerce, churches, and civic groups.

It is our belief that this method of social analysis, followed by the social education and action which the problems discovered might suggest, should be used immediately in as many communities as possible throughout the South.

It is suggested that the Executive Committee might act to organize and finance further studies in this field in Atlanta and the South, and that action on this section of the report should be instituted not later than January, 1946.

Regarding the financial support, it was expected that special funds should be secured for such studies.

Dr. Charles Johnson said that it would seem that there are several questions which would be raised if the Executive Committee is interested in going forward with this type of study as originally proposed and authorized: (1) whether it would be considered the basis of a program for action of some sort; (2) whether the Committee is interested enough in it to propose that funds be secured or provided to carry the work farther; and (3) just what should be proposed to the Board of Directors.

Dr. Odum said that he would like to have a discussion and then hear a

motion giving authority to seek special funds to carry on this type of study. He was in favor of having the Executive Committee "approve it as a continuing project to be worked out in consultation with the administration of the Council."

On motion, duly seconded-

11. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Committee recommend to the Board of Directors the continuation of the study of racial separation and discrimination and that funds be sought for its enlargement.

Mr. Pollard pointed out that this is an objective study, presenting facts, and that we want the facts to speak for themselves. We not only want to be sure that the facts are unbiased, he said, but we want to be sure that the public does not feel that they are biased. He suggested the desirability of having other agencies join with us in making similar studies in other communities, so that the findings might be presented on the authority of the local organizations.

After discussion and on motion, duly seconded-

12. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Committee recommend that the Council seek the cooperation of other agencies in making its observations in those communities where studies are undertaken.

On motion, duly seconded-

13. IT WAS VOTED that the recommendations of the sub-committee be presented to the Board of Directors.

Msgr. T. James McNamara, who had been sitting with the Nominating Committee as Chairman, brought the following report from his committee:

The Nominating Committee recommends that the Executive Committee in turn recommend to the Board of Directors that when members of the Board are elected to the staff their membership on the Board be declared vacant by reason of election to the staff, and that they continue to serve as Board members ex officio.

After discussion and on motion, duly seconded-

14. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Committee recommend that when members of the Board are elected to the staff their membership on the Board be declared vacant by reason of election to the staff.

The Nominating Committee, likewise, recommends to the Executive Committee that they submit to the Board of Directors an amendment to ARTICLE VI, Section 1, of the by-laws as follows:

Inasmuch as the by-laws require that the Executive Director, Associate Executive Director, Secretary, and Treasurer be elected by the Board of Directors-

That in ARTICLE VI, Section 1, concerning Executive Officers, a sentence reading, "The Executive Director and the Associate Executive Director, Secretary-Treasurer, and Counsel shall be elected by vote of the Executive Committee upon the recommendations of a committee whose function shall be the selection and nomination of these officers," be inserted immediately following the sentence which reads, "The President and the Vice Presidents shall be chosen from among the members of the corporation," and

That the portion of this Section 1, which reads,

"The executive officers shall be elected annually by the Board of Directors at its first meeting following the annual meeting of members, and each such officer shall hold office until the corresponding meeting in the next year and until his successor shall have been fully chosen and qualified..."

be amended to read,

"The President and Vice President shall be elected annually by the Board of Directors at its first meeting following the annual meeting of members. The Executive Director and Associate Executive Director, Secretary-Treasurer, and Counsel shall be confirmed annually by the Board of Directors, upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee. Officers shall hold office until the corresponding meeting in the next year, and until their successors shall have been fully chosen and qualified..."

Because of a lack of time for proper consideration of this recommendation, it was suggested that it be referred directly to the Board without recommendation.

The meeting adjourned at 1 P. M.

EMILY H. CLAY, SECRETARY

APRIL, 1949

To: Dr. Mitchell

From: M. Boyd

RE: The Segregation Study

The first mention of the Segregation Study occurs in the report of the Executive Directors covering the year 1944 and projecting plans for 1945. It says:

> Study of Segregation and Discrimination. We propose that a comprehensive study be carried on throughout the South in the field of legal discrimination and segregation. Itis proposed that ameliorative action be based upon a study of the facts as to human and economic costs of segregation and discrimination. Such a study should provide useful material for molding public opinion on the question of equal opportunity.

Soon after this report was issued, in January 1945, the Board of Directors met and the matter was again discussed. The study was suggested as a major item on the 1945 research agenda. In an effort to cut the number of projects because of lack of finances, each of the proposed projects was evaluated. Charles Johnson and Ira Reid were of the opinion that the segregation study should have priority. Johnson said:

> ...if we can calculate with some convincing accuracy the cost of segregation, where it works, where it doesn't work, where it is breaking down, it would be tremendously valuable, not simply to the student, but to the practical man of affairs who wants to know in terms of dollars and cents what steps to take.

This, then, was the original, comprehensive plan :to study segregation and discrimination on all fronts throughout the South.

When the Study actually got under way in July of 1945, with Ira Reid as Director, the comprehensive study of the entire South had narrowed to a study of racial discrimination and segregation in Atlanta's Transportation System. This was called an "exploratory" study.

Prior to the decision to do an "exploratory" study, there had been considerable "sniffing" of the whole problem of segregation, to see what had been offered to date on segregation, and what methods had been employed to study it.

The Green Box contains extensive bibliography on Segregation, evidence of wide reading, many people's opinion on the cost, economic and "human", of segregation. There is an article by Booker T. Washington which appeared in New Republic in 1915.

There is also a collection of Georgia's Segregation laws.

After this cursory study of the entire picture of Segregation, the more workable, available approach, that of the Atlanta Transportation, was decided upon. Nothing of a similar, methodical study had been done.

A series of Schedules were drawn up. There were special ones for observing Terminal facilities, Terminal services, travel accomodations on busses, trains, airplanes, etc. , for interviewing "persons in authority" such as City Officials or Company officials (Ga. Power, the Terminal Station), and still another schedule designed for interviewing red-caps, Pullman porters, dining car waiters, loaders, and mere travelers. There were forms for reporting incidents which occurred either in the presence of the reporter or were related to him by an informant.

Schedules were used exclusively to gather the information "so that there would be a scientific basis for observation and comparison, and so that the patterns could be observed scientifically rather than emotionally."

When Company, State and City Officials were interviewed, they were asked to comment on the existing law, their own interpretation of the law, and their Official policy in enforcing the law.

The Study required the participation of the observers in the actual travel situation. They rode trolleys, busses, trains, etc. at all times of day and night, sat for hours in the local Terminals to observe the conditions and services rendered there, as well as travelled to neighboring suburbs and satellite towns to see the conditions there. The Green Box contains about twenty pictures taken in the course of the Study and illustrating the conditions discussed in the Text.

The types of carriers included in the Study were: inter and intra-State trains, busses and airplanes; municipal street cars and busses, trackless trolleys, chartered busses,; and other forms of public traction service, such as ambulances, school busses, taxis, and U-Drive-Its. Even eleavators were included. ~~The basic hypothesis for the Study~~

The basic hypothesis for the Study, by which all the data was evaluated, stated that:

> Statutory laws, codes, ordinances, etc., are clear and specific in granting "separate but equal" facilities to colored passengers in public conveyences in Atlanta, while in actual practice, the law, the customs, and administrative policy may permit and even condone discriminations in transportation.

All of the data was organized into the Grand Report which was completed in October, 1945. Subsequently, and as the Report was considered by various organizations and groups, it took several forms. One was an Action Memo which incorporated a few of the most outstanding discrepancies in each branch of the transportation system, and in the enforcment of the law, and stated those approaches that SRC might employ to right the situations. Another form was the shortened version of the Study which was prepared for the Board members and members of the Executive Committee.

At the Annual Meeting in the Fall of 1945, Ira Reid reported on the results

of the "exploratory study", calling it an "analysis of how the Separate but Equal theory works in practice." He said that the study had been initiated to see whether action could or should be taken by SRC to seek equalization of transportation facilities. The membership voted that the Segregation in Transportation Study be expanded and applied to other Southern cities and that SRC Executive Committee map plans for action through community groups to seek equalization of transportation facilities under the law.

The Board also voted that the same type of study---showing the effects of race segregation, be made in the fields of health and education. These recommendations were made on condition that funds could be obtained for further research.

Then at the meeting of the Executive Committee, it was decided that a special Sub-Committee would be appointed to study the Report and evaluate its potentiallity. They were to make recommendations to the Executive Committee at the following meeting.

This special Committee met periodically throughout the Fall, 1945 decided that the Action Memo should be drawn up, and that special Memoranda and letters should be sent to "persons in authority" pointing out the situations in their own sphere which could be improved. The persons in authority included: the Chief of Police, City Attorney, Head of the Atlanta Terminal, Greyhound Bus Terminal, President of the Georgia Power Company, etc. They most especially recommended to Dr. Charles Johnson, Chairman of the Executive Committee, that it be a Southwide Study and particularly that it be carried into other fields in Atlanta, Georgia. The Executive Committee approved, subject to obtaining funds.

In the correspondence following this meeting there are several explanations of the Study which were prepared for various Foundations, and even a careful and elaborate estimate of the cost of taking the Study to other cities. None of the Fund requests were successful, to the best of my knowledge, so the whole idea petered out.

Hot on its heels came the Jacksonville Survey, and the beginning of a Segregation study under a different guise.

I believe the Schedule method developed for the Atlanta Transportation Study was the springboard for the Community Survey Manual questionnaire.

Whereas the Segregation Study would have begun with the largest cities, and would have informed only the reporters, observers, and "persons in authority" about the existing discriminatory practices, the Home Town Self Survey informs the whole participating community of a smaller an more workable community.

Though the facts gleaned in the course of the Atlanta Transportation study are obsolete now because of the abnormal conditions during its development, the realization that such a Study could be made is still worth something. It shows that the Self Survey manual can be used in part by a large city. If for instance, the Transportation section of the Manual were to be applied to Atlanta, much the same sort of Report would result as the Transportation Study. The difference would be in the personnel executing the Study. Because citizens of the city would (ideally) participate in getting the facts, the main and most inevitable problem of the 1945 Study would be eliminated, that of getting action after the observation was completed.

LAWS RELATING TO SEGREGATION IN EFFECT IN ATLANTA

I. Definitions. The following pertinent definitions are found in the indicated sections of the Code of Georgia, Annotated:

53-312. "White person" defined. The term "white person" shall include any persons of the white or Caucasian race, who have no ascertainable trace of either Negro, African, West Indian, Asiatic Indian, Mongolian, Japanese, or Chinese blood in their veins.

79-103. Persons of color, who are. All Negroes, mulattoes, mestizos, and their descendants, having an ascertainable trace of either Negro or African, West Indian, or Asiatic Indian blood in his or her veins, shall be known in this state as persons of color.

II. State Laws. The only provisions of state law requiring segregation are the following: in common carriers, 18-205 through 18-210, 18-606, 18-9901, 18-9902, 18-9904 through 18-9906, 68-513, 68-616; in common or public schools, 2-6401, 32-909, 32-937; in convict camps, 77-316, 77-317, 77-613, 77-9904; in listing tax-payers on tax digest, 92-6307, 02-6308; in marriage, 53-106, 63-9902, 53-9903; and in Milledgeville State Hospital, 35-225. However, the following portion of the Georgia Code Annotation should be noted:

92-201. Property exempt from taxation. The following described property shall be exempt from taxation, to wit: . . . all buildings erected for and used as a college, incorporated academy or other seminary of learning, . . . and also funds or property held or used as endowment by such colleges, incorporated academies, or seminaries of learning: Provided, the same is not invested in real estate: and Provided further, that said exemption shall apply only to such colleges, incorporated academies, or other seminaries of learning as are open to the general public: Provided further, that all endowments to institutions established for white people shall be limited to white people, and all endowments to institutions established for colored people shall be limited to colored people: . . . (see 2-5404 also)

III. City Ordinances. The following sections of the Atlanta City Code are of special interest (in each case the date of enactment appears after the section number in parentheses):

66-207 (Feb. 21, 1945). Proprietors of places of public assembly to allot separate seats to be occupied by white and colored persons. It shall be the duty of the proprietor or person in charge of any place of public assembly, where attendance of both races is permitted, to allot different sections or portions to be occupied by colored people. The proprietor or person in charge of such place of public assembly shall be charged with the duty and responsibility of seating white people in portions allotted to white people and colored people in portions allotted to colored people only.

66-208 (Feb. 21, 1945). Patrons of theaters and other places of public assembly required to sit in spaces allotted to the separate races. It shall be unlawful for any patron of a theater or other place of public assembly,

whether admission is for a consideration or is free, to sit in any seats allotted to the opposite race, that is white people shall sit in seats allotted by the proprietor or person in charge of such place to white people and colored people shall sit in seats allotted by such proprietor or manager in charge to colored people.

66-209 (Feb. 21, 1945). Penalties. Any person who shall violate any of the provisions of Section 66-207 or 66-208 shall come upon conviction in the Recorders Court, be fined not more than $25.00 or imprisoned not more than 30 days, either or both penalties to be inflicted in the discretion of the Recorder.

82-113.1 (Feb. 21, 1945). Whites and colored to be seated separately. That in all theaters, arenas, public halls, auditoriums or other places of public assembly, whether admission is for a consideration or is free, white and colored persons shall sit separate and apart from one another. It shall be the duty of the proprietor of such places of assembly or those in charge of the same, where attendance of both races is allowed, to allot the section or portion of said place of assembly to be occupied by white and colored persons respectively. It shall be a violation of this section for any white or colored person to sit in the portion or section of the place of assembly that has not been allotted or set aside for the respective white or colored races. It shall further be a violation of this section for any person in charge of such place of public assembly, where both races are permitted to attend, not to allot and set apart separate portions or sections of the place of assembly for white and colored persons to sit separately. Any person who shall violate any of the provisions of this section shall on conviction in the Recorders Court be fined not more than $25.00 or imprisoned for not more than 30 days, either or both in the discretion of the Recorder.

The only other provisions of the City Code requiring segregation are: in barber shops, 37-129, 37-130; in places selling wine or beer for on-premises consumption, 55-217; in playing baseball games, 66-1005; in restaurants, 53-603 through 53-606; in street cars, 85-138, 85-139; in taxicabs and autos for hire, 62-121; in use of cemeteries, 42-302; in use of parks, 68-126.

Segregation

SEGREGATION LAWS

On the following pages is a compilation of some segregation laws in the Southern states. Changes in the law after 1940 have not been included.

This is a compilation of state laws only. Although the local laws are very important and include such things as segregation in theatres, eating places, etc., they are too numerous and varied to be included.

The following books have further information on segregation laws:

1. The Legal Status of the Negro, by C. S. Magnum, University of North Carolina Press, 1940

2. Patterns of Segregation, by Johnson, C.S., University of North Carolina Press.

3. The Constitution and Civil Rights, by Konvitz, Milton R., Columbia University Press.

SEGREGATION LAWS IN THE SOUTHERN STATES

A. PUBLIC BUILDINGS:

1. Schools: All public schools are required by law to have separate buildings for colored and white children in the following states:

Alabama	Kentucky	Missouri	Tennessee
Arkansas	Louisiana	North Carolina	Texas
Delaware	Florida	Oklahoma	Virginia
Georgia	Mississippi	South Carolina	West Virginia
	District of Columbia		

In Arizona there are two methods of segregation, either of which may be used, but in any case, segregation is mandatory.

In Maryland it is the duty of the authorities to establish a colored school if there are enough colored students to warrant it.

Segregation per se in Education does not violate the Constitution (14th Amendment) by ruling of the Supreme Court.

A Typical Segregation Law on Education: (Georgia, 1933, #32-937) "Admission to all common schools shall be gratuitous to all children between the ages of 6 and 18 years residing in the subdistricts in which the schools are located. Colored and white children shall not attend the same school; and no teacher....teaching white and colored pupils in the same school shall be allowed any compensation at all out of the common school fund."

2. State Prisons: Segregation is mandatory by statute in:

Alabama	Florida	Virginia
Georgia	Louisiana	Texas
Arkansas	Mississippi	North Carolina

In the other Southern states, it is just a "policy" regulated by the prison officials.

There is mandatory segregation in convict camps in:

Arkansas	Georgia	North Carolina
Florida	Louisiana	Texas

There is mandatory segregation in jails in:

Alabama	Florida	Mississippi
Arkansas	Louisiana	North Carolina

A Typical Segregation Law on Convicts: (Georgia)
"No person controlling convicts shall confine white and colored convicts together or chain them together going to or from their work or at any other time."

3. Hospitals:

Separate institutions for negro insane are required by law in:

Maryland	Virginia	West Virginia
North Carolina	Oklahoma	

Separate institutions for the feebleminded are required by law in:

Tennessee	Alabama	Missouri
Mississippi	Kentucky	

Separate institutions or segregation within institutions for the blind and deaf are required by law in:

South Carolina	Kentucky	Arkansas
West Virginia	Louisiana	Alabama
North Carolina	Oklahoma	Georgia
Virginia	Texas	

B. PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION:

1. The following states have "Jim Crow Laws":

Alabama	Louisiana	Mississippi
Arkansas	Maryland	North Carolina
Florida	Oklahoma	South Carolina
Georgia	Virginia	Tennessee
Kentucky	Texas	

2. There are state laws making segregation compulsory on

a. Railways in all the above states except Virginia.

b. Interurban Transportation Lines in:

North Carolina	Texas	South Carolina
Oklahoma	West Virginia	Maryland

c. Steamships in:

Maryland	North Carolina	Virginia

d. Motor Carriers in:

Alabama	Louisiana	North Carolina
Arkansas	Mississippi	South Carolina
Georgia	Oklahoma	Virginia

A Typical "Jim Crow" Law: (Georgia, 1933, #18-206)

"Railroad Companies doing business in this state shall furnish equal accommodations on separate cars or compartments of cars for white and colored passengers and when a car is divided into compartments, the space set apart for white and colored passengers respectively may be proportioned accordingly in the proportion of usual and ordinary travel by each on the railroad or line on which the cars are used. Such companies shall furnish to the passengers comfortable seats and shall have the car well and sufficiently ventilated. Officers or employees having charge of railroad cars shall not allow white and colored passengers to occupy the same car or compartment."

C. PROPERTY

There are no state laws on segregation in ownership of property such as houses, stores, etc. The Supreme Court has ruled that any such law would be unconstitutional under the 14th amendment of the constitution. Such segregation is accomplished by restrictive covenants, whereby citizens make private agreements among themselves not to let Negroes, Jews, Catholics, etc. into a certain section of a city. "That Amendment erects no shield against merely private conduct however discriminatory or wrongful." (Shelley Vs. Kramer, U.S. Supreme Court)

D. INDUSTRY

Segregation in industry is almost wholly in the hands of private business. However, in the

1. Coal Mines in Texas separate bathing quarters and lockers are required by state law;

2. Manufacturing Plants in towns of 1,000 or more, North Carolina law requires separate toilets;

3. Cotton Textile Factories in South Carolina, segregated pay windows, exits, stairs, lavatories, toilets, and drinking utensils are required by law.

Form A.
Number _____

INCIDENT MEMORANDUM

Section I

1. Date of Interview_____ 2. Time of Interview_____
3. Place of Interview_____ 4. City_____ 5.State_____
6. Name of Informant_____ 7.Sex_____ 8.Race_____
10. Address of Informant_____ 9.Age_____
11. Occupation of Informant_____
a. Company_____ b. Station_____
12. Interviewer_____

Section II

INCIDENT:
Date_____ Time_____
Place_____ Line_____

Form B
Number _____

FACTORS TO BE OBSERVED RELATIVE TO
PERSONNEL SERVICES IN TRANSPORTATION

1. Name of station _____
2. Waiting Room: white _____ ; colored _____
3. Date _____ ; Time _____
4. City and State _____
5. OBSERVER _____

I Information Service

A. Is personnel courteous? (Consider tone of voice, manner of speech, etc.)

_____

_____

B. Are white and colored passengers served in due turn? _____

_____

_____

_____

II Telegraphic Service

A. Is personnel courteous? _____

_____

_____

B. Are white and colored passengers served in due turn? _____

_____

_____

_____

III Travelers' Aid

A. Is personnel courteous? _____

_____

B. Are white and colored passengers served in due turn? _____

_____

_____

IV Ticket Office

A. Is personnel courteous?_____

B. Are white and colored passengers served in due turn?_____

V Pullman Service

A. How are tickets purchased by Negroes?_____

1. At central or joint ticket office?_____

2. At station?_____

B. How are tickets purchased by white people?_____

1. At central or joint ticket office?_____

2. At station?_____

VI Restaurant

A. Is personnel courteous?_____

B. What is minimum service time?_____

_____

_____

C. List menus (note changes)_____

_____

_____

D. List food prices_____

_____

_____

E. Describe the types and conditions of attendants dress (uniform, etc.)___

_____

_____

_____

F. Describe the condition of the serviceware (linen, silver, etc.)_____

_____

_____

G. Are pests (rodents, insects, etc.) on the premises?_____

_____

H. Are loiterers observed on the premises?_____

_____

I. What is the method of handling food?_____

_____

_____

J. Are the premises sanitary?_____

_____

VII Rest Room: Men_____Women_____(Check one observed)

A. Does room have a regular attendant?_____

_____

B .Does maid or porter work on full-time or part-time basis_____

_____

C. Is the place in sanitary condition?_____

_____

_____

D. Are soap and towels available?_____

_____

E. Is provision made for emergencies, such as sickness? If so, what provisions?_____

_____

VIII Baggage

A. Is personnel courteous?_____

_____

B. Are white and colored passengers served in due turn? _____

_____

IX Miscellaneous

A. Are water fountains in working order?_____

_____Location?_____

B. Counters

1. Are counters in sanitary condition?_____

_____

2. What are the methods of handling food?_____

_____

3. Are white and colored passengers served in due turn?_____

_____

C. Do clocks have correct time?_____

_____

D. Are automatic devices in working order (as coca-cola machines, juke boxes, etc.)?_____

_____

X General waiting area between waiting rooms and gates to carriers.

A. Gate personnel

1. Is personnel courteous _____

_____

2. Does personnel strive to be helpful to passengers? _____

_____

_____

B. Note any acts of segregation in the area _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

XI Boarding of carriers

A. Courtesy and helpfulness

1. Conductor _____

_____

_____

2. Porter _____

_____

_____

3. Other _____

_____

_____

Form M
Number _____

SCHEDULE FOR OBSERVATION OF URBAN AND INTERURBAN STREETCARS,
TRACKLESS TROLLEYS AND BUSSES

Urban _____ INTERURBAN_____(check one)

1. Date_____ 2.Point of Origin_____
3. Destination_____ 4.Mode of Transportation_____
5. Time_____ 6.Name of Observer_____
7. Line_____

1

2

3

4

Form N
Number _____

SCHEDULE FOR OBSERVATION OF WAITING FACILITIES
of
URBAN AND INTERURBAN STREET CARS, BUSSES, AND TRACKLESS TROLLEYS

Section I.

1. Facility_____ 2. Location_____
3. Date_____ 4. Time_____
5. City and State_____
Observer_____
Line Served_____

Section II.

I. Waiting Facility
A. Seats
1. Number of available seats_____
2. Number of Negroes seated_____ 3.Standing_____
4. Number of whites seated_____ 5.Standing_____
B. Signs
1. Location_____
2. Wording _____

II.Method of boarding carriers_____
_____

Remarks:

Form O

SCHEDULE OF FACILITIES AND SERVICES ON TRAINS AND BUSSES

1. Point of origin of carrier _____ 2. Destination of carrier _____

3. Point of origin of observer _____ 4. Destination of observer _____

5. Mode of transportation _____ 6. Railroad or bus company _____

7. Carrier number, if any _____ 8. Date of trip _____

9. Trip mileage _____ 10. Hours in transit _____

11. Coaches observed on trains ____ For white _____ For colored _____ (Check one)

SECTION I. FACILITIES AND CONVENIENCES

I. Trains: Facilities

A. Coaches

1. Number provided _____

a. cars _____
b. compartments _____

2. Type — Steel _____ Wooden _____ Streamlined _____

3. Coach or car number (s) _____

4. When built _____ 5. When last reconditioned _____

6. Date of obsolescence _____

7. Proximity to locomotive _____

B. Seating

1. Number of seats _____

2. Type of seats

a. cushioned _____
b. leather _____
c. reclining chair _____

3. Condition of seats — in repair _____ need repair _____

a. seat covers provided _____
b. clean _____ unclean _____

C. Ventilation

1. Windows -- single_____ double _____ manipulation _____

2. Fans -- number _____ location _____

3. Air-conditioning _____

4. Other types of ventilation (check): by open windows___ by open coach doors____
from ceiling _____

D. Wash Room _____ Remark Room _____ (Check one)

1. Wash room

a. separate from toilet _____
b. same room with toilet _____
c. mirrors _____ number _____
d. basin _____ in repair _____ need repair _____
e. soap _____
f. towels _____
g. water available _____

2. Toilet

a. mirrors_____ number _____
b. soap _____
c. towels _____
d. water _____
e. commode -- in repair_____need repair _____

3. Lounge _____ Smoker _____(Check one or both)

a. number of seats _____
b. other conveniences _____

_____

_____

_____

E. Lighting

1. Number of lighting units _____

2. Type of lighting _____

3. Adequate _____ Inadequate _____ (Check one)

F. Miscellaneous

SECTION II. SERVICES AND DENSITY OF TRAVEL.

I. Tickets

A. Are ticket sellers apparently prompt in rendering service to ticket purchasers? _____

B. Do ticket sellers appear courteous in performance of duty? _____

C. Is there at least one ticket seller on duty at all times at ticket window or counter observed? _____

D. What is the method of taking tickets? _____

_____

II. Boarding Passengers

A. Who boards passengers on coach or train observed? _____

B. What is the method of directing passengers to coach or compartment? _____

_____

_____

III. Unloading Passengers

A. Are stops called audibly? _____

B. Do train employees exercise care in awaking sleeping coach passengers? _____

C. What aid is given passengers who are disembarking at points? _____

_____

_____

By whom? _____

IV. Use of Coaches

A. What trainmen occupy seats for considerable period while observer is in transit? _____

_____

1. What duties, if any, do they perform in coach? _____

_____

B. If passengers are standing do trainmen, if seated, relinquish seats to passengers? _____

C. How many seats in the coach are used by trainmen? _____

V. Porter Service

A. What is the mileage of trip taken for observation? _____

B. How many times does the attendant sweep coach, collect waste, etc.? _____

_____

C. List special services rendered by porter or car attendant. _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

VX. Dining Car Service

A. What is the exact time dining car waiters make calls for breakfast? _____

Lunch? _____ Dinner? _____

B. How many calls are made for breakfast? _____ Lunch? _____ Dinner? _____

C. Describe the general pattern of service in the dining car. _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Note incidents, if any. _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

VII. Concession Service

A. How many times does the concessionaire bring wares to coach? _____

1. List commodities offered by concessionaire. _____

_____

_____

_____

B. From what point does concessionaire peddle his wares? _____

VIII. Courtesy of Trainmen

A. Is conductor courteous? (Consider tone of voice, general manner, etc.) _____

_____

Cite act (s) or incident (s) to justify answer. _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

B. Is porter courteous? _____

Cite act(s) or incident(s). _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

C. Are other trainmen courteous? _____

List each and cite act(s) or incident(s). _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

IX. Miscellaneous

A. Is smoking permitted anywhere in the coach or compartment? _____

In a smoker? _____

B. Is drinking water available at all times? _____

1. Is it cold? _____

2. Are there paper cups available? _____

3. How many sources of drinking water are in the coach or compartment? _____

C. Are toilets and/or wash rooms sanitary? _____

1. Describe general condition of them. _____

_____

_____

_____

D. Are pillows furnished by trainmen? _____

E. What is the general practice of opening and closing of toilet doors? _____

_____

_____

F. Do cinders fall in coach? _____

G. Are there ornaments in the car? _____

1. If so, describe them. _____

_____

H. Are windows clean? _____

I. What is the general appearance of trainmen's uniforms? _____

_____

_____

J. Overcrowding.

1. How many seats are vacant on car or in compartment between stops? List stops.

From	To	Vacant Seats

2. How many standers are there on car or in compartment between stops?

From	To	Number of Standers

(From)	(To)	(Number of Standers)

FORM P
Number __

SCHEDULE FOR OBSERVATION OF FACILITIES AND SERVICES ON BUSSES

1. Point of origin of carrier_____ 2. Destination of carrier_____

3. Point of origin of observer _____ 4. Destination of observer_____

5. Name of company_____ 6. Carrier company, if any_____

7. Date of trip_____ 8. Trip mileage_____

9. Hours in transit_____ 10. Name of observer_____

I. Method of boarding carriers

A. At station at which observer boarded carrier --(Do races board separately or together? If servicemen are boarded first, does this include Negro service men? Indicate also whether or not Negroes have to push to back of bus through a crowd of standers.)

B. At stations other than one at which observer boarded carrier -- (Designate each station; include points mentioned above.)

C. Along the road at undesignated stops — (Observer should be careful to note any instances when the bus driver does not stop to pick up passengers along the road who have signalled for the bus to stop. This applies to both Negro and white patrons. Degree of crowding in busses should be noted in this connection.)

II. Seating

A. Number of seats on bus _____

1. Number designated for white passengers _____

2. Number designated for Negro passengers _____

a. type of designation (describe) _____

_____

_____

3. Number actually occupied by white passengers as carrier leaves station at which observer boarded _____

4. Number actually occupied by Negro passengers as carrier leaves station at which observer boarded _____

B. Condition of seats

1. Seats either designated for whites or usually occupied by white passengers_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

2. Seats either designated for Negroes or usually occupied by Negroes _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

III. Overcrowding

A. Number of standers on bus as it leaves station at which observer boarded_____

1. Negro _____

2. White _____

B. Number of passengers sitting in other than regular seats (indicate where seated).

1. White _____

2. Negro _____

C. Number of standers along the way (indicate any changes; include name of station or station nearest to which stop is made. Indicate number of Negro and number of white standers; indicate also any changes in number of those seated in other than regular seats.

IV. If Passengers board carriers without tickets, will driver accept cash fare? Indicate procedure at stations and along the road. Record any incidents.

V. When food is sold to passengers through carrier windows, are Negroes also served?

Note any methods of food service to whites and Negroes.

VI. What is the general decorum of the passengers?— Record any human interest stories. Cite incidents to support your conclusions.

VII. What is the general manner of the driver toward the passengers? Cite incidents to support your statement (s).

VIII. Describe waiting rooms for both races at stations along the road. Include particularly rest rooms and eating places.

IX. Record any incidents or observations not included elsewhere.

Will W. Alexander, long a student of interracial relations and of American agriculture, is vice-president of the Julius Rosenwald Fund.

OUR CONFLICTING RACIAL POLICIES

WILL W. ALEXANDER

WHILE there is nowhere any official statement of the policy of this country as to its Negro citizens, an examination of our actual dealing with Negroes indicates that over the years unofficial policies have been developed. In fact, there have been two well-defined policies in race relations and only two.

The first of these is the policy that Negroes shall be educated. Negro education had its beginnings in the activities of Northern churches when, immediately following the Civil War, they established schools for Negroes in the South. These schools have had a profound influence. Their establishment was followed by the inauguration of separate state-supported schools for Negroes in the South, and by the opening to Negroes of schools in the rest of the country. So firmly has the idea of educating Negroes taken hold that today the annual expenditure in the Southern states for the higher education of Negroes exceeds the total income of all private schools for Negroes. The increase in educational opportunity has caused the Negro illiteracy rate to drop from 95 per cent at emancipation to less than 10 per cent today. And the Southern states are showing a tendency to move toward equalization of educational funds for Negro and white schools.

Everywhere the idea of education for Negroes is accepted as part of our American way. Howard, Fisk, and Atlanta Universities have come to take their place as institutions of higher learning which are making an important contribution not only to Negro life but to national life. In the great graduate schools of the North, wherever knowledge is pursued, increasingly Negro scholars are doing creditable work. In many cases these men and women are doing superior work in fields that have nothing to do with Negroes as such; they are contributing to the enrichment of American culture. The superior quality of the educated American Negroes always impresses foreigners as a striking aspect of American life.

FOREIGNERS are also puzzled by America's second policy regarding her Negro population: segregation. Segregation is not only Southern, but national—it varies not so much in degree as in method in different sections of the country. In the South segregation in schools, transportation, entertainment, and community services is maintained by law and by custom. In the North segregation is maintained by social pressure and by such quasi-legal arrangements as restrictive covenants. In connection with many public services, such as hotels and restaurants, segregation is as rigid in the North as in the South. Thus segregation is accepted in all sections of the country to about the same degree that education is provided and accepted.

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Much of the uncertainty and tension in connection with our American race relations grows out of the conflict in these policies. Education is the most hopeful aspect of American race relations. Segregation is one of the most puzzling aspects of American life, and one of the most difficult questions in American race relations. It is generally recognized by Negroes as their number-one problem and is insisted upon by many whites as the one thing in the American race scene that can never be modified or dispensed with. Here we have the greatest conflict between our professed democratic doctrines and our actual practice in day-by-day living. Segregation tends to defeat the inspiring work of Negro education. Unless the problem of segregation can be solved, there is no hope of any alleviation of the race problem in America.

II

THE fact that segregation exists is bad enough. To make matters worse the patterns of segregation are so inconsistent as to be completely bewildering to Negroes. Often they cannot tell just what *is* expected of them. For example, in one railroad station in the South, Negro and white passengers have to board the railroad trains through separate gates; but leaving the trains in this station, they use the same gate.

In some Southern communities, Negroes are supposed to sit in the front of the streetcar or bus in order to maintain racial separation; in others, they must be seated in the rear of the car.

In some office buildings in the South, Negroes have access to the general elevator service. In other buildings, a special elevator is provided which carries both white and colored passengers. Occasionally special elevators marked "Negroes and Freight" are provided.

In the past, the use of Pullmans by Negroes has been usually confined to "Lower 13"—which means that an influential Negro traveler could occupy the drawing room for the price of a lower. Now, in some cities, Negroes can secure Pullman reservations.

Both North and South, Negroes are usually denied service by hotels and restaurants that serve the general public. Occasionally, however, if sponsored by some white person with sufficient influence, they are admitted as a special privilege to limited service. This lack of consistency and uniformity occurs all the way through the pattern of American Negro segregation and is very confusing and irritating to Negroes and to white persons who are with them.

MUCH more important than these vagaries is the fact that segregation has meant inferior service to Negroes. The constitutions of most Southern states require that there shall be equal, but separate, schools for Negroes. But an examination of the expenditures for Negro and white education in those same states, and the cities within the states, indicates that segregation in education has meant not equal but inferior service to Negroes. Studies of nine Southern states in 1940 showed average annual expenditures of $58.69 per white student and only $18.82 per Negro. In Mississippi the discrepancy was much greater—$52.01 compared to $7.36.

In cities North and South, housing is far poorer for Negroes than for whites. Colored people are largely forced to live in slum areas which have been abandoned by other groups. And Negroes who are financially able to secure better accommodations find it almost impossible to do so outside the segregated areas. Residential segregation has forced Negroes to pay higher rents and higher purchase prices for inferior accommodations in every city where they seek housing. Residential segregation, as well as administrative arrangement, has led to a definite tendency in Northern cities toward segregated Negro schools. Since Negroes are usually required to live in the overcrowded sections of these cities, separate schools for Negroes in Northern cities are usually housed in run-down buildings and are similarly overcrowded. In Chicago, sixteen public schools have double shifts—all of them Negro schools.

Where segregation has been enforced in transportation, Negro travelers have had less space per traveler, older and less

sanitary cars, less safety, and less courtesy and consideration from the servants of the railroads—not only the ticket sellers but the brakemen and flagmen, who usually occupy much of the space set aside for Negro travelers.

IN MANY ways the most subtle and most damaging form of segregation results from the fact that while educating Negroes for participation in American life, we have denied them free participation in the economic life of the country. Consciously and unconsciously we have developed, both North and South, so-called Negro jobs which tend to freeze Negro employment in the lower income brackets and to exclude Negroes from an opportunity to acquire skills in other than the poorer jobs. This has tended to lead to segregation within the labor movement; this, until the coming of the CIO with its new patterns of organization, was a means of excluding Negroes permanently from large areas of employment in organized industries. It left Negroes little choice but to become strike-breakers, divided the ranks of labor, and weakened the labor movement in America perceptibly. Even when labor unions were friendly, qualified Negroes were often turned away by employers.

There are some white people who assume that we can have two economic systems—one for Negroes and another for whites. A very charming lady in a discussion of the problems of Negro employment said, "Why don't Negroes employ each other?" When it was called to her attention that there were great difficulties as to capital and organization, she said, "Why, Marian Anderson makes lots of money. She could use that to set up business concerns to meet the economic needs of Negroes." This is quoted because it is typical of much of the thinking on this question.

In an effort to solve their economic problems, Negroes have established some business concerns that employ Negroes and serve the Negro community. The Negro insurance companies are the most successful of these enterprises and the best of them have made large contributions to sustaining the economic life of the American Negroes. But to adopt economic segregation as a means of solving the economic problems of Negroes bears on its very face the stamp of futility. There can be no adequate provision for the economic life of these thirteen million Americans except as they share in the general economic life of the country.

III

THE segregation of Negroes in jobs, their exclusion from free access to the ways in which other citizens earn their living, has meant permanent poverty, degradation, and defeat—not only for the majority of Negroes, but for other large sections of the American people One of the causes for the general poverty of the South is the failure to develop the economic potentialities of Southern Negroes. By allowing the Negro to remain at a low economic level, the South has kept itself on the bottom rung of the economic ladder. Slavery was responsible for the plight of the poor white in the South, and the low wages and generally low standards of living for Negroes since Emancipation have added greatly to the difficulty of improving the status of the Southern white worker. He is perhaps the poorest and least skilled white man in the world. He will remain so until better economic advantages are available both for him and his Negro neighbor. Poverty cannot be segregated—North or South. Economic realists in the South admit privately that if the South is to succeed, something must be done about the economic status of Negroes. An effort to deal realistically with the question of Southern poverty will reveal that segregation is wasteful, expensive, and economically unsound.

Segregation has impeded the nation in the use of its manpower in the war effort. When the manpower shortage developed, it was discovered that, because they had been denied free access to work experience, many of our Negro workers were lacking in the required skills. But a greater handicap was the fact that in many plants even qualified workers were not accepted, or were accepted only in the lower, unskilled brackets. Their em-

ployment and advancement were opposed by other workers and by many employers, who, despite the long and creditable history of Negro workers in this country, insisted that Negroes could not build ships and planes and guns. Finally the President, in order to meet the emergency, was forced to issue Executive Order 8802, requiring that all war contracts should provide that there should be no discrimination in employment "because of race, creed, or national origin," and that an agency—the Fair Employment Practice Committee—should be set up to enforce this provision. While this has resulted in wider and more intelligent use of Negro labor, much time and manpower had already been wasted by the time the order was issued. And the new arrangement has been only partially successful because of continued opposition and the limited authority of the Committee.

OUR American policy of segregating Negroes has created an almost impossible task for the armed forces. Because of this, in the past the Navy has used Negroes only in the most limited way. The Army has, on the other hand, used Negroes as enlisted men and, to a limited degree, as officers—but always in segregated units. This arrangement has been expensive and difficult to administer, and has limited the use which the Army could make of Negro troops.

Because of the special conditions under which the Negro soldier serves and the attitudes which he encounters outside the Army camps, it is difficult for him to develop a high morale. He feels that he is being asked to give his service and perhaps his life for a country that guarantees him only second-class citizenship. His segregation in the Army symbolizes the limitations he suffers as a citizen. He often feels that he is a limited kind of a soldier—outside military reservations his uniform does not secure for him the respect and consideration given to other men in uniform. In World War II, it has been reported that in some unusual cases prisoners of war have been admitted to eating places in which Negro men in the uniform of their country have been denied service because of their color. If American Negro soldiers could fight in this war in voluntary, unsegregated units of Americans or with the French or Russians, the question of their morale would be less of a problem. They have already made excellent records in combat, and on today's battlefields are proving themselves able fighting men. But our discriminatory policies—our refusal to use them as widely as their capabilities deserve—are handicapping the war effort. The Negro contribution to it would be much greater if we would only allow it to be.

THERE is no better evidence of our conflicting racial policies than in the churches which have been the champions of Negro education. Certainly, what the church has done for Negroes has been largely within the pattern of segregation. This is especially true of the Protestant churches. It seems to be less true of the Catholic church. The difference is to be found in the fact that, in most cases, a Protestant church is to some extent a social organization as well as a place of worship; the Catholic church, with its emphasis on worship, is more nearly an altar before which all men are equal.

On many Protestant churches are announcements to the effect that "all are welcome." A Negro reading this announcement knows that, in most cases, if he turned up at any of the activities he would not be welcome or the embarrassment on the part of the preacher and the congregation would be such as to destroy any sense of spiritual fellowship. These churches give money for the support of Negro schools, hospitals, and orphanages, but would be embarrassed at accepting Negro Christians into full fellowship in their church activities. In most Southern Protestant churches, Negro worshipers would be seated in the gallery or otherwise segregated.

In many American cities, Negro communities have grown by infiltration into old communities formerly occupied by whites. In spite of the fact that Negroes are Protestants and speak the same language as the old congregations, the churches in these areas do not, as a rule,

offer any service to the incoming Negroes. The advent of Negroes is not looked upon as an opportunity for service, but as a reason for moving on.

In institutions owned and operated by the church, the segregation pattern is usually accepted—at least in a modified form. One of the largest church-controlled universities in the country, while accepting Negro students, does not allow them to live in its dormitories. Church-controlled hospitals do not, as a rule, admit Negro physicians for practice or train Negro nurses. Many of these church-controlled institutions own real estate, held in the form of endowment. Restrictive covenants as to Negro occupancy usually cover such property.

One of the great inconveniences to Negroes is the general denial of service by hotels and public eating places, in violation of the civil rights laws. The American population is mobile. Our type of life necessitates travel. The result is our remarkable hotel system, upon which large sections of our population depend for comfort and health. In being denied access to this public service, Negroes are greatly handicapped. Anyone who knows the facts wonders how even so distinguished a person as Marian Anderson can stand up under the hardships of travel which she encounters because of the lack of hotel service.

Segregation carried to its logical conclusion is often dramatized by cruel and inhuman aspects. A few years ago a graduate of Fisk University, Miss Julie Dericott, a young woman of charm and culture, was seriously injured in an automobile accident in north Georgia. She was taken to the nearby hospital, where emergency treatment was requested. She was very fair but when it was discovered that she was classified as a Negro, she was refused emergency treatment. She died on the long journey to Atlanta attempting to reach the nearest hospital known to give emergency treatment to colored people.

Recently in Atlanta a Negro girl stepped off the streetcar on one of the wider streets. A speeding driver knocked her down and left her lying unconscious. A crowd gathered and one white woman who had seen the accident requested that an ambulance be called. The ambulance came but the driver, seeing that the victim was a Negro girl, said, "We can't haul a nigger," and drove away, leaving the victim of the accident by the roadside. Such incidents are not isolated. They happen frequently and seem to be an inevitable consequence of segregation as it works out in practice in many sections of America. Most white people are not aware of them.

IV

Segregation in the South not only separates the races but symbolizes the idea of the inevitable inferiority of Negroes. It "keeps the Negro in his place," not only on the streetcars and busses, but in the social and economic system. It is more effective as a symbol than as a means of preventing contact between the races. In fact, racial contacts are more intimate in the South than in any other section of the country. Southerners as a rule do not object to contact with Negroes so long as the idea of Negro inferiority is maintained. Segregation does this. This fact explains why the South has never claimed that under segregation there are equal services for the races.

Under the new pressures that have come with the war to save democracy and the stronger pressures that will come when the war is won, the South will probably attempt to attain equal services within the framework of segregation. There are two reasons why this will not be possible—one psychological and the other practical. There will be resistance in the South to any modification of the symbol of the Negro's inferiority. When a person speaks of the Negro "getting out of hand," he usually means getting out of his inferior status. Therefore, equal service would destroy to some extent one of the chief functions of segregation. If Negroes in the South had equal service under segregation, they would have gone a long way toward "getting out of hand," because the symbolic function of segregation would have lost much of its meaning.

As a practical matter, separate but equal service under segregation cannot be rendered. Such service would require, for example, the duplication of the present most expensive phases of transportation, and the duplication of the state university systems, already poorly supported. Separate and equal services for the races in the South, or any other section, are a luxury which cannot be afforded.

It is generally accepted that human beings behave better in the long run when they enjoy a maximum of freedom. Human relations are certainly more satisfactory when they are a result of free choice. Left with the maximum amount of freedom, white and colored Americans would probably adjust amicably most of the difficulties that arose between them. Under the denial of freedom which segregation enforces, there is constant and increasing friction. An examination of incidents where tension has become acute will indicate that most of the tensions are involved in and aggravated by segregation. Rioting is less frequent in mixed residential neighborhoods than elsewhere. Segregation accentuates unduly the racial factors in our civilization and obscures the wide cultural differences that exist within the racial groups. To many white people, every Negro looks like every other Negro and any white man, no matter how unworthy, is better than any Negro, however distinguished. Segregation tends to make every row between a white man and a Negro, whatever the initial cause may have been, a race quarrel.

Left free, human beings group themselves according to their tastes, interests, and cultural backgrounds. American Negroes are not seeking an opportunity to mingle with whites. They desire freedom and opportunity to live as Americans. If there were no arbitrary segregation, common interests and common backgrounds would probably lead most American Negroes to develop their own way of living and find much of their association among themselves as other groups do.

Whenever the matter of freedom or equal opportunity for Negroes is discussed, the question of intermarriage usually arises. It will probably be sufficient to point out that miscegenation in this country has already gone a long way —chiefly in those very sections where the relations between whites and Negroes have been "least free" and where segregation has been most deeply rooted in law and custom. The majority of our colored people in America today are the result of racial intermixture which has taken place under segregation.

There are some evidences of changes in the pattern of American segregation—small but significant. There are evidences of dissatisfaction with it. One such evidence is the very vehement declaration by some that segregation must not and cannot be modified in any way. The advocates of segregation protest too much. In the very loudness and continuousness of their protests is one of the best evidences that the country is not satisfied, and that segregation is not succeeding.

The change in government attitude is especially significant. In the past the federal authorities, on the whole, accepted the segregated pattern of employment in government. Government work was open to Negroes only in the lower service brackets. There were many Negro messengers, porters, charwomen, but outside of the postal service no Negroes were employed in positions that required education or technical training. Negroes were excluded from restaurants in government buildings. Since the beginning of World War II this has changed, and today there are in government departments large numbers of Negro clerical workers and an increasing number of Negroes doing technical work. Here the educated Negroes are finding an opportunity for work in which they can use the training they have acquired. The federal government will continue to be one of the large employers in the country, and its employment patterns should have real influence on other employers.

In the long run, it may turn out that the new attitude of labor toward Negro workers, as expressed by the CIO, will have more significance than the changes that have taken place in government employment patterns. Officially, the CIO

has abolished the color line as to opportunity and privileges for Negroes in it unions. An educational division has been created in part for the purpose of bringing the rank and file of the CIO to accept the idea of the essential unity of all American workers without regard to race. Negro workers are finding in the CIO a champion where they most need it, among the masses of workers to which most Negroes belong. The CIO is, at the moment, the most promising force for correcting the inconsistencies in our racial patterns. Furthermore, its policy is already having an effect upon older, more conservative unions and is giving support to many liberal-minded employers who are willing to give Negro workers a chance.

Another source of encouragement is the growing pressure within and without the South for some kind of change. This will probably lead to an effort to furnish equal but separate services to the races. While such an effort cannot succeed, it will certainly result in some improvement of service to Negroes under segregation. In the long run, it may lead to the modification of the present patterns of segregation in the South. How rapidly and how far these changes will go depends upon many factors, chief of which are the strength of the growing liberal movement in the South and the amount of political influence Southern Negroes acquire.

V

In the acquisition of political power lies one of the Negro's great hopes for improving his status. Certainly the Negro's vote in border and Northern states will hold for him the gains made in government employment. The organized political power of the CIO is on his side; through its affiliation with Negro political groups and its fight in behalf of all liberal movements, it gives the Negro real help in obtaining the things all citizens want. By the strength of their votes and increasing political representation, Negroes could get better schools, housing, health facilities—all the public services. And they could use their influence to assure the enforcement of the civil rights statutes that are already enacted.

For example, New York is America's most liberal city. Negroes in New York have more political influence than in any other city in America. New York is a city of hotels which deny service to Negroes. New York State has good civil rights laws. It would seem reasonable to expect that before much longer, New York hotels may find themselves liberalizing their service to Negro travelers. Such a thing—if it could be brought about—would have an influence that would be far-reaching. To achieve it would be a good use of the power of New York's able Negro political leadership.

Under the Constitution, as liberally interpreted by our present Supreme Court, many of the legal devices by which segregation is protected could no doubt be declared unconstitutional if properly presented to the Court. This has already been done in important fields. Even though the Gaines decision has not yet put any colored students in the University of Missouri, the fact that prevailing systems of segregation in higher education are unconstitutional has caused uneasiness in the states where such systems prevail. Since the Supreme Court decision declaring the "white" Texas primary unconstitutional, it is apparent that political participation of Negroes in the South has been greatly accelerated.

There is no doubt that the Negro vote, the power of labor, and government attitudes can profoundly affect our racial practices. If the church with its strong influence also took a firm stand, the process could be accelerated. And there are some indications that church leaders are becoming aware of the feebleness of their position. One well-known theological seminary in the South has seriously considered service to Negroes. Opposition was so strong that the idea had to be given up. The American Protestant church has ambitions for extension into Africa and Asia. Its racial policies at home stand in the way. Increasing numbers of American church leaders realize the far-reaching effect of American racial segregation on the influence of the church abroad. Because of this, within the next few years the patterns of segregation within the church and church institutions in America

may be greatly modified in the direction of a more democratic and more Christian practice. The church has wide contacts with many classes and kinds of people in this country. Whatever it might do in the interest of a policy of non-segregation within the local churches and church institutions would be leaven widely placed in American life.

Most white Americans are puzzled and alarmed by the impatience and bitterness of large sections of our Negro population. They feel that Negroes are no longer pleasant to live with. Whites are inclined to charge this to some subversive influence from the outside. Many Southerners say that agitators from the North are responsible for stirring up Negroes in the South. In other sections of the country, Negro resentment and unrest are usually charged to Communists or whatever bogy happens to be current in the mind of the community.

That there is unrest and bitterness among our Negro population is a fact. This unrest is to be found not just among Negro intellectuals; it exists also in the alleys of our Negro ghettos and among the remote and inarticulate Negro sharecroppers and common laborers. It will not pass with the war. Negroes were probably never so docile as they seemed. The trouble is that they behave like other human beings. In subjecting Negroes to American education we have made them Americans. So completely American are they that they will not submit passively to being pushed around as they are under segregation. Educational opportunity for the common man is a part of the American way of life. In giving it to Negroes, we have let them in on the meaning of democracy. Their unrest under their special limitations is the result not of sinister influence from the outside, but of our education, which, with all its faults, is the best thing in our democracy.

The education of Negroes in America has not been a mistake. Here we see American faith and American idealism at their best. Segregation, on the other hand, is rooted in fear and in doubt as to whether our democratic principles will really work. It remains to be seen whether or not our faith in democracy is strong enough to overcome our fears as to what may be some of its consequences.

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

POLICIES AND PROCEDURES

No. 6 March, 1952

THE NORTH CAROLINA RECREATION COMMISSION

Recreation

MINORITY REPORT ON TRANSITION AREAS

RECREATION BOARD OF THE

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

MAY 13, 1952

Responsibilities of Members of the Board

In submitting this report, I wish, first of all, to direct attention to lines 1-5, Section 2, Article II of the By-Laws, Rules and Regulations of this Board, which became effective as revised on October 9, 1951. These lines read as follows:

> "The Board will make every possible and realistic effort toward the removal of racial segregation in public recreation in such sequence and at such rate of progression, as may be consistent with the public interest, public order and effective administration."

Certainly we would like to believe that we have adopted a policy that is realistic and workable. However, since the adoption of this policy, actions taken in the process of opening play areas for the use of all citizens in the communities in which these areas are located, are such as to raise serious doubts as to their wisdom, validity or sincerity. Instead of the progression away from segregation which is the stated policy of the Board, we find contradictions in the practices set up for the operation of open area playgrounds, which completely nullify this stated policy.

Contradictions in the Administration of the New Policy

Let us look at the picture as it actually is, today. As an example:

Garfield playground is located on National Capital Parks land. It was the first playground opened for the use of all the children in its neighborhood. The opening of Rose Park and Garfield playgrounds, was , presumably, an attempt to move toward integration and the elimination of segregation.

What actually happened, however, was the setting up of an interracial play area under a white supervisor, in a "white" recreation area, without the usual rights and privileges of competition with other playgrounds enjoyed by other areas. In Rose Park the situation was the same except that this area was under a Negro supervisor. This left the two "integrated" areas without

the highly important competitive aspects of the recreation program except such events as could be arranged between them.

Last summer when the New York Avenue, Raymond and Noyes playgrounds were opened for interracial recreation I again brought to the attention of the Board and of the Recreation Department administration the fact that a new form of segregation was being devised and adopted and put into practice at playgrounds opened for all the children of a community. These less obvious segregation devices are subjecting the children at "interracial" or "integrated" playgrounds to a denial in the participation in area programs which had previously prevailed on these playgrounds. This fact was not denied by the Board members or staff, but the excuse was offered that in the adoption of the new regulation on segregation the old policy had not been discarded in practice. It therefore seems that all that has been accomplished, so far, is the substitution of a furtive and particularly frustrating segregation technique for an open segregation policy.

At a transition committee meeting in the fall, when the Hoover and Langley playgrounds were being discussed, I felt that an honest attempt was being made to begin to think in terms of recreation for all the children in a neighborhood, on the basis of the Board's new policy. At the time, however, I brought up the same question with reference to the elimination of this new and undesirable technique for segregation which had been injected into the pattern of playground operation, and which was threatening to defeat our purpose of the progressive elimination of segregation.

I purposely raised this question in order to be sure that the answer I received at the opening of other play areas, preceding this meeting, still obtained. Since I was assured that the answer did still obtain, I checked my files for the facts on the action of the Recreation Board in the adoption of the new policy. I found that in adopting the new policy, the Board had deleted the original statement which spelled out the operation of the playgrounds on a segregated basis. This being the fact, there is no truth or semblance of truth in the argument that the policy of the Recreation Board requires the use of any techniques designed to project segregation in any form into the operation of any District playground.

In this respect I feel that the Board is grossly unfair to the public in its interpretation of the new regulation, by action

in implementing a policy of segregation in any form. While professing to be moving away from an unacceptable pattern, the Board is actually penalizing both white and Negro children who use a facility together, voluntarily, by depriving them of the right of intergroup play and experiences, thus setting on the "freed" or "integrated" areas the stamp of its official disapproval, and lessening the possibility of successful service to their communities.

It was my earnest hope that before our chairman, Mr. Harry S. Wender, discontinued his services with the Board, that the remaining eight playgrounds classified as "transition areas" would have been advanced from this category and listed among the open areas.

I was greatly disappointed after the report of the staff and the recommendations of the Superintendent, Mr. Christiansen, had been received by the ~~Board,~~ Transition Committee at the evident failure to sense the need for sincere and honest action designed to move the playground program toward <u>successful</u> integration.

<u>Ignoring of Citizens' Testimony</u>

Nevertheless I thought that a ray of hope remained in the Boards' agreement to hold a public hearing to get the viewpoint of all interested citizens, and particularly of those who had expressed themselves concerning the play areas in their communities. I hoped that the city-wide groups whose membership is drawn from citizens living throughout the several recreation areas would be permitted to give us the benefit of their thinking both as to the philosophy, and the statistical facts involved in the recommendations of the staff and superintendent. This they were permitted to do, at the last minute, and after mounting pressure and repeated documented refusals by the ~~Board~~ Transition Committee to listen to their representatives.

Since, at this particular transition committee meeting, it had been agreed in the Board that there would be no discussion by members of the committee until after the hearings, I expected that testimony given at the hearings would be an important factor in reaching a final conclusion concerning the recommendations mentioned.

But much to my mortification and dismay the ~~Board~~ Transition Committee completely ignored the petitions of the citizens' representatives, thus presenting to the Washington community, the community of the National

Capital, a glaring example of the failure of an arm of their city government to discharge its duty honestly and forthrightly, and to keep faith even with those citizens whom it did invite to testify..

On the basis of the testimony given it was clear that the studies made by the staff were not objective but were patently designed to support the argument of maintaining the racial status quo at the expense of the basic rights of a large group of taxpayers to the extreme disadvantage of these taxpayers.

Admitted Failure to Study Population Needs

There was no refutation of the charge that the Recreation Department had failed to study the population of the Brookland area in connection with its study of play areas needed or already established. In further testimony it was pointed out that the survey made by the Recreation Board of the area south of Rhode Island Avenue, Northeast, for the Langley playground did not include the children and young adults of the Edgewood area. This fact the Recreation Board has admitted. But the children living north of Rhode Island Avenue are also in the Edgewood area and this playground is their natural public play space.

Wheatley-Trinidad Picture Distorted

The testimony of the Trinidad representative concerning the Trinidad and the Wheatley play areas, pointed out the discrepancies between statement and fact in the report of the staff concerning the availability of recreational facilities in these areas.

For instance, the staff report states that due to absence of fencing it would be very difficult to enforce a segregated program for either group, and for this reason recommends operating Trinidad as an open area, but retaining Wheatley, which is fenced in, as a playground for white children only. At this point I should like to direct the attention of the Board to two aspects of this particular situation vitally significant as to the administration's implementation of the Board's stated policy:

(1) On the surface, the decision with reference to Trinidad and Wheatley would seem to be in line with stated policy. But these are the facts:

a. Trinidad, now declared an open area, is an abandoned play area without a vestige of equipment on it, and there are, to my knowledge, neither plans nor proposals to secure any.

b. Wheatley, retained for the use of white children only, is enclosed and well-equipped.

That is the first point.

The second point is that for years there has been racially mixed use of the play facility at both Wheatley and Trinidad. Integrated play at both has long been an accomplished fact, in the absence of restricting personnel. Here is clear evidence of a natural trend in the use of public play facilities in communities of mixed neighborhoods. I cannot accept the interpretation that in such a situation of naturally integrated relationships the duty of the Board is that these relationships should be disturbed and frustrated, thus retarding development toward its own avowed objective, in order to conform to such arbitrary timing as the majority of the Board and the administrative staff shall have determined.

Gerrymandered Boundaries

In reply to my question as to how the staff of the Recreation Board determined the boundaries of the several play areas as exhibited in their report and recommendations to the transition committee, preceding the hearings, I was informed by the Superintendent that the boundaries were determined by the staff according to their thinking as to the areas served by the play facility.

On the basis of testimony, supplemented by my own personal observations, there is sufficient evidence that these boundaries were gerrymandered to achieve certain results, namely the segregation of particular playgrounds. At Turkey Thicket and at Edgewood both in the Brookland area, in the Wheatley and Trinidad area and at Rosedale in the Benning Road, Northeast, area, the boundaries of these playgrounds have been established to emphasize racial lines, and in the case of Brookland, the arbitrary boundaries leave the Negro population excluded from all facilities in its area.

The Superintendent has admitted that the whole of Census Tract 93, which covers the Brookland area, has been completely ignored so far as the provision of recreation facilities for Negro residents is concerned.

No Fixed Criterion of Operation

And may I say here that I consider as specious the argument advanced by some members of the staff that Negro residents

of the Brookland area have yards in which their children can play. This contention must stand discredited unless the same criterion is applied to all other areas of the city in which citizens "have yards".

The Board's Difficulties Are Self-Induced

It seems to me that the many difficulties which the Recreation Board has encountered in its administration of the playgrounds are self-induced. It has made trouble for itself by projecting situations which have their genesis in a lack of realization and appreciation for the basic philosophies and ideals underlying all phases of our government, and of the fact that these philosophies and ideals cannot be separated from administrative operations.

The latest unfortunate example of the Board's attempt to separate philosophy from practice is in its consideration of the proposal to open Rosedale playground to all children, with the exception of its swimming pool. It is my contention that, in spite of the fact that the parents of the Negro children in the area, in their concern for the physical safety of their children, have agreed to accept their exclusion from the pool, these children would still be subject to both physical and mental hazards as a result of such action as that proposed. The humiliation of exclusion sustained by these children will take its toll in lowered morale for many years of their lives; and in spite of the concern for their safety on the streets, their rejection at the pool will force many to seek dangerous swimming facilities in the Anacostia River, which annually shows a much higher proportion of Negro than white drownings--most of them children.

At the last White House Conference, President Truman made the statement that "We cannot insulate our children from the facts of civic life." The majority of citizens interested and concerned in the welfare of our children will agree with his thinking.

Why then, does the Recreation Board, simply upon the recommendation of its administrative staff, and without supporting legislation, take action contrary to this thinking and to the law which created the Department of Recreation and its Board.

On the basis of testimony already given to the Board and to the facts here presented and readily verifiable, that the Board

reconsider the recommendation of its transition committee; that it carefully review all testimony presented in any form; and that it studiously refrain from prejudging the value of testimony offered and of the groups presenting it, and arrive at a conclusion based on ascertainable facts, and as free as possible from biased opinion.

Respectfully submitted,

Alice C. Hunter

Alice C. Hunter
(Member of the Board)

Recreation

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

Community Relations Program
Washington, D. C.

1000 11th St., NW
STerling 6569

No. 3 - May - 1952

Irene Osborne
Alma Scurlock

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

LOOK AND LISTEN — The Americans All broadcast this week will present a program on the Negro child in the District schools. This is important listening! Sunday, May 18, WOOK, 1:30 P.M.

You will also want to see the two-week series "Inside Your Schools", on WTOP - TV, beginning Sunday, May 18, at 4:00 P.M., and following on week-days at 12:45 P.M.

PLANS FOR NEW USE OF SCHOOL BUILDINGS: The Board of Education has under consideration the transfer of Eliot Junior High School and Fairbrother Elementary School from white to Negro use, and the conversion of the old Terrell Junior High School to use as an elementary school. Negro junior high schools are expected to have a shortage of 2104 seats next year, with even greater shortages predicted for the years following. Transfer of Eliot will provide 918 seats; it will still leave 1000 empty seats in white junior high schools and 6000 in white senior high schools.

The recommended plans for the old Terrell and for Fairbrother are designed to relieve mounting congestion in elementary schools, with the threat of part-time instruction. Terrell is an unsatisfactory building which is being retained as a temporary relief measure. Fairbrother is in a Southwest area urgently in need of new buildings; both white and Negro schools will be overcrowded after the transfer.

At hearings before the Buildings and Grounds Committee on May 6, the junior high school situation was the subject of the most controversy. Several speakers from interracial groups were interrupted when they attempted to show the relation of these problems to the fact of segregation; they were told, "We are not here to discuss integration." Such a ruling meansthat it is impossible to introduce the evidence to show that segregation creates artificial shortages and wasted space.

INTERRACIAL PLAYGROUNDS: The D. C. Recreation Board has approved converting 4 of the city's playgrounds to interracial use: Sherwood, Kenilworth, Trinidad (all formerly white), and Park View (formerly Negro). This brings the total of interracial playgrounds in the District to 12. At the same time, the Board voted to leave Edgewood, Turkey Thicket, Rosedale, and Wheatley as white playgrounds.

Rosedale has been the particular subject of public attention. At hearings on May 7, neighborhood groups in the area of Rosedale presented evidence to show that Negro children have insufficient play space while Rosedale playground is actually being used far under capacity. Over 30 community organizations have supported the opening of Rosedale.

Mrs. Alice Hunter, a member of the Board, presented a minority report at the May 13 meeting in protest of retaining the white policy on four playgrounds. Her report, supported by Board member Edward J. Kelly, stated that the citizens' testimony had been ignored, that population studies were made on the basis of gerrymandered boundaries, and that the Board is proceeding in such a way as to nullify its stated policy of progressive integration.

Mrs. Hunter stresses the fact that interracial play areas are not permitted to engage in competitive activities with other playgrounds except among themselves. The "opening" of a playground actually means the loss of much of the program. Mrs. Hunter calls this practice "a furtive and particularly frustrating segregation technique."

INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION: The Board of Education has approved the "Handbook on Intergroup Education" for use in the schools. The handbook was prepared by an interracial committee of teachers and officers under the direction of Dr. Carl F. Hansen, Associate Superintendent in charge of Curriculum Planning. The Handbook will be placed in the hands of all teachers next year, and the committee will continue to function to consider ways of developing an intergroup program.

The purpose of the program is stated in the Handbook: "The aim of Intergroup Education is to develop a consciousness and appreciation of the dignity, contributions, and basic unity of all the ethnic, racial, religious, social, and economic groups which enrich the American way of life. Its goal is synonymous with the goal of all sound democratic education which is to secure the optimum development of each individual as a member of his present society and to inspire him to work for the improvement of that society.....Intergroup Education cannot depend solely upon textbook and teacher precepts; to be vital, it must provide opportunities for harmonious group living in a favorable environment." (p. 1)

The Handbook does not in itself effect regulations of the school system or establish new procedures. Rather it suggests "educational practices that if intelligently applied, will improve intergroup relations." (p. viii) Recognition is given to the need for cooperation of school and community. Concretely, "Schools should cooperate with established intergroup organizations in the community for the solution of problems in human relations," and "the schools should take responsibility for creating in the community a 'climate of opinion' favorable to the development of wholesome intergroup relations." (p. 13)

CONFERENCE ON SCHOOL INTEGRATION: A nation-wide conference on "The Courts and Racial Integration in Education" was held at Howard University, April 16-18, under the auspices of the Journal of Negro Education. Approximately 350 delegates represented 45 national organizations, 31 schools and colleges, and 5 State Departments of Education, and came from 25 states and the District of Columbia. Speakers and discussion leaders included leading civil rights attorneys, educators, and other leaders in human rights fields.

Litigation in the field of racial barriers in education was highlighted, with attention to other approaches and to the problems incident to integration. The conference included reports on the successful experience of integration in Illinois, Indiana, New Jersey, and the University of Kentucky. These reports testify fully to the fact that the job can be done, with forthright leadership and a realistic approach to whatever problems occur. Joseph L. Bustard, Assistant Commissioner of Education for New Jersey, said that the New Jersey experience shows that "the way to integrate is to do it."

Delegates to the conference were impressed by the matter-of-fact agreement that the "separate but equal" doctrine is a myth and that the work of educational integration can and must proceed. The presentations represented an impressive amount of valuable information and serious thought. They should be of interest to everyone concerned with this issue. Proceedings of the conference will be published as the summer yearbook of the Journal of Negro Education. This can be ordered from Dean Charles Thompson, Howard University, for $2.50.

HOW IS INTEGRATION TO BE ACHIEVED? On the local level, Superintendent Corning recently told reporters that it is not his province to recommend the end of the segregated system. "The community, Congress and the courts will have to determine that." We believe the community can help by showing its interest. Won't you attend the next meeting of the Board of Education?

WEDNESDAY, MAY 21, 2:30 P.M. - Franklin Building, 13th & K Sts., N. W.

August 14, 1952

Professor Robert B. McKay
Lamar School of Law
Emory University
Emory University, Ga.

Dear Mr. McKay:

Many thanks for your letter.

I have started the machinery with the Urban League in six or seven cities--tentatively, Oklahoma City, Fort Worth, New Orleans, Richmond, Atlanta, Louisville--and I have other devices to reach Charleston and Birmingham.

Also, I have written to appropriate State people to get the picture in Texas, Louisiana, Georgia, South Carolina, Virginia, and Tennessee.

Will let you know results from time to time.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

EMORY UNIVERSITY
EMORY UNIVERSITY, GEORGIA

LAMAR SCHOOL OF LAW

August 8, 1952

Hinchcliffe
814 ~~Dorth~~ Dutton Ave
Mark hotel

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive-Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

This is written in connection with the comment on the legal aspects of segregation in the fields of amusement and recreation which I hope to prepare for you. When we discussed the matter recently, you were kind enough to suggest that you would be able to supplement my legal research with current data from a selected list of cities and some states as to the present status of segregated activities in the recreation and amusement fields. Following are the questions which I believe would be relevant:

Cities:

1. What is the present white-Negro population ratio within your city?

2. Please state what municipally owned or operated facilities are available to whites and to Negroes in the areas of recreation listed below. Please indicate, as to any of the facilities which are segregated, what differences there are, quantitatively and qualitatively, between the white and the Negro accommodations, such as days or hours of operation, price, equipment, service, etc. Your comments on the relative "equality" of facilities will be especially appreciated.

Golf courses (either as part of a park system or independently managed).
Tennis courts.
Swimming pools.
Parks and their facilities generally, including amphitheatres or other activities not elsewhere discussed.
Libraries.
Other facilities.

3. Are there any legal actions bearing on this subject which have been recently concluded, which are now pending, or which are contemplated for the future?

4. Please make any general observations which you believe relevant to the determination of any developing pattern in the field of public-offered amusement and recreation facilities.

States:

1. Please indicate what state parks are available to whites and to Negroes on a segregated, and/or on a non-segregated, basis. Where the parks are available only on a segregated basis, please state your views as to the relative "equality" of the separate facilities, particularly in such matters as location, size, upkeep, services, equipment, price, etc.

2. Has there been any recent state legislation relating to the question of amusement and recreation facilities available to whites and Negroes within the state? Do you know of any proposed legislation in this connection?

3. Please make any generally observations which you believe relevant to a determination of developing patterns in the field of state-furnished recreation and amusement facilities.

I shall appreciate your additions to the above list, or any changes which you believe will elicit the desired information in more useful form.

Sincerely yours,

Robert B. McKay

Robert B. McKay
Associate Professor of Law

August 14, 1952

Mrs. Alice N. Spearman
1511 Laurel St.
Columbia, S. C.

Dear Mrs. Spearman:

Marion Wright has got agreement from the Emory Law School to prepare for their new JOURNAL OF PUBLIC LAW an article on segregation in recreational facilities in the South. The law people want us to collect certain basic facts about sample cities and States. I've got the cities worked out, largely through the Urban League branches. On States it means getting some faithful person to collect the information.

Here's what is needed:

1. Please indicate what State parks are available to whites and to Negroes on a segregated, and on a non-segregated, basis. Where the parks are available only on a segregated basis, please state your views as to the relative "equality" of the separate facilities, particularly in such matters as location, size, upkeep, services, equipment, price, etc.
2. Has there been any recent State legislation relating to the question of amusement and recreation facilities available to whites and Negroes within the State? Do you know of any proposed legislation in this connection?
3. Please make any general observations which you believe relevant to a determination of developing patterns in the field of State-furnished recreation and amusement facilities.

I suggest that McCray would be pretty apt to know the answers to most of those questions.

I know it is a burden, but would you go to see McCray and give his and your best answers to 1, 2, and 3?

I noticed in McCray's paper that he has lately been visiting some of the Negro State parks. So he would be especially attuned to the matter.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM: ec

August 14, 1952

Mrs. Ruby Hurley
Southeast Regional Office, NAACP
624 Masonic Temple Bldg.
1630 Fourth Ave., N.
Birmingham, Ala.

Dear Mrs. Hurley:

You will see from the enclosed what we hope to get.

Would you be so very kind as to supply the answers for Birmingham and send them in to me?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:sc
Encl.

August 14, 1952

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls, N. C.

Dear Marion:

Here is some progress on the "Segregation in Recreation" business. We will follow up with Mr. Alston. He is the southern field director of the National Urban League.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

GSM Sept. 15

You are to confer with Harry Alston about Urban League questionnaire. See letter of Aug. 24 to Alston (in special file). If GSM not here, show correspondence to AH and let her go to see Alston.

LA 7262

Call Fri. + check

Mrs. Margaret Price Mullins
(Mrs. S. D., Jr.)

Margaret

1927 Indiana
Houston, Texas

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.

Atlanta 3, Georgia

August 14, 1952

Mr. Harry Alston
1814 Dalton Avenue
Huntington, West Virginia

Dear Mr. Alston:

Professor Robert B. McKay, at Emory University, has kindly undertaken to do an article in the JOURNAL OF PUBLIC LAW (published by Emory Law School) on "The Legal Aspects of Segregation in the Fields of Amusement and Recreation" in selected Southern cities and States.

Here are the questions he wants answered for selected cities:

1. What is the present white-Negro population ratio within your city?
2. Please state what municipally owned or operated facilities are available to whites and to Negroes in the areas of recreation listed below. Please indicate, as to any of the facilities which are segregated, what differences there are, quantitatively and qualitatively, between the white and the Negro accommodations, such as days or hours of operation, price, equipment, service, etc. Your comments on the relative "equality" of facilities will be especially appreciated.
   - Golf courses (either as part of a park system or independently managed).
   - Tennis courts.
   - Swimming pools.
   - Parks and their facilities generally, including amphitheatres or other activities not elsewhere discussed.
   - Libraries.
   - Other facilities.
3. Are there any legal actions bearing on this subject which have been recently concluded, which are now pending, or which are contemplated for the future?
4. Please make any general observations which you believe relevant to a determination of developing patterns in the field of public-offered recreation and amusement facilities.

I will get the State information through other sources.

Will you be good enough to query your Urban League secretaries in some, at least, of the cities as to this information?

We thought of New Orleans, Richmond, Fort Worth, Oklahoma City, Atlanta, Louisville, Birmingham, and Charleston as suitable ones. Others, of course, could be substituted. I will try for the Birmingham information through Mrs. Hurley, and in your Charleston trip you would take on this one.

Perhaps you can get some of these answered at the Urban League national meeting. If there is more detail, we will talk when you get back about completing it fully.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

August 15, 1952

Dr. Felton G. Clark
Southern University
Baton Rouge 5, La.

Dear Dr. Clark:

Marion Wright, our Council president, has got a promise from the Emory Law School to write and print an article in their new JOURNAL OF PUBLIC LAW on "Segregation in Recreational Facilities in Southern States and Cities." We are collecting some of the facts. Urban League branches will help on the cities. On the States, I am dependent on what some faithful citizens will find out. Can you make some secure arrangement for getting these questions answered and send them to us?

1. Please indicate what State parks are available to whites and to Negroes on a segregated, and on a non-segregated, basis. Where the parks are available only on a segregated basis, please state your views as to the relative "equality" of the separate facilities, particularly in such matters as location, size, upkeep, services, equipment, price, etc.

2. Has there been any recent State legislation relating to the question of amusement and recreation facilities as available to whites and Negroes within the State? Do you know of any proposed legislation in this connection?

3. Please make any general observations which you believe relevant to a determination of developing patterns in the field of State-Furnished recreation and amusement facilities.

We would be very grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

South Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs, Inc.

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

Your letter received as I am about to leave the office to be away for a 2 weeks vacation. I am taking the liberty of 'phoning Mr. McCray & Miss Adele Minahan to request that they answer the 3 questions your latter poses. Miss Minahan once worked in the field of recreation, and is continuously in contact with the state's recreational leaders. However, I do not believe she would consult the party you mention, so that they will no doubt make separate reports. If you want any furthere information and I can help after I get back, have a note here for me.

Sincerely,

Alice N. Spearman

August 26, 1952

Mr. Carter Wesley
Box 3086
Houston, Texas

Dear Mr. Wesley:

Very many thanks indeed for your helpful information about parks.

It is going to take the people at Emory several months to work up the facts they want. So if through the paper you draw in some more material do send it on. It will probably be the most helpful thing we would get.

[illegible] you have opportunity to see Mr. Durham, [illegible]ope you will thank him for us.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

PAGE(S) PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

The INFORMER Group of Newspapers

FAIRFAX 8347

THE INFORMER · THE DALLAS EXPRESS · MEMBER A.B.C.

★

P.O. BOX 3086
2418 LEELAND
HOUSTON 3, TEXAS

RECEIVED
AUG 26 1952
Southern Regional Council

August 23, 1952

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue - Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Upon receipt of your letter of August 15 I wrote to my friend W. J. Durham, who was the attorney in a suit a couple of years ago against the State to open up certain state parks near Tyler, Texas, asking him for information to supply the answers to your letter. I am inclosing herewith a copy of the letter that came from Attorney Durham.

Now with that background, I will add that Attorney Durham inclosed his file copy of a list of the parks--state parks--in Texas, showing a total of 97,000 acres.

So far as I know, there weren't any of these state parks open to Negroes, and even the little side road parks are usually monopolized by whites. I have not noticed any separate facilities provided in any of these roadside parks as put out by the State since the enactment of the law referred to in Mr. Durham's letter. I think I will make an appeal through the paper for citizens to test out these various parks and see if they are open, and if they have separate facilities, but this, of course, will take time and will be too late for your purposes.

I have not heard that any of these state parks have been opened, or that separate facilities have been established in accordance with that special call session law, I am assuming that Negroes are more or less kept out of the parks still.

Best wishes.

Very truly yours,

Carter Wesley

Carter Wesley
/d
Incl. 1
cc: Attorney W. J. Durham

THE MARKET
• 2,800,000 PEOPLE
• PLENTY MONEY
• WILLING TO BUY
• AWAITING INVITATION

C O P Y

Law Offices
W. J. D U R H A M
Excelsior Life Bldg.
2600 Flora Street
Dallas, Texas

22 August 1952

Honorable Carter W. Wesley
P. O. Box 3086
Houston, Texas

Dear Carter:

Replying to your letter under date of August 18, 1952, you are advised that Article No. 6070E of the Civil Statutes of the State of Texas, enacted by the 51st first call session of the Texas Legislature, and became effective March, 1950, provides for separate facilities for white and Negro citizens in state owned parks. The board is given authority to make rules and regulations for the use of state parks and the facilities therein by white and Negro races, by providing separate parks and separate facilities within the same park" on such basis as will furnish equal recreational facilities and at the same time protect and preserve harmony, peace, welfare, health and the safety of the state and the community."

Section B of the above Article gives the board the right to close any park in any area in the state, where separate facilities for whites and Negroes cannot be furnished, and it further gives the board power to re-open them when such facilities are available. However, I think the purpose of legislature to escape furnishing Negroes park facilities is found in Section C of the Article, which gives the board the right "to lease annually to the highest bidder any park or any portion thereof, or facilities therein, when deemed necessary or advisable for the protection and upkeep of the property." It occurs to me that the state is seeking here to do indirectly what it couldn't do directly by leasing the park and park facilities to people who will exclude the facilities from the use and enjoyment of the use of Negro citizens.

I am enclosing herewith my office copy of all of the parks and the facilities in the State of Texas. When you have finished with the enclosure, return it to me because it is the only one I have.

I trust this is the information you desire and if I can be of any further service to you, please feel free to command me.

Respectfully,

/s/ Durham

Durham

Approved Mar. 14, 1960
Effective 90 days after Mar. 1

Encl.

Sec. 1 - Sep facilities for whites + N "impartial provision shall be made for both races"

Sec 2 - Right to make rules, close parks or lease

Sec. 3 "The fact that the policy of the state in requiring separate park facilities for white + N citizens is necessary to preserve the public peace + welfare, and to protect the privileges of both the white + Negro citizens in the use of the state parks ...."

SOUTH CAROLINA

STATE COMMISSION OF FORESTRY

COLUMBIA

CHAS. H. FLORY
STATE FORESTER

August 25, 1952

RECEIVED
AUG 28 1952
Southern Regional Council

Miss Adele Minahan
1930 College Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Miss Minahan:

In response to your telephone call, I am glad to give you some pertinent facts regarding our State Parks program as it affects the Negro citizens of our State.

For several years we have had areas for Negroes at four (4) established State Parks - Cheraw, Poinsett, Greenwood and Hunting Island. To these has been added, this past fiscal year, Pleasant Ridge State Park, a 300-area tract in the mountains of Greenville County, now being developed exclusively for Negroes.

The 1951 Legislature made a sum of $50,000 available for land acquisition, and the beginning of development, of a seashore State Park for Negroes in Charleston County. After exhaustive studies of half-a-dozen possible sites, all were rejected for various reasons. The areas that were available were inaccessible and cost of road and bridge construction prohibitive. Accessible areas could not be acquired from the owners. Some sites did not meet with the approval of the Negro groups involved. At the moment we are working with our inter-racial committee toward obtaining a site that may be the answer to our search. For obvious reasons we can make no specific announcement until our plans progress more fully.

Following the Charleston acquisition, one more such area should be obtained to serve metropolitan Columbia and Central South Carolina.

In the long range planning there is a State Park for Negroes on the Clark Hill Reservoir - Hickory Knob State Park, near McCormick and Abbeville.

The facilities at the Negro Parks are being improved and expanded as funds become available. Caretaker residences are being established, dams for swimming and fishing lakes are being built and bathhouses and picnic shelters constructed.

Picnicking, outdoor cooking and play areas are available at all parks. Picnic shelters are to be found at Greenwood, Campbells Pond (Cheraw), and Mill Creek (Poinsett). The shelter at Hunting Island was destroyed by a storm and has not been rebuilt as yet.

Bathhouses are in use at Campbells Pond, Mill Creek and Hunting Island.

The Greenwood development is being abandoned at its present location and a new recreation area will be built at a more desirable location on one of the peninsulas jutting out into Lake Greenwood.

The Mill Creek area of Poinsett State Park offers varied facilities. On one side of the lake is a day-use area with bathing beach, dressing rooms, picnic shelters and play area. Across the lake is a well equipped group camp for boys and girls. This fine facility is used by organized campers including Boy Scouts and the S. C. Orthopedic Camp.

A fine bathing beach is now attracting crowds at Hunting Island since the two new groins have checked erosion and stabilized a firm strand. The new bathhouse-pavillion at Hunting Island has added a popular facility to this ocean park.

The progress at Pleasant Ridge State Park is a little slow. Funds are always a problem, and much had to be done at this mountain area before any showing could be made. A very creditable caretaker's residence has been completed and a very fine dam built to create the mountain lake. Because of the absence of a bathhouse and sanitary facilities, water was not impounded this summer for swimming. A new hard surface access road to serve the area is in the making.

I believe you will be interested in knowing the attendance at the several areas for the past twelve (12) months ending June 30, 1952:

Campbells Pond --	7,725
Greenwood -------	3,480
Hunting Island --	32,056
Mill Creek ------	48,843
Pleasant Ridge --	(Under construction - not formally open to visitors)

I am attaching hereto a map showing location of the several areas and a copy of two activity pictures made this summer at Hunting Island.

Please call on us at any time for information and assistance and we always welcome your interest.

Very truly yours,

C. West Jacocks

C. West Jacocks
State Park Director

CWJ:cfs

South Carolina Citizens Committee on Children and Youth

1930 COLLEGE STREET

COLUMBIA 1, SOUTH CAROLINA

OFFICERS

CHAIRMAN
MRS. W. R. WALLACE
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COORDINATOR
MISS ADELE J. MINAHAN

MEMBERS OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

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MRS. J. DERHAM LEWIS
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MISS ANNE HENDRIX
(YOUTH MEMBER)
COLUMBIA

MRS. T. B. STACKHOUSE
COLUMBIA

August 25, 1952

RECEIVED
AUG 28 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr.George S.Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue , N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr.Mitchell:

Alice Spearman asked me to answer your letter of August 14. I regret the delay in answering was waiting for the opportunity to confer with Mr.Jacocks of the State Forestry Commission and Mr.McCray.

I feel that our State Forestry Commission is making an honest effort to " equalize " the park facilities and much progress has been made. I am enclosing a statement from Mr. Jacocks. Under seperate cover sending you pictures and a map showing the location of the parks .

In my conversation with Mr.McCray several days ago he promised to write out the gist of this conversation, however, I have waited several days for this information and I hesitate to delay longer my letter to you. Should Mr.McCray write statement will mail same promptly .

I was surprised to hear Mr.McCray say - "that the Negroes should make more use of the park areas which are now provided by South Carolina before additional areas are provided ." However, I hesitate to quote any one without a written statement.

We have had no recent legislation on recreation except as it applies to certain counties . We do not know of any proposed state legislation.

I trust that this information will be helpful . Will be glad to serve further .

Cordial greetings.

Sincerely ,

Adele J Minahan

August 26, 1952

Dr. Felton G. Clark
Southern University
Baton Rouge, La.

Dear Dr. Clark:

Many thanks for your kind letter of August 21 and for enlisting Mr. Spriggins in the cause.

I am sure that what he and you will send will give us what is needed.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Segr. in Rec.

SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY
F. G. CLARK, PRESIDENT
BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA

August 21, 1952

RECEIVED
AUG 25 1952
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

This is in reference to your letter of August 15, in which you seek information for an article which will deal with recreational facilities in southern states and cities.

The key man in recreation and facilities in New Orleans and probably Louisiana, is Mr. E. Belfred Spriggins who is a long-time resident of Louisiana and one actively engaged in recreation.

I am taking the liberty to send your letter to Mr. Spriggins, asking that he answer it directly, and that he gather such general supporting opinions as would reflect the true picture in our state. My belief is that Mr. Spriggins will happily give you the information, points of view and general support needed. In the meantime, I expect to be writing you, adding any general observations that I may be able to gather such as would help make the picture as complete as is possible.

Sincerely yours,

Felton G. Clark.

cc: Mr. E. Belfred Spriggins
Gentilly Gardens Apartments
Gentilly Road
New Orleans, Louisiana

7-1607

CABLE ADDRESS: NACAPEOPLE, N. Y.

LONGACRE 3-6890

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40th STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

Please direct reply to:
SOUTHEAST REGIONAL OFFICE NAACP
624 Masonic Temple Bldg.
1630 - 4th Ave., No.
Birmingham, Alabama
Telephone Birmingham 3-2887

RECEIVED
AUG 28 1952

August 27, 1952

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Doctor Mitchell,

Your communication under date of August 14th has just come to my attention since my return to the office from a part of my vacation. Now my secretary is out and it will be another few days before I can get the information you request together and into your hands. I hope that the end of next week will not be too late.

Sincerely,

Ruby Hurley

Ruby Hurley
Regional Secretary

RH/

Recreation 1953 survey

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

Community Relations Program

1000 Eleventh Street N.W.
STerling 6569

No. 6 - August - 1952

Irene Osborne
Alma Scurlock

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

The recreation situation in Washington has been a source of so much concern this summer, particularly in the Rosedale area, that we have decided to devote this issue of the Newsletter to a clear statement of fact concerning the Recreation Board and the play areas of the District of Columbia.

Composition of the Board: This body was created by an act of the 77th Congress (Public Law 534) on April 29, 1942. It consists of four citizen members, each appointed by the Commissioners for a term of four years "without regard to race, sex, or creed"; two members representing the Board of Commissioners and the Board of Education; and the Superintendent of the National Capital Parks ex officio. These members serve without compensation.

The Recreation Board determines "all questions of general policy relating to public recreation in and for the District of Columbia", and appoints a Superintendent of Recreation who organizes, administers, and supervises the Board's program through the Assistant Superintendents and the directors of the divisions (One, Two, City-wide, and Neighborhood).

Areas Under Supervision of the Board: "The Board shall have power and authority to adopt, conduct, direct, or cause to be conducted or directed, under its supervision, a comprehensive program of public recreation ..... in major recreation centers, playfields, athletic fields, playgrounds, tennis courts, baseball diamonds, swimming pools, beaches, golf courses, community centers, and social centers in schools, parks, or other publicly owned buildings, as well as other recreational facilities which may be agreed upon between the Board and the agencies having jurisdiction over such facilities."

There are approximately 140 of these areas, 68 of which have been assigned to the District Government by the National Capital Park and Planning Commission under the 1924 law, although the title for these lands still lies in the United States Government (Department of the Interior). It is these assigned areas which have been the subject of jurisdictional claims by both the Department of the Interior and the District Government.

In April, 1952, the Camp case petitioned the Court to decide which of these agencies held jurisdiction over Trinidad playground, one of the assigned areas. However, Judge Pine dismissed the case in District Court without passing upon this question of jurisdiction, holding that private parties do not have the legal standing to raise the issue.

Nineteen park areas are non-segregated or "open" under an agreement, dated August, 1949, between the Recreation Board and the Department of the Interior. These include all golf courses, miniature golf courses, tennis courts, Tidal Basin boating, bicycle rentals, Reflecting Pool Ice Skating Service, Ferry Service (Maine Avenue to East Potomac Park), Potomac clipper Sight-Seeing Boats, Speed Boats and Pentagon Lagoon boating, as well as picnic areas, swimming pools, and day camps within the areas.

Two of the remaining 54 areas are operated by the Board under agreement with the National Housing Authority; four by permission of the D. C. Commissioners; and the rest by permission of the Board of Education. There are no formal agreements between the Recreation Board and either the D. C. Commissioners or the Board of Education.

Policy of Gradual Integration: In its By-Laws as amended on June 14, 1949 (Article 2, Section 2) the Board went on record to "make every possible and realistic effort toward the removal of racial segregation in public recreation in such sequence and at such rate of progress as may be consistent with the public interest, public order, and effective administration." There are varying opinions in the Washington community as to the interpretation of the underlined passages in the foregoing statement. Population trends have so affected the racial composition of many neighborhoods that the Board is constantly faced with the demand to "open" additional playgrounds. To date eleven playgrounds not on Interior land have been declared "open" for interracial use.

In some instances playgrounds have been declared "open" where the neighborhoods are predominantly colored and a minority of white families need recreation facilities for their children. This is true of Park View which was first transferred from white to colored use, and finally declared an open area, as well as Banneker, the only night lighted play area in the District of Columbia. In other instances playgrounds have been declared "open" where Negro residents constitute more than 50% of the population in a neighborhood.

This policy of gradual integration raises many questions as to its effectiveness. Groups favoring integration feel that the Board is moving too slowly, while those with a different point of view feel that it is moving too fast.

Athletic teams from "open" playgrounds are ineligible for competition with teams from playgrounds in either Division One (white) or Division Two (colored). Hence the present arrangement tends to discourage mixed teams even in neighborhoods where children from the two groups live side by side.

Absence of interracial staff, or at least of staff trained in intergroup activities, on the "open" playgrounds fails to place at the disposal of the persons using these playgrounds the means best calculated to insure amicable and understanding participation in an organized program, although in many instances the children of all groups play together on these playgrounds (and on others which are still restricted) when no official is on duty.

Present Membership of the Board: Colonel Frank Collins, Chairman; Mrs. Alice Hunter, Secretary; Mrs. A. O. Hankins; Mr. Henry Gichner; Walter D. Fowler (Budget Officer for D.C.) representing the D. C. Commissioners; Albert Steinem, Member, representing the Board of Education; and Edward J. Kelly, Superintendent of National Capital Parks - ex officio, representing the Secretary of the Interior.

Mr. Henry Gichner, newly appointed member of the Board, took oath of office on August 12, 1952. He is well known as a civic leader, and as a baseball umpire. He has taught photography classes for the Recreation Board. Mr. Gichner's forthrightness in standing for recreation services for all citizens without distinction commends him to the community.

Meetings of the Board: The Board meets in the Board Room of the Recreation Department at 3149 Sixteenth Street N.W., the second Tuesday in each month at 2:30 P.M., unless notice is given of a change. Next meeting, Sept. 9, 1952.

The members of this Board serve without compensation the interests of not only ourselves, but our dearest possessions -- our children. Citizens therefore have an obligation to take an interest in and keep the Board informed of the recreation needs and problems of this community. Why not attend the Board meetings and make your contribution to community progress?

New Member of the Board of Education: The recent and surprising resignation of Dr. James A. Gannon came as a shock to the citizens of the community who were unaware of his intention to terminate his twelve years of service on the Board of Education. He has been replaced by Robert R. Faulkner, Esquire, who was appointed immediately by the Judges of the District Court. Mr. Faulkner, an attorney, specializes in tax cases. He is a Catholic, married, and the father of two married daughters, both of whom are graduates of Washington public schools. Mr. Faulkner has expressed a sincere interest in doing a good job for the parents and children of this community.

- - - - -

N O T I C E ! !

The friends of Dr. Phillip Johnson, Board of Education member whose term expired in June, 1952, are tendering him a dinner in recognition of his efforts on behalf of all children of the Washington Community without regard to their race, creed, or color.

TIME: Monday, September 8, 1952, 7:00 P.M.

PLACE. National Press Club, 14th and F Streets N.W.

RESERVATIONS: $4.25 per person

If you would like to share in this tribute, please call Mrs. Margery Ware, Washington Urban League, REpublic 0367, or Mrs. Claude Cowan, LAwrence 6-8056, for reservations.

To Dr. Mitchell

9 -4 -52

From Sue Crank

Re: SEGREGATION IN RECREATION

STATES

South Carolina

Letter of thanks due Miss Adele Menehan and/or Mr. C. West Jacocks for material from South Carolina (State information)

Texas

Letter to Atty. Durham and/or Mr. C. Wesley ~~Carter.~~ The letter from Atty. Durham included description and some interpretation of State law. Actual questions still not answered. Did Mr. Carter include list of parks mentioned by Atty. D.?

Louisiana

No information received. Dr. Clark mentioned sending your letter of Aug. 15 to Mr. E.B. Spriggins, Gentilly Gardens Apartments, Gentilly Road, New Orleans. Perhaps you would like to send a follow-up letter to Dr. Clark or one directly to Mr. Spriggins.

Georgia

No information yet.

TENNEssee

No information. Has cantact been made?

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

CITIES

Atlanta. No information.

New Orleans. No information. (See Louisiana above.)

Charleston. No information. Has contact been made?

Fort Worth. No information. Has contact been made?

Birmingham. No information. Letter from Miss Hurley pending. Rec'd 9-5-52

Louisville. No information. Has contact been made?

Oklahoma City. No information. Has contact been made?

Richmond. No information. Perhaps a follow-up letter to Mr. C.E.Smith

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

CABLE ADDRESS: NACAPEOPLE, N. Y.

LONGACRE 3-6890

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40th STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

Please direct reply to:
SOUTHEAST REGIONAL OFFICE NAACP
729 Masonic Temple Bldg.
1630 - 4th Ave., No.
Birmingham, Alabama
Telephone Birmingham 3-1376

RECEIVED
SEP 5 1952
Southern Regional Council

September 4, 1952

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

This is in reply to your communication of August 14.

1. About 40% of Birmingham's population is non-white -- Total population 326,037 -- 130,142 -- non-white. It is estimated 97% of these are Negro.

2. Recreation facilities in the city of Birmingham as listed in the 1950 Report of the Park and Recreation Board were as follows:

55 - 7 = 48 w/o a Courts

55 Park Areas comprising 1,052.16 acres.
1 Athletic Field and Track -- Legion Field Stadium -- permanent seating capacity 44,198.
15 Hard Ball Diamonds -- 1 lighted.
12 Hard Ball Diamonds have bleacher facilities
9 Soft Ball Diamonds -- all lighted
12 Soft Ball Diamonds not lighted
19 Football Fields
8 Indoor Shuffleboard Courts
12 Outdoor Shuffleboard Courts
48 Horseshoe Courts
24 Volleyball Courts
6 Indoor Basketball Courts
5 Outdoor Basketball Courts
1 Skating Rink
3 Ampitheaters
3 Golf Courses (one 9- and two 18-hole courses)
25 Hard Surfaced Tennis Courts
50 Clay Tennis Courts
6 Swimming Pools
20 Wading Pools --12 with sprays
79 Outdoor Ovens
14 Picnic Areas
10 Community Centers
6 Pre-school Play Centers

31 Summer Playgrounds
1 Hobby Shop -- Arts and Crafts
1 Greenhouse and Nursery
1 Formal Rose Garden
1 Artificial Lake -- fishing and boating
1 Fish Hatchery
Vulcan Monument with significant Exhibit of the Natural Mineral Resources of Alabama.

Of these, the few facilities open to Negroes at all are segregated. There are no more than six or seven parks for Negroes with a minimum of equipment and service according to information we have been able to get.

There is one swimming pool for Negroes at Tuxedo Park. The attached copy of a memorandum prepared by a group of citizens give a slant of the picture.

There is not a good tennis court for Negroes in the city.

A golf course is being constructed on the outskirts of town.

Negroes have two Branch Libraries -- both are inadequate. They cannot use the main library.

Generally, recreational facilities open to Negroes in Birmingham are completely inadequate to meet the need. No suits have been filed as yet, but we are hopeful that we can do something through the NAACP before too much time passes. It has been the tendency of Negroes in the community to ask for separate facilities and accomodations and their requests are given little consideration as should be expected.

Sincerely yours,

Ruby Hurley

Ruby Hurley
Regional Secretary

RH:S

encl

SUGGESTED IMPROVEMENTS FOR TUXEDO PARK

1. One or two drinking fountains on the outer grounds would service large and small groups out there.

2. At present non-swimmers are allowed to use indoor lavatories as a special granted permission. Having lavatory facilities set up outside would be an asset.

3. By pool not being centrally located, attendance is naturally lower. As it is, the pool is located in the extreme western section of the city. Really need at least one other pool centrally located.

4. Pool not so attractive to adults and larger boys and girls, due to no diving board. It should be at least 9 feet or more at the deep end before a diving board would be safe.

5. Its location makes it cost an adult 69¢ -- ~~54¢ car fare~~, 35¢ swimming fee. It costs high school students who live across the city 59¢ to swim.

   Prices run like this: Adults 35¢
   High school students or children above 12 - 25¢
   1:00 to 5:00 P.M. children under 12 years of age 10¢ and
   20¢ after 5:00 P.M.
   No 10¢ fee on Saturdays, Sundays and Holidays

6. There are always more boys than girls swimming. The Men's dressing room could be enlarged to accomodate the week-end and holiday crowds.

COPY

Birmingham Gives Negro Citizens Seventh Park Site

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.— (SNS) The seventh park for Birmingham Negro citizens was added when the City Commission announced the creation of a new park in West End, one block north of Lomb Boulevard, City Commission President Cooper Green announced.

Among other recreational projects provided by the City Commission for colored people is the Tuxedo Swimming Pool.

The seven parks and swimming pools have been developed within the past five years.

Property for the new park covers about seven acres and faces two avenues and one street. It is level and will make an excellent play ground and ball diamond. Mr. Green said. It is city land formerly used by the Department of Public Improvement.

Meantime, the Birmingham Branch of the NAACP, in an announcement last week said that it would explore the recreational opportunities provided for Negro and white citizens, and if they were found to be unequal, would make a court test to correct any inequalities. The NAACP's announcement noted that not one of the city owned and operated golf courses was opened to Negro golfers.

10 - 14 - 52

Called Tonsh. N.C.

To Dr. Mitchell

From Sue Crank

Re: SEGREGATION IN RECREATION

Had a personal conference with Mr. Alston of the National Urban League, today.

The questionnaires were sentv out last week. I told him we thought it most effective to have follow-up done from his office. He agreed and promised to do so the first of next week. Told him we would be glad to assist in the follow-up to relieve pressure of his staff and speed up the response. He said he would contact Washington, D.C. at once.

Told him we were trying to make the January issue of the Emory law journal and they would probably have to have the material at the printer's about a month ahead, so we would have to move very rapidly to make their schedule. Warned him that we would be "parked on his doorstep" until all the information was in. He promised his full co-operation.

He is working on a report of recreation facilities for Negroes in several southern cities. While it will not include comparative data, I asked if we might have a copy of it when completed as it might be helpful in developing the article. He consented.

He is planning to visit Charleston, S.C. this month and will try to get information from them while there.

There has been no word from Mr. Spriggins of Louisiana in response to your letter of September 9. You might write him again.

Letters might be sent to agencies responsible for state parks as listed in the BOOK OF STATES mentioned in Anna's memo to you.

Did you send a follow-up letter to Mr. C. E. Smith, Richmond, Va.?

The information from Texas (Atty Durham) was not complete. It gave some description of the State law but nothing on actual facilities. Perhaps it will come in through the Urban League contacts. Otherwise, we may need to make contact with someone there who can furnish the information we need.

wrote C. Warlow Nov. 4. 52 am

Would you please ask Mr. McKay what the time schedule is so we could know definitely?

Mr. Alston would like for you to call him as soon as you return.

Race & Racial Differences
1956-57

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL

REctor 2-5417 NEWS SERVICE 20 Vesey Street,
New York 7, N.Y.

JESUIT PSYCHOLOGIST FINDS
NO MENTAL DISPARITY BETWEEN RACES

New York, Oct. 22 1956 -- Skin color is no determinant of scholastic standing, the Rev. Joseph F. Donceel, S.J., professor of psychology at Fordham University said in a talk here yesterday.

Basing his conclusions on his experience in teaching psychology in Belgium, the United States and Africa, Father Donceel said that, given equal opportunity and equal intellectual stimulation, white and Negro students achieve equal scholastic grades.

Fr. Donceel spoke at a bi-monthly communion breakfast of the Catholic Interracial Council and the Catholic Laymen's Union at Fordham University, Downtown.

Conducting a course in experimental psychology at the Jesuit scholasticate in the Belgian Congo was an experience which strengthened Fr. Donceel's view that there are no differences in mental capacity between the races. A professor at Louvain University in Belgium, he was asked to give the course to the native Jesuit seminarians in the Congo. Seeking advice on how to adapt this course to the African mentality, he was told by educators who had been in Africa: "Give exactly the same thing you give at Louvain."

Heeding this advice, Fr. Donceel also gave the same examinations and found that the African students rated higher in their tests than the white students at Louvain.

A factor which creates an apparent disparity between white and Negro scholastic ability in higher studies, the Jesuit educator said, is inequality in basic educational training.

Living in the same religious community with African Jesuits, Fr. Donceel "found no real difference" between them and his fellow Jesuits in Europe and the United States.

He said that these future priests find a difficulty in reconciling the "kindness and generosity" of the American people with racial injustices practiced in the United States. To their inquiries in this regard, Fr. Donceel responded that: "At least in the United States the law is in favor of equality, and the law slowly advances."

# # #

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
1133 Broadway, New York 10, N. Y.

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

FOR EQUAL ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

250 Auburn Avenue, N. E. Lamar 7262 Atlanta 3, Georgia

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RECEIVED
OCT 31 1952
Southern Regional Council

SOUTHERN FIELD DIVISION
Harry L. Alston, Industrial Relations
M. T. Puryear, Vocational Guidance

October 30, 1952

RECEIVED
OCT 30 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of October 28, directed to Mr. Alston.

Mr. Alston has been out of the office on field trips, practically the entire month of October. However, I am sure that you will hear from him during the coming week, when he returns to the city.

Follow-up letters have been sent to the Southern Field Affiliates, asking them to reply as soon as possible to the questionnaire which was sent to them - from our office - requesting information re segregation in the fields of amusement and recreation. We should be hearing from them in the very near future.

Sincerely yours,

Shedricka Miller

(Mrs.) Shedricka Miller, Secretary to
Harry L. Alston
Industrial Secretary
Southern Field Division
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

M

Affiliated With National Social Welfare Assembly, National Conference of Social Work, United Community Defense Services, United Defense Fund

Contributions are deductible for income tax purposes.

Recreation survey 1952

Letter to Mr. H. L. Alston (Copy)
From J. Westbrook McPherson,
Executive Director of the
New Orleans Urban League
October 31, 1952

Dear Harry:

Am enclosing an excerpt from the Banner and Kerns Study in New Orleans covering public recreation. I think this will cover the information sought in your memo of October 6, re Professor McKay's article in the JOURNAL OF PUBLIC LAW.

Please note following explanations and addenda.

a) With reference to information on page 3, an additional playspot, the James Lewis, Jr. Playspot, has been established since the survey.

b) The information on page 5 concerning public golf facilities, tennis courts, and similar facilities in city parks should be amended to show that Negroes now have the use of these facilities in City Park for two days per week as a result of a recent court decision secured by the NAACP.

c) On page 6, the reference to pollution of waters at Lincoln Beach alludes to a condition of the water which stems from the fact that a number of summer camp houses, which are built in such a way as to stem out over the water, use this portion of the lake for sewerage disposal. In other words, fecal metter is flushed directly into the portion of the lake which has been developed as a beach resort for Negroes.

d) On page 7 reference is made to a possible beach for Negroes at Hayne Boulevard. This is the spot - referred to on page 6 of the excerpt - where Negroes are currently swimming without benefit of beach facilities.

Hope this information will serve the purpose. Pardon tardiness.

J. Westbrook McPherson,
Executive Director

COPY

RECREATION AND GROUP WORK

Public Recreation

In recent years the New Orleans Recreation Department has expanded its facilities considerably to provide recreational and leisure-time activities for both Negro and white youth in New Orleans. The major group work agencies (supported in part by the Community Chest) which have been working in this field include: the Y. M. C. A,, the Orleans Neighborhood Centers, the Boy Scouts, and the Girl Scouts. Several church centers have also had programs designed for cultural development.

The legislated policy of segregation which exists in New Orleans public schools appears to be traditional in many unlegislated areas, including public recreation. Thus, one finds, in New Orleans, some parks, playgrounds, community centers and libraries for use by white persons and others for use by colored persons. All parks, centers, and playgrounds serving Negroes are administered by colored personnel.

The Negro personnel in the public recreation program, February, 1950, consisted of one director and fifteen supervisors, all of which were under civil service. Theseemployees receive in-service training bi-monthly under the supervision of the Negro director.

The city administration and the Council of Social Agencies are aware of the inadequacies, for both Negroes and whites, of the public recreation program. During the past four years encouraging and commendable progress has been made in improving the general situation. The facilities for Negroes have been enlarged to a greater extent than for whites in a situation where facilities were woefully inadequate over a long period of time.

The New Orleans Recreation Department in March, 1950, sponsored the following play areas for white and Negroes:

COPY

Whites		NEGROES	
Playgrounds	30	Playgrounds	10
Playspots	7	Playspots	0
Recreation Centers	10	Recreation Centers	2
Football Fields	2	Football Fields	0
Baseball Stadiums	3	Baseball Fields	1
Projects	3	Projects	4

In addition to the provisions for recreation enumerated, selected schools are used as neighborhood playgrounds during certain periods of the year. In 1949, thirty-five white and ten Negro schools were so used.

Among the major additions of the New Orleans Recreation Department between 1946-1950 (showing those for white and those for colored use) are following:

New Recreation Centers 3
- Lyons
- Stallings
- ~~Rosenwald*~~

New Flood Lighting Systems 36

New Football Stadiums 2
- Nord
- ~~Shakespeare*~~

New Field Houses 9
- Hardin
- Lehman
- ~~Thomas Fox*~~
- Sam Bonart
- Nord Stadium
- Delcazal
- Annunciation
- ~~Washington*~~
- Shakespeare*

New Wading Pools 2
- Shakespeare*
- Union Square

New Swimming Pools** 9
- Hardin
- Lehman
- Thomas Fox*
- Sam Bonart
- Lyons Center
- Gatto Center
- Recreation Stadium
- Shakespeare*
- Stallings Center

New Baseball Fields..... 2
- P. D. Roehm
- Thomas A. Fox (flood lighted)*

New Playspots 7
- Broadmoor
- Brooks
- Lawrence Square
- Margaret Place
- McDonough
- Octavia Smith

* Designated for Negroes

** Total number of swimming pools for Negroes is 5 in contrast to 1 three years ago

Most of the centers for Negroes are small and have a minimum of equipment and supplies. This is especially true of centers located in the several housing projects where only makeshift space has been provided in a room for the programs. There are a few activities in such centers attractive to older youth or young adults.

The Rosenwald Center, recently completed, will provide for an expanded program. It is one of the best constructed centers in the city and will add greatly to the recreation program in one of the most populous areas inhabited by Negroes.

Special teen-age programs are sponsored on the playgrounds and in all of the publicly supported center buildings. Most of these programs are sponsored by teen-agers themselves under adult guidance. In addition to periodic social dances, other activities include: seasonal parties, choral music, hikes, athletics, picnics, and a limited amount of handicraft activities.

Studies made by the New Orleans Council of Social Agencies in 1946 indicate that there are many congested areas occupied by Negroes which need broad recreational programs. In several populous Negro areas there are playgrounds used little by the few whites in the area but their use is precluded by Negroes because of racial restrictions.

The survey director was taken on a tour of the playgrounds and centers designated for Negroes; and visited a number of the voluntary recreation and character-building agencies. The programs sponsored in most of the centers, even where the facilities were woefully inadequate, indicated that they were well planned. The Negro recreation workers on the public recreation staff have more than average qualifications for the duties they perform. All of those interviewed were college graduates and several had specialized recreation training.

In studying population density maps of the city of New Orleans, it was evident that not until recently was population taken into consideration in planning for the distribution of recreational services for Negroes or whites. The distance which many Negro youth in New Orleans must travel to play areas

is a strong determinant for participation or non-usage. Physical barriers and traffic hazards loom as factors in the non-attendance of Negro youth at some of the centers which are available. Negro youth may be seen daily playing in the streets and on sidewalks because the distance to the nearest playground or center is too great. Any long-range program in New Orleans which plans to meet the growing problems of leisure-time activities of Negroes must take these factors into consideration.

See letter

There are a number of recreational facilities in New Orleans under public auspices which are not available to Negroes. Negroes may not use the public golf facilities nor the numerous tennis courts, all of which are in public parks. The facilities of Audubon and City Park are closed to Negroes. Colored persons who desire park and picnicking advantages are compelled to use a portion of the lake front which is approximately eleven miles from the center of the city. Even though the two city parks, just mentioned, spent $48,070 and $235,468 for the period 1946-1948, respectively, funds largely from public taxes, no provisions are made for Negroes. Negroes may visit the zoo; but may not use the comfort stations.

Up to 1946 there were no beach facilities for Negro bathing. A section far removed from the white beach is now used unofficially by Negroes but there are no facilities for changing clothes. Negroes who use this beach must come already dressed in their apparel.

Lincoln Beach, a distance of approximately fourteen miles from the center of the Negro population, is the only partially developed facility for Negroes. Few Negroes patronize this beach because it is reported that the water is polluted. Adjacent to the beach is a commercial park operated by "whites." The unsatisfactory bus schedule makes it difficult for Negroes who desire to use the beach to reach it. In addition to the distance of the beach there are certain physical features which make it undesirable and at times dangerous. The beach

is small and steep, a bulkhead projects from the terrain and the water is comparatively rough. The small shelter house is surrounded by water and is reached by a narrow boardwalk from a railroad underpass.

During the course of this survey there was a newspaper discussion about the further development of Lincoln Beach. There was also talk about providing a beach for Negroes next to the proposed housing development to be constructed adjacent to Hayne Boulevard. The co-ordinator of housing for the City of New Orleans stated that such talk was idle chatter because the forces interested in developing that area for housing had no jurisdiction over the water front and no agreement had been reached for beach facilities, which are under the suthority of the Dock and Levee Board.

Negroes feel that they are entitled to more accessible area than is at present provided. They (Negroes) point to the extensive beach developments, which have been provided for "whites" at a tremendous cost to taxpayers, and state that such accomodations as they seek are justifiable requests.

The facilities of the Municipal Stadium and the Municipal Auditorium are open to Negroes only on a segregated basis, even though there are no legal restrictions which preclude their use otherwise.

11 - 5 - 52

To Dr. Mitchell

From Sue Crank

Please call Mr. Alston to determine specifically what cities he expects to visit in the next few days or weeks. Those listed are New Orleans, Richmond, Fort Worth, Oklahoma City, Atlanta, Louisville, Birmingham (we have heard from Miss Hurley there), and Charleston. Ask him again if he will please get the information "on the spot" from those places he visits and bring it back with him.

In regard to the information on Atlanta, would you like to call or write Mrs. Hamilton at the Atlanta Urban League for this? I think we ought to get started on it. While it ought to be very easy to get, it may take some time.

It would be well to write the State agencies as listed in the BOOK OF STATES for the information on the ones we want. They are: South Carolina, Texas, Louisiana, Georgia, and Tennessee. This might be done in addition to the contacts already made since the replies are so slow and sketchy.

11 - 5 - 52

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SOUTHERN FIELD DIVISION
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November 6, 1952

RECEIVED
NOV 7 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

As indicated in our telephone conversation yesterday, I am sending you the reports, which I received from the Washington Urban League, Inc. and the New Orleans Urban League regarding the recreational services and facilities in their respective communities.

When you have compiled the information you desire from these reports, please return them to our office so that they might retained in our files.

As soon as I hear from the other Affiliates in the Southern Field Division, I will let you know.

Sincerely yours,

H. L. Alston

Harry L. Alston
Industrial Secretary
Southern Field Division
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

HLA/m

Affiliated With National Social Welfare Assembly, National Conference of Social Work, United Community Defense Services, United Defense Fund

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Have Sue write
Ga - I wrote Clark
he turned over to Springfield, who did nothing.
GSW write to other man.
SC - 3.P.M. to go to Cola.

11 - 7-1952

To Dr. Mitchell

From Sue Crank

Re: SEGREGATION IN RECREATION

We need more specific information from South Carolina and Washington, D.C. as follows:

South Carolina:

How many state parks are there- for whites? For Negroes? 4
How much money spent on recreation - for whites? For Negroes?
Number and kind of personnel, equipment, services, etc. at each?
How many golf courses, tennis courts, swimming pools, and othe facilities (amphitheatres, stadia, ball parks, etc.).
Libraries and other facilities?
Special emphasis on numbers.

Miss Adele Minahan sent us the material we have which was compiled for her by Mr. C. West Jacocks, State Park Director, State Commission of Forestry, Columbia, South Carolina. Miss Minahan's address is 1930 College Street, Columbia, South Carolina.

Washington, D.C.

Actual total figures of population with number of whites and number of Negroes?
Number and kinds of Federal recreation facilities?
" " " " D.C. gov't " " ?
(Golf courses, tennis courts, parks - their equipment and personnel.
Any other information that would help in descriptions and comparisons.
Actual titles of suits to be filed against the Recreation Department, if possible.

Have you written letters to other State Departments of Recreation? Addresses are in the BOOK OF STATES which Anna has.
You might send a letter or make a phone call to H. L. Alston thanking him for the information received, a greeing to return same after compilation, and emphasizing to him the importance of getting specific, numerical information from his offices, as well as the general statements.

Will speak to Grace Hamilton tomorrow re Atlanta information, and tell her that you will call her Monday to give more details.

Copy of Letter to Mr. McKay
From Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton,
Atlanta Urban League
November 11, 1952

Dear Mr. McKay:

This letter comes in reply to a request from Mr. Alston of the National Urban League for certain information upon recreational facilities for white and Negro residents of Atlanta, Georgia. I regret that it is not possible to answer all of the questions raised with completeness.

The Atlanta Urban League is considering a study and report of municipal recreational facilities for Negroes in Atlanta, and we will be happy to share our findings with you when it is done.

In 1940 the Atlanta Social Planning Council published a "Report on Informal Education and Recreation Programs of Member Agencies - Fulton and DeKalb Counties." The attached inventory of facilities in Atlanta parks and the following paragraph were parts of this report.

> "The tables on park property and facilities according to race served quite obviously reveal the need of park facilities for Negroes. The Park Department maintains a total of 1,449 acres of park facilities but only 16.4 acres may be used by the Negro population. This acreage is made up of one park. Negroes in Atlanta make up 34.6 of the total population."

In the twelve years since this report, Atlanta has opened two additional park areas for Negroes - Anderson and Pittmann Parks. These two parks include one additional swimming pool; two recreational buildings; a baseball diamond, and several tennis courts. No golf courses are available for use by Negro citizens. We do not have information on the extent to which recreational resources for white citizens have been increased during this period. Comments upon the "equality of the facilities" are obviously unnecessary.

There are three branch libraries in Negro neighborhoods maintained by the Atlanta Public Library. Books which are available in the main library may be secured by Negro readers by librarians, but the facilities of main libraries are not available for use by Negroes.

Present Negro population within Atlanta continues to be roughly one-third of the total. Groups of Negro citizens have appealed to the city government for additional park space in one of the most heavily populated areas of the city and for the provision of a golf course. Both of these needs are under consideration by the appropriate bodies, but no specific indication of how soon they may be available has been given.

Yours sincerely,

Mrs. G. T. Hamilton
Executive Director

Atlanta Park Inventory*

Facilities

Swimming Pools (5 white; 1 Negro)	6
Golf Courses (4 - 9; 1 - 18 hole)	5
Tennis Courts (27 lighted) (6 Negro)	91
Baseball Diamonds	14
Softball Diamonds	10
Playgrounds	32
Picnic Pavilions	6
Open Pavilions (bandstands)	4
Barbecue Pits	5
Outdoor Kitchens or Grills	10
Horse Shoe Court	1
Skating Rinks or Areas	2
Pony Tracks	2
Greenhouse & Conservatory	1
Zoo	1
Polo Field	1
Cyclorama	1
Dance Pavilions	2
Athletic Fields	6
Electric Fountain	1
Wading Pools	5

*Informal Education and Recreation Programs of Member Agencies - Fulton and DeKalb Counties, 1940, p. 126.

11 - 12 - 52

To Dr. Mitchell

From Sue Crank

Here is the list of names and addresses of State officers of recreation. Please send letters asking for the information from their respective states.

This is how we stand:

SOUTH CAROLINA
We have received some in formation from Mr. Flory through Miss Minahan.

TEXAS
No information yet either from the State officer or Mr. Wesley's newspaper inquiry.

LOUISIANA
No State information.

GEORGIA
We have a map of the State parks.

TENNESSEE
No information of any kind.

11 - 18 - 52

To Dr. Mitchell

From Sue Crank

Re: SEGREGATION IN RECREATION

This is how we stand:

States

Texas - no information; Louisiana - no information for the State; South Carolina - Some information. You thought you might get more through personal contact while you were there. Tennessee - no information; Georgia - no information except a map acquired unofficially.

Anna is sending letters to all state officials, except South Carolina, asking them to please give us the info by Nov. 30.

Cities

New Orleans - info received; Birmingham - info received; Washington - info incompletev and very general; Charleston, S.C. - you will probably get thru your personal contact; Fort Worth, Louisville; Oklahoma City; Richmond - none. Atlanta will be sent from Mr. Alston's office. They have a copy of the material prepared by Mrs. Hamilton, but she must have sent it directly to Emory or something. They are forwarding copy to us.

Did you call Mr. McKay to know when he had to have this material? Perhaps it would be appropriate to send them a letter letting them know where we are and what the difficulties are. If the January issue is not possible, maybe we could make a later one.

Talked to Mr. Alston's secretary to day and told her the cities we had not yet heard from. She said he would probably send out another memo to hurry them up; also would send a note to Washington, D.C. asking for more specific information. I told her that you would be in the office tomorrow and would call Mr. Alston. Please ask him if he got any information "on the spot" from the cities he visited.

Made a copy of the letters and materials that had been sent to him and returned the originals to his office.

— Alston promised STM Nov 19 to push.

Mississippi Park Service

1104 WOOLFOLK STATE OFFICE BUILDING
P. O. BOX 649
Jackson, Mississippi

November 21, 1952

RECEIVED
NOV 24 1952
Southern Regional Council

Miss Anna Holden
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Holden:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter of November 19, requesting information concerning recreational facilities available to Negroes in the south, and which is to be published in Emory's JOURNAL OF PUBLIC LAW.

There are nine State Parks in Mississippi which are operated for the whites only, with the negroes being permitted to fish in the lakes in designated areas. There has been no legislation introduced to provide state park facilities for negroes; however, this matter has been under consideration for quite a long time. The Honorable Fielding L. Wright, Governor of Mississippi from 1948 to 1952 made the statement in 1950 that at least two parks should be provided for negroes immediately. This has not been done but we do believe that the 1954 legislature will make provisions for parks for negroes or for facilities within the present parks on a segregated basis.

This writer was discussion leader on the question of State Parks and the Race Problem at the annual meeting of the Southeastern State Park Directors in Albemarle, North Carolina, in the fall of 1950. The consensus of opinion among all State Park Directors and Leaders present was that facilities should be provided for the negroes at the earliest possible date, and that it should be done because they deserved these facilities and not because or until they were forced to provide them. I am enclosing copy of paper prepared for me by Dr. J. L. Reddix, President of Jackson College for Negroes, which I think might be of interest to you.

If we can be of any further assistance, please feel free to call on us.

Very truly yours,
JAMES W. CRAIG
State Park Director
By: A. H. Nall
A. H. Nall
Park Coordinator

AHN:bm

STATE PARKS AND THE RACE PROBLEM

The relationship of state parks to the race problem is the same as the relationship of all state facilities to the race problem. The state by its very nature is obligated to furnish equal facilities for all of its citizens. This is usually done without question for the basic facilities such as roads, police protection, education, et cetera, but there has been a tendency, both in the North and in the South, to make no provisions for colored people in public facilities of a recreational nature. We are all happy that this neglect is decreasing everywhere in recent years. The fact that this subject has a place on this program is an indication of the truth of this statement.

It was only a few years ago when it was questionable as to whether recreation was a function of the state under any circumstances; but the growth of our theory of public school, public roads, and social welfare, over the past centruy has confirmed the theory that the state must be concerned about the well-being of all of its citizens. During the past hundred years, life and living in our society has grown more complex. Modern transportation has increased our neighbors many fold. The percentage of our population living in large cities has increased very sharply. Millions of working people in our cities do not have access to the natural facilities such as the rivers, woods as we once had. Only a small percentage of our population has had the means to own adequate personal facilities for recreation and vacations. In recent years, most of the states and many municipalities have developed parks, playgrounds, and bathing facilities that are accessible to the masses of its citizens at a very low cost, or at no cost at all. The City of Jackson, Mississippi, purchased 30 acres of land three years ago for the purpose of building a municipal park for Negro citizens. The city

will spend over a million dollars on this park when it is completed. A swimming pool, a good park house, wading pool, and recreation grounds, have already been completed and landscaped in a modern manner. A city auditorium costing upward of $375,000 is now being built. This auditorium will contain the most modern recreational facilities possible, a branch of the public library, and an auditorium that will seat approximately 2,500 persons. There is already evidence that this development has lowered juvenile delinquency in the City of Jackson. We believe that within a few years, this facility will make juvenile delinquency among Negro youths the lowest of any city in the South.

In the development of our State park facilities, adequate provisions must be made for colored people. There should be no doubt in the mind of any Negro citizen as he drives along the highways of our State as to whether he can use these facilities or not. Definite provisions should be made in every state park for Negro citizens. We should have wisdom and foresight enough to do this before any pressure is applied on state authorities, and in this way, we shall maintain good race relations at all times.

The development of our State park system should be "planned with" and not "for" the colored people. All men take pride in what they help to plan for themselves. When people are given the opportunity to plan things for themselves, they may be relied on, in most cases, to use good common sense in making their plans to accord with established social customs. When the State simply ignores the needs of a large segment of its citizens and makes no provision for their well-being, it tends toward either degrading these citizens or toward making them resentful, suspicious, and ready to listen to ideologies which are foreigh to democracy.

It is an axiom that enlightened men of all races seek the good life.

The good life means a home, a family, a church, equal protection under the law, and some of the beautiful things of life. It was Edwin Markham that said: "What the world needs is more bread, beauty, and brotherhood." The beauty that the world needs includes leisure time, recreation, and even the enjoyment of public parks.

Adequate park facilities tend toward lowering crime among all of the people. A boy that has a good home, a good school, and adequate recreation, is not likely to become a criminal. Most delinquency can be traced to broken homes and inadequate recreation. A few years ago, I saw a statement in the newspaper that the penitentiary of a certain state had balanced its budget and had shown a profit. That institution might have balanced its budget, but it did not show a profit. No penal institution can show a profit to society. The cost of crime in terms of human misery and the suffering of innocent women and children cannot be estimated. Experts have calculated that it cost on an average of more than two million dollars a year to convict and to keep a criminal in prison. States, municipalities, and the Federal Government are justified in spending tax money for the development of recreation for all of the people. Daniel Webster once said:

"Were half the power that fills the world with terror,
Were half the wealth bestowed on camps and courts,
Given to redeem the human mind from error,
There were no need for arsenals and forts."

COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA

SIDNEY S. KELLAM
Director
GEO. PRINCE ARNOLD
Assistant Director

RANDOLPH ODELL
Commissioner of Parks

DIVISION OF PARKS
DEPARTMENT OF CONSERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT
RICHMOND 19

BOARD

C. S. CARTER, Bristol, Chairman
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LEE PASCHALL, Richmond
SHELTON H. SHORT, JR., Chase City
VICTOR W. STEWART, Petersburg
JOEL H. WATKINS, Charlotte C. H.

November 24, 1952

Miss Anna Holden
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432,63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
NOV 26 1952
Southern Regional Council

Dear Miss Holden:

We have your letter of November 19 requesting certain information, which will be included in an article to be published in Emory's JOURNAL OF PUBLIC LAW, and the pamphlet describing your organization and its activities.

(1) (a) The Virginia State Parks available to whites are as follows: 1) Claytor Lake, 2) Douthat, 3) Fairy Stone, 4) Hungry Mother, 5) Pocahontas, 6) Seashore, 7) Staunton River and 8) Westmoreland.

(b) The Virginia State Park available to Negroes is Prince Edward State Park, and there is an organized group camp in Pocahontas State Park available to Negroes.

None of our parks are open on a non-segregated basis.

All facilities in Prince Edward State Park are the same as those in our other parks, that is, the size, type of services, equipment and upkeep are comparable to that of our parks for whites. The facilities in our State Park for Negroes are better than those in our other parks, because they are newer and are of more permanent construction, which requires less maintenance.

(2) There has been no recent legislation in Virginia relating to amusement and recreational facilities available to whites and Negroes and I know of no proposed legislation in this connection.

I hope the above will give you the information you desire.

Yours sincerely,

Randolph Odell

Randolph Odell
Commissioner of Parks

RO:cvr

November 26, 1952

Miss Irene Osborne
American Friends Service Committee
104 C St., NE
Washington, DC

Dear Miss Osborne:

Don't forget you very kindly said you would get me the dope on recreational facilities in Washington.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

November 26, 1952

MEMO TO MISS SUE CRANK

I was told the other day in Washington that by the 1950 census the District of Columbia population is now 35% Negro. What is called the metropolitan area was 24% in 1950.

I saw the right man in Columbia Tuesday.

Following Negro State parks in S. C.

1. Pleasant Ridge. Has a lake, picnic area, one cabin for groups. Also has a caretaker's residence, occupied by the man who is jointly caretaker for that park and for Paris Mountain State Park (white), nearby. I assume he is a white person.

2. At Greenwood State Park there is a Negro area which does not have direct access to the water. At the moment, roads have been cut connecting the Negro area and the lake front, and there are therefore, technically, fishing facilities for Negroes. It is intended to move the Negro area to a lake front position which will be advantageous in many ways. The present facilities in the present Negro area of Greenwood State Park are: picnic tables, fire places, and the aforesaid fishing facilities.

3. Clear Creek, near Poinsett State Park. Swimming, fishing, bathing beach, bath houses, concession stands, picnic tables, and also group camp facilities with recreation building and concession and cabins.

4. At Hunting Island State Park--Bath house and pavilion, beach, picnic tables.

5. Campbell's Pond. Has a Negro area adjoining Cheraw State Park. It has a lake, swimming, bath house, picnic shelter, and fire places. Boating is permitted, but as yet there are no boats except one staff boat. Also dancing facilities there.

In addition to the above five developed Negro areas, the State has appropriated $50,000 for purchase and development in the Charleston area of a Negro park. It has thus far been difficult to find an agreed location, but the State parks people still anxiously wish to establish such a park.

Note that there are playing fields in all five of the Negro parks.

Further note that camping is permitted in all State parks in S. C. except the small one close to Columbia.

Here is further material on the facilities at the various South Carolina parks, white and Negro.

The annual report herewith is now 1½ years old, and is shortly to be succeeded by another, now in manuscript.

On page 59 of the annual report, it is noted that the Pleasant Ridge Park has 300 acres.

The S. C. State Parks Office has promised to send me a list of all the Negro areas with that acreage. With the table on page 59 the comparative acreage could be computed. Elsewhere in the annual report I believe there is other material on facilities.

G. SM.

State Parks Commission

200 NORTH BOULEVARD
BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA

November 24, 1952

RECEIVED
NOV 28 1952
Southern Regional Council

Miss Anna Holden
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room #432, 63 Auburn Ave.,N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Holden:

We do not have in Louisiana any state parks available to negroes. There are twelve state park areas for whites, in various stages of development.

We are enclosing pamphlets describing the areas which are in actual operation.

During the last session of the Legislature an appropriation of $50,000.00 was made to the State Parks and Recreation Commission for the purpose of building a negro 4-H camp in Grant Parish, Louisiana. While Louisiana has not as yet seen fit to provide recreational facilities for the negroes, I believe that planning and development of these areas will come in the very near future.

Very truly yours,

William W. Wells

William W. Wells
Director

Encl.

WWW/ec

November 26, 1952

MEMO TO MRS. SUE CRANK

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G. SM.

Planning to vacation in South Carolina?

You have made a wise choice; South Carolina is the vacation goal every year for thousands of tourists from all over the nation. A vacation in South Carolina, with its lakes and streams, and mountains and seashore, is an unforgettable event.

There is a "plus" attraction to a vacation in South Carolina -- the twenty-one parks, maintained by the Division of State Parks. Located in every part of the State, these areas cater to every vacation taste, whether it is an afternoon of picnicking, a camping trip, or a vacation in one of the 58 family cabins.

We are sending you information that will help to make your South Carolina vacation an enjoyable one -- a State Highway map and a descriptive folder on the facilities offered in South Carolina State Parks. We are also enclosing camping information, for we believe that one of the best ways to enjoy the "out-door" life and the natural scenery in South Carolina is on a camping trip.

While you are here, we sincerely hope you will visit one or more of our State Parks -- whether for camping, swimming, picnicking, or relaxation.

If we can be of any further service to you, please do not hesitate to write the Forestry Commission, Division of State Parks, P. O. Box 357, Columbia, South Carolina.

South Carolina's State Parks are open all year.

CAMPING IN SOUTH CAROLINA'S STATE PARKS

WHERE? Camping is permitted in any State Park except at Sesqui-Centennial State Park. Arrangements should be made with the Park Superintendent who will assign an area convenient to water, fireplaces, picnic tables, and toilets.

FACILITIES? All campgrounds have firewood, an open outdoor fireplace, a large picnic table, and level tent site. In the immediate area there is drinking water and toilet facilities. All other park facilities, such as swimming beach, shelter, playfields and so on, are available to the campers.

HOW LONG? These areas are generally open the year round. In most cases, campers are allowed to stay as long as they like, although at certain periods and parks, a two-week limit may be imposed.

RESERVATIONS? No reservations are necessary; camping space is allotted on a first-come-first-served basis.

EXPENSE? There is no charge for camping; although in some parks a small fee is made for trailers where electricity and water are provided.

TRAILERS? We regret we do not have formal developed Trailer Camp facilities at our State Parks, except at Myrtle Beach State Park on U. S. #17, and Cheraw State Park on U. S. #1, where there are established areas in which trailers may be parked and have access to water and toilets. At most of the other Parks arrangements may be made with the Park Superintendent for temporary camping.

Samples
N. & W.

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee

INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, ~~KIDTSHOUSE 6-9872~~
LIncoln 3-2773

RECEIVED
DEC 1 1952
Southern Regional Council

November 28, 1952

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Your note to Irene Osborne arrived this morning. The delay in forwarding the material to you has been the result of our lack of secretarial help because of illness, and the fact that we have finally found ourselves typing materials being sent out. With other parts of the program going full blast, this has been a slow process. My apologies.

Sincerely,

Alma Scurlock

Alma Scurlock

Exhibit II

Population ratios: (1950 Census)

White 517, 865 - 64.6% Negro 280,803 - 35% Other 3,510 - .4%

As of October 14, 1952

D. C. Lands: Six areas, three non-segragated, last on 10-14-52- swimming pool not yet decided; one segregated - white use only.

Interior Department Lands:
Nineteen areas, all integrated under agreement with Department of Interior (see Newsletter).

Assigned Lands: S ixty-eight areas have been assigned by National Capital Planning Commission (formerly National Capital Park and Planning Commission.) Use as follows:

White Only - 47 Negro Only - 13 Non-segregated - 8

National Capital Housing Authority:
Two areas under agreement: one declared non-segregated on October 14, 1952; other for use of Negroes only.

Board of Education Lands: (as of June 1952)

White only - 23 Negro Only - 20 Non-segregated - 5

Totals:	White	Negro	Non-Segregated	
D.C. Govt	1	--	3	
Interior	--	--	19	
Assigned	47	13	8	
NCHA	--	1	1	
Bd. of Ed.	23	20	5	
Totals	71	34	36	141 areas

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, ~~RIDgeHouse 6-9377~~
LIncoln 3-2773

104 C Street, N. E.
Washington 2, D. C.
November 26, 1952

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432 -- 63 Auburn A venue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Irene Osborne handed me your letter of request for information on the recreation system of the District of Columbia. I am enclosing for your information a copy of our August 1952 newsletter which gives a general description of the recreation setup. I am enclosing also Exhibits I and II, the first of which gives the section of the 1924 Law responsible for the jurisdictional dispute mentioned in the newsletter. The second gives an overall glance at the actual division of play areas in the District of Columbia, since the Recreation Board's decision in 1949 to integrate gradually all playgrounds.

On October 16, 1952, four playgrounds were voted "open". One of these was on District of Columbia government land, one on land owned by the National Capital Housing Authority, and two on assigned lands.

Although 280,803 Negroes compose 35% of the population and 521,375 other citizens compose 65% of the population, playgrounds are not proportionately distributed nor do the population figures indicate the real situation insofar as the children of the community are concerned. The recreation system must necessarily be affected by the population factor which has been the source of so much disturbance in our segregated school system. This is the fact that actually there are 8,000 more Negro children of school age in the District of Columbia than white children of comparable age, and I suspect more of preschool age also, sincethe Board of Education statistician has recently stated to the press that white families with pre-school children are the ones who are moving to the outlying areas."

Heretofore the Recreation Board has failed to place integrated teams of directors on playgrounds declared non-segregated, and this has had the effect of almost entirely Negro use of these areas. This does not apply to those areas on Interior land where the Interior Department had brought in Dr. Joseph Lohman to do a real job of preparation.

After the opening of Rosedale playground, however, the Recreation Board placed on this playground, in the area of highest tension, a team of two white and

two Negro directors who are faced now with the almost insurmountable task of planning a program and attempting to coax back white children who are being kept off the playground through organized effort. Community groups have offered the Superintendent of Recreation their assistance in this effort, and the help has been accepted.

Swmimming pools operated in the centers under the superivision of the Interior Department are used on an integrated basis, but there are more Negro participants than white. Attendance by white children is increasing slowly, however.

The Recreation Board itself operates two areas with swimming pools, one which has not yet been declared non-segregated, although the Rosedale Playground on which it is located has been so designated, and one other on a playground for white children only.

I hope that the foregoing information and the attached materials will be of some help in the assembling of the article which you mentioned. If you have any suggestions which you feel would be of help to us on the Washington scene, we should be most appreciative of having them from you.

Sincerely yours,

Alma Scurlock

(Mrs.) Alma S. Scurlock
Washington Representative
Community Relations Program

Enclosures

December four, 1953

Mr H D Goode, President
Negro Chamber of Commerce, Inc
703 North DeVillier Street
Pensacola, Florida

Dear Mr Goode:

It was most kind of you to send us a copy of the correspondence with the Florida State Park Service on the matter of non-segregated use of the park facilities of Florida. I agree that you are entirely right and hope the state of Florida will see the light.

We hope to get out a report pretty soon on state park facilities in all the Southern states and I will be sure that a copy reaches you.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t
cc: Anna Holden, Research Assistant

RECEIVED
DEC 3
Southern Regional Council

NEGRO CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, INCORPORATED
PENSACOLA, FLORIDA
NOVEMBER 28, 1953

Fellow Citizens:

Several weeks ago the Negro Chamber of Commerce of Pensacola, Incorporated launched a project to determine the status of the Negro insofar as use of Wayside Parks as found throughout the State of Florida.

It is our understanding that these parks are built with state funds and are for the use of the public when motoring through Florida or whenever desired so long as the user abides by regulations as set forth.

From the tone of enclosed notarized copies of letlers as received from two of our State Officials, it is without question that use by Negro citizens was not intended from the outset and that an attempt has been made to set aside two or more such places exclusively for members of our race. Imagine the hardship we must face in traveling from Pensacola to Miami in the event we desired to eat our lunches or relax enroute in the open.

You no doubt have witnessed throngs enjoying the facilities of these parks, especially during summer months, as you traveled over the state.

The Pensacola Negro Chamber of Commerce is seeking the support of every Negro organization in Florida and elsewhere, in our effort to break down this undemocratic and discriminatory practice.

We ask further, that you campaign against such by expressing your disapproval, through whatever media you deem effective.

Now is the time to work relentlessly to break down barriers which circumscribe us and tend to hold us as second-rate citizens.

Very truly yours,

H. D. Goode, President

C. J. DaValt, Secretary

703 N. DeVillier St.

, H. D. Goode

May 26, 1953

Florida State Park Service
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Sirs:

The Negro Chamber of Commerce of Pensacola, Incorporated, is in the process of compiling data relative to points of interest, possibilities of Pensacola, and other related information. Please advise us as to regulations governing the use of Wayside Parks as developed throughout the state. That is, time they might be used, to whom they are available, number throughout the state and location.

An immediate reply will be greatly appreciated.

Very truly yours,

H. D. Goode, President

HDG: ry

CERTIFICATE

STATE OF FLORIDA

COUNTY OF Escambia

I, the undersigned authority, hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct copy of an instrument presented to me by Negro Chamber Of Commerce as the original of such instrument.

WITNESS my hand and official seal, this 24 day of November, A. D. 1953.

Notary Public
State of Florida at Large

Notary Public, State of Florida at large
My commission expires June 9, 1956.
Bonded by American Surety Co. of N. Y.

My commission expires

STATE OF FLORIDA
Office of The
ATTORNEY GENERAL
Tallahassee

Richard W. Ervin
Attorney General

August 3, 1953

Dr. H. D. Goode, President
Negro Chamber of Commerce of Pensacola
703 North DeVillier Street
Pensacola, Florida

Re: Use of Wayside Parks

Dear Dr. Goode:

This will acknowledge your letter of July 28, with its enclosures, requesting information with regard to the above.

It is the uniform policy of our office - and please be assured that your matter is not being treated differently - not to give official advice to an individual where it relates to the powers, duties and official responsibilities of public officials who do not request. it. Should we undertake to render official opinions in such regard, it would result not only in unseemly intrusion of this office into the administrative conduct of public officials but would result in endless confusion and difficulty between them and members of the public. The policy is written into the law itself since the Attorney General is permitted to advise public officials and then only in connection with the discharge of their duties.

It appears that the questions you ask relate to the rules, regulations and restrictions of the State Road Department governing the use of wayside parks by members of the public.

Sincerely yours,

Richard W. Ervin
Attorney General

RWE/bfe

CERTIFICATE

STATE OF FLORIDA

COUNTY OF Escambia

I, the undersigned authority, hereby that the foregoing is a true and correct copy of an instrument presented to me by Negro Chamber Of Commerce as the original of such instrument.

WITNESS my hand and official seal, this 24 day of November, A. D. 19 53.

Notary Public
State of Florida at Large

Notary Public, State of Florida at large
My commission expires June 9, 1956.
Bonded by American Surety Co. of N. Y.

My commission expires

OFFICERS:

Richard H. Simpson
Chairman
Sam P. Turnbull
State Highway Engineer
Ralph M. Hartsfield
Secretary
Stephen C. O'Connell
Attorney

STATE ROAD DEPARTMENT OF FLORIDA

TALLAHASSEE

June 17, 1953

MEMBERS:

W. Howard Frankland
Tampa, Fla.
Earl P. Powers
Gainesville, Fla.
Richard H. Simpson
Monticello, Fla.
Thomas B. Manuel
Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.
J. Saxton Lloyd
Daytona Beach, Fla.

H. E. Goode, President
Negro Chamber of Commerce of Pensacola
703 N. DeVillier Street
Pensacola, Florida

Dear President Goode:

Your letter concerning restrictions or rules as to use of wayside parks was referred to this Department by the Florida Board of Parks and Historical Memorials.

General rules applicable to the use of parks require the users to cooperate in protecting the property and keeping the site clean. They prohibit overnight parking and it is expected that the park guests will not use intoxicating beverages.

We are enclosing an official map on which is shown the wayside parks now in use. There are two parks designed for use exclusively by Negroes and the parks are so posted. One is on State Road 60, The Courtney Campbell Parkway, and the other is on Little Talbot Island in Duval County (State Road A1A). Three others being planned or developed include one for Bay County, one for Okaloosa County and one for Manatee County.

Wayside parks have generally been developed with cooperation of local communities or civic groups who supply the park site free of cost. Because of shortage of funds when the budget was made up for 1953, it was necessary to restrict this type of development for the current year.

Trusting this information will be of service to you, I am

Very truly yours,

Richard H. Simpson
Chairman

RMH:H:w

CERTIFICATE

STATE OF FLORIDA

COUNTY OF ESCAMBIA

I, the undersigned authority, hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct copy of an instrument presented to me by C. J. Davart as the original of such instrument.

WITNESS my hand and official seal, this 24th day of November, A. D. 1953.

Charles F. Nelson

Notary Public
State of Florida at Large

My commission expires

Notary Public, State of Florida at Large
My commission expires Sept. 6, 1955.
Bonded by American Surety Co. of N. Y.

703 N. DeVillier

- H. D. Goode

July 28, 1953

Hon. Richard W. Ervin, Attorney General
State of Florida
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mr. Ervin:

Enclosed find photostatic copies of correspondence to and from the Florida State Park Service and the State Road Department of Florida over the signature of Mr. Richard H. Simpson, chairman, dated May 26 and June 17, 1953, respectively.

The contents of above letters have to do with rules, regulations, and restrictions governing the use of Wayside Parks as developed throughout the state.

Mr. Simpson stated that there were two parks designated for us exclusively by Negroes, but failed to indicate the status of the Negro insofar as usage generally.

We are directing this matter to you for an opinion regarding the use of Wayside Parks by any and all citizens traveling in our state.

We trust that the aforementioned request will be given full consideration predicated on a true analysis and interpretation for which your office is noted.

Respectfully yours,

H. D. Goode, President

C. J. DaValt, Secretary

Enclosures: 2

CERTIFICATE

STATE OF FLORIDA

COUNTY OF ESCAMBIA

I, the undersigned authority, hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct copy of an instrument presented to me by C. J. DaValt as the original of such instrument.

WITNESS my hand and official seal, this 24th day of NOVEMBER, A. D. 1953.

Charles F. Wilson

Notary Public
State of Florida at Large

My commission expires

Notary Public, State of Florida at large
My commission expires Sept. 6, 1955.
Bonded by American Surety Co. of N. Y.

North Carolina Recreation Commission

DIRECTOR
RALPH J. ANDREWS

ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
JAMES S. STEVENS, JR.

RECREATION SPECIALIST
HAROLD D. MEYER

EDUCATION BLDG. ANNEX—ROOM 134
TEL. 4-3611 EXT. 7431
Raleigh, N. C.

RECREATION SPECIALIST
VIRGINIA GREGORY

RECREATION SPECIALIST
LONNIE POWELL

RECREATION SPECIALIST-SEASONAL
A. E. WEATHERFORD

Dec. 4, 1952

RECEIVED
DEC 5 1952
Southern Regional Council

Miss Anna Holden
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Sent copy 12-5-52 air mail

Dear Anna,

Your letter to me came while I was on a two weeks trip in the field. One of the men in the office left me a note to let them answer it, a part of it and we may have sent it up to the State Parks Dept. for their help on the first two inquiries - so the long and short of it is that we cannot locate the letter and it has not been answered. Will you kindly send me a copy of the letter and I will see that it is answered immediately and as nearly specific as possible. I'm sorry but t ought it would be a quicker process to have you send me a copy of the letter than to continue to hunt for it. Thanks a lot.

I did see the letter and enjoyed the personal touch - and our State Rec. Conference met in Asheville in Nov. and I just bought up a new supply of baskets. I had intended giving them away for Christmas - but do not see how I can part with a single one. I never see one that I don't think of you. Some gift shops have some pretty Italian ones on display but they just don't seem to have the personality that the Western N. C. ones do.

Thanks for the clipping on Miss Lucy Mason. My family enjoyed it very much. Her father - although she probably wouldn't remember much about it - was a doctor in my family for years. She is a great person.

The Christmas rush is on for me - getting our the Christmas Game Bulletin and getting the Christmas Card from the Commission printed up and sent out. It seems t at to work under pressure is about the only way I get much done.

Please send me the letter - and I am sorry that it got misplaced but with one of my bosses having a baby this week and the other having eye trouble it is hard to get things done.

May the approaching holiday season be a happy one for you and all your family. Do come to see me when you come this way.

Sincerely,

Virginia

Virginia Gregory

NORTH CAROLINA RECREATION COMMISSION

APPOINTED MEMBERS

R. L. McMillan, Chairman, Raleigh

Charles S. Hubbard . . . . . Hillsboro
W. J. Kennedy, Jr., ... Durham
Mrs. John F. Matheson . . . . . Mooresville
Henry M. Milgrom, ... Battleboro
Max A. Parrish, ... Gastonia
R. W. Watkins, ... Boone

EX-OFFICIO MEMBERS

W. Kerr Scott, Governor

Dr. Clyde A. Erwin
Supt. of Public Instruction

Dr. Ellen Winston
Commissioner of Public Welfare

George R. Ross, Director
N. C. Dept. of Conservation and Development

MEMBERS OF ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Russell M. Grumman, Chairman, Chapel Hill

Mrs. Katherine P. Arrington, Art . . . . . Warrenton
Augusta Barnett, Social Events . . . . . Asheville
E. C. Brandon, Jr., Recreation Administration . . . . Burlington
B. G. Brooks, Commercial Recreation . . . . . Raleigh
C. N. Carroll, Institutional Recreation . . . . . Raleigh
Ruth Current, Rural Life . . . . . Raleigh
Harold J. Dudley, Churches . . . . . Raleigh
O. A. Fetch, Tourist and Travel . . . . . Fontana Village
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John R. Larkins, Negro Groups . . . . . Raleigh
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Mrs. Chester A. Marsh, Crafts . . . . . Winston-Salem
G. M. Matlack, Industrial Recreation . . . . . Cramerton
Charles L. McCullers, Civic Groups . . . . . Kinston
Mereb Mossman, Institutions of Higher Learning . . . Greensboro
Rufus Page, Nature Lore . . . . . Elizabethtown
Mayon Parker, Publicity . . . . . Ahoskie
I. E. Ready, Public Schools . . . . . Roanoke Rapids
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Dr. Ruth Y. Schiffman, Community Chests and Councils . Greensboro
Samuel Selden, Dramatics . . . . . Chapel Hill
L. R. Sides, Youth Groups . . . . . Charlotte
R. E. Stroupe, Sports and Games . . . . . Enfield
Quillen Ward, Industrial Management . . . . . Rocky Mount
C. R. Wood, N. C. Recreation Society . . . . . Durham

12 - 8- 52

To Dr. Mitchell
From Sue Crank

We now have information from six states - Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia. There are only two (Georgia and Texas- from which we have to hear.

We are not as well off with regard to the cities. We have heard from four- Atlanta, Birmingham, New Orleans, and Washington - and have yet to hear from five - Charleston, Fort Worth, Louisville, Oklahoma City, and Richmond.

Do you think we are far enough along now to have some conversation with Mr. McKay apprising him of the places from which we have information, the kinds of information, and get some reaction from and with him as to whether we have the most pertinent facts for the article, and some idea as to the form in which he would like to receive the material from this office?

In addition to correspondence received, Anna has discovered additional sources at the libraries which might be helpful in supplementing what we have on hand. Such things as populations, acreages (1949), units (1949), personnel (1948), and expenditures by various states (1948). There are also some decriptions available.

I called Mr. Alston's office today. He and his secretary are out of town. She will be back on Thursday, and he is expected to return on Monday.

Inasmuch as there have been several suits filed in various cities by the NAACP in the field of recreation, what do you think of our approaching them for some of this information, especially for cities? Perhaps Mrs. Hurley in the regional office at Birmingham could be helpful. Atleast, they may be able to refer us to some more fruitful source. Do you know any strategis individuals in the cities who might be asked for this kind of information? I think it would be well worth trying anyway, if it is agreeable with you.

MEMO TO SUE CRANK Dec. 10, 1952

I think you better dig hard for a couple of more cities; then we will show McKay what we've got.

GSM

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To Dr. Mitchell
From Sue Crank

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GSM

COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA

DIVISION OF PARKS
DEPARTMENT OF CONSERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT
RICHMOND 19

SIDNEY S. KELLAM
Director
GEO. PRINCE ARNOLD
Assistant Director

RANDOLPH ODELL
Commissioner of Parks

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SHELTON H. SHORT, JR., Chase City
VICTOR W. STEWART, Petersburg
JOEL H. WATKINS, Charlotte C. H.

December 15, 1952

Mr. S. F. Crank
242 Boulevard, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Crank:

Under separate cover, we are sending you a booklet on the Virginia State Parks and call your attention to information on Prince Edward State Park, which is the only one we have for Negroes. However, our park season closed on October 1, and none of the facilities in any of the parks will be available again until the middle of May, 1953.

We hope it will be possible for you to drive through Prince Edward while you are in Virginia and see the facilities we have to offer during our operating season.

With best wishes for a pleasant trip,

Sincerely yours,

Division of Parks

Bessie A. Coleman

Bessie A. Coleman

BAC:img

December 15, 1952

Mr. C. West Jacocks
State Park Director
State Commission of Forestry
Columbia, S. C.

Dear Mr. Jacocks:

I am all appreciation for your kind letter of December 12. It very helpfully fills out the information Mr. Ahearn gave me.

We hope that the article on the whole matter can come out in an early issue of the law review published at Emory University.

I make some claim to being a South Carolinian, and rejoice to see the progress made.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

SOUTH CAROLINA

STATE COMMISSION OF FORESTRY

COLUMBIA

CHAS. H. FLORY
STATE FORESTER

RECEIVED
DEC 15 1952
Southern Regional Council

December 12, 1952

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Mr. Ahearn has told me of your visit here several days ago, and I regret I was absent at the time. We are glad that you have occasion to visit some of the sites of our State Park areas for Negroes.

It is somewhat difficult to give you the acreage of the several areas, other than Pleasant Ridge, for they have never been definitely defined. Pleasant Ridge is the only area exclusively for use by Negroes - all other areas are a part of even larger holdings. All are part and parcel of the over-all State Park tracts or surrounded by State Forest areas and no line has been drawn delineating acreages.

It is my estimate, without attempting to measure the area either on the ground or from tract maps, that the five areas for Negroes total approximately 1,000 acres, with additional ground readily available if and when needed.

The Campbell's Pond and Mill Creek areas, each a part of Cheraw and Poinsett State Parks, are surrounded by State Forests and acreage in these two instances does not mean anything, as the use area may be enlarged and spread out as required.

At Hunting Island I presume some 400 acres may be considered as the Negro area. At Greenwood State Park we are going to designate another area for use by Negroes to replace the one now set aside. The new area will be one of the peninsulas jutting out into the lake, and a rough estimate that it comprises approximately 200 acres.

We claim 300 acres for Pleasant Ridge, although it scales out at 299 acres.

I trust this is the information you desire and we will be glad to hear from you at any time.

Very truly yours,

C. West Jacocks
State Park Director

CWJ:cfs

December 18, 1952

Mr. Gordon K. Shearer
Executive Secretary
States Park Board
Austin, Tex.

Dear Mr. Shearer:

May we remind you that we sent you the enclosed request for information on the Texas state park system on November 19.

We realize that this is a very busy time of the year, but we are anxious to secure the information as soon as possible.

If the request should have been addressed to another source, would you kindly forward it to the proper person, or let us know whom to send it to.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

encl.

January 5, 1953

NAACP
20 W. 40th St.
New York 18, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

We would like to have a copy of the December, 1952 issue of THE CRISIS, or a reprint of J. Austin Burkhart's article "Yonder Sits the Rocking Chair," appearing in the December issue.

If there is any charge, please bill us.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

January 8, 1953

Mrs. Ruby Hurley
Southeast Regional Office, NAACP
624 Masonic Temple Bldg.
1630 Fourth Ave., N.
Birmingham, Ala.

Dear Mrs. Hurley:

Mighty good of you to help us out on the business about the parks that Mrs. Grant phoned you for.

Here are the questions we need answered for Charleston and Fort Worth:

1. What is the present white-Negro population ratio within your city?

2. Please state what municipally owned or operated facilities are available to whites and to Negroes in the areas of recreation listed below. Please indicate, as to any of the facilities which are segregated, what differences there are, quantitatively and qualitatively, between the white and the Negro accomodations, such as days or hours of operation, price, equipment, service, etc. Your comments on the relative "equality" of facilities will be especially appreciated.
   a. Golf courses (either as part of a park system or independently managed)
   b. Tennis courts
   c. Parks and their facilities generally, including amphitheatres or other activities not elsewhere discussed
   d. Libraries
   e. Other facilities

3. Are there any legal actions bearing on this subject which have been recently concluded, which are now pending, or which are contemplated for the future?

4. Please make any general observations which you believe relevant to a determination of developing patterns in the field of public-offered recreation and amusement facilities.

Mrs. Ruby Hurley, Jan. 8, 1953

We've pretty well got it in from the States and from four or five of the cities, but we need these two. We will be much in your debt for being in touch with your friends to get it.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

FORT WORTH TARRANT COUNTY BRANCH NAACP
915½ Calhoun Street
Fort Worth, Texas

21 January 1953

Mrs. Ruby Hurley
Southeast Regional Office, NAACP
624 Masonic Temple Building
1630 Fourth Ave., N.
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Mrs. Hurley:

As per your request, note information below, that I trust will be helpful in the survey you are making relative to park and recreational facilities in Fort Worth.

I. Total population of Fort Worth 1950 is 278,778 or 13.31%.

II. a. Four municipally owned and operated golf courses. Also one privately owned and opened to public (Ridgelea.) All of these are for use by white citizens and Negroes have been allowed to use one on special occasion, such as the 19th of June. There is one nine hole course in Greenway Park for Negroes.

b. There are two segregated (Negro) tennis courts in Greenway Park with space for two more which have not as yet been set-up. Others are in white parks for white use only.

c. Greenway Park for Negroes is the principal Negro park, with baseball diamond, nine hole golf course, and two tennis courts. There is a swimming pool for Negroes in Dixie Park, a small neighborhood play area. Negroes visit the zoo, but concessions in the park (Forest Park) are not opened to Negroes only on special occasions.

d. There is no segregation whatsoever in the Public Library.

e. A new Negro park is planned in which a full eighteen hole golf course is promised.

III. Legal action is planned for the use of municipally owned golf courses, but action has been delayed awaiting decision on a similar suit elsewhere in the state.

IV. Any deviation from the pattern of segregation in parks and recreational facilities must be the result of political or legal action, or both.

With kind personal regards, I remain

Very truly,

/s/ Geo. D. Flemmings, President
Fort Worth Branch, NAACP

GDF
:
rhb

January 22, 1953

Mr. A. J. Clement, Jr.
N. A. A. C. P.
Station A, Box 36
Charleston, S. C.

Dear Mr. Clement:

It's a mighty nice thing to be able to send out a request for facts and have them come straight on back in the good, competent NAACP way. My warmest appreciation.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA BRANCH

National Association For The Advancement Of Colored People

RECEIVED
JAN 22
Southern Regional Council

OFFICE OF

A. J. Clement, Jr.
Station "A" Box 36
Charleston, S. C.

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

We have copy of your letter of January 8th., addressed to Mrs. Ruby Hurley, South East Regional Office - National Association For The Advancement Of Colored People.

I have observed the questions set forth in your letter and I will answer them in the order presented.

(1) The present White population in Charleston by the 1950 Census is 39,287. The Non-White population is 30,887.

(2) a. Golf Courses: there is one municipally owned golf course. It is used only by Whites. There has been no definite effort to use it on the part of Negroes. Undoubtedly, because Negroes in this area have shown no inclination for wanting to play golf. We know of no instance where Negroes have attempted to use it and have been denied this use.

b. Tennis Courts: there are tennis courts provided for our White population. No tennis courts are provided for Negroes.

c. Parks: we have three designated areas for Negroes that are called park-playground. "They are in nowise comparable to the park facilities provided for Whites as concerns equipment and improvements thereon." We have two public park areas - Hampton Park and Marion Square - which both races can visit or stroll through. There are times when Band Concerts or some other type of Public Program is given on these parks at which Negroes are apparently welcomed and at which we have no recollection of their being excluded. We have a battery park and a lake front park which have benches scattered over the area. We understand that there have been instances when Negroes have been asked by police officers to move from sitting on these benches and we also know of instances where Negroes have sat on these benches and nothing has been said. It appears that the City Administration has no

Dr. George S. Mitchell
January 20, 1953

set policy as to limiting the use of these facilities only to Whites and whatever questions have arisen have usually been caused by the attitude of the particular police officer who might be passing at the time Negroes may have been using these facilities.

d. Libraries: we have the Free Public Library for Whites on Rutledge Avenue and the Dart Hall Free Library for Negroes on Kracke Street. We understand that there is no law that prohibits the use of the Free Public Library and its facilities by Negroes but by custom, Negroes have usually used the Dart Hall Library. Both are County owned and operated. Neither building is what you would call a modern Library but in no instance would the Dart Hall Library compare favorably with the Rutledge Avenue Library as to building, equipment, volume of books, or appearance.

(3) The Local Branch of the National Association For The Advancement Of Colored People has asked the City for tennis courts, improved playground facilities, and has publicly notified our local citizens that they have the right to use the Free Public Library.

The biggest contention in our community at the present time is the matter of a Beach Area that can be used by non-Whites. In spite of the fact that Charleston is a waterfront community, there is no beachfront area for Negroes within fifty miles of this City. Our State has a system of providing State Parks for public use. The nearest one to Charleston that Negroes may use is eighty-four miles from Charleston below Beaufort, South Carolina. We must recognize that a number of the Beach Areas adjacent have been developed for Whites by White Capital and by the laws of our State, Negroes are prohibited from using these facilities.

There is no apparent inclination on the part of our City Authorities to normally provide recreational or any public-community service for Negroes unless the Negroes ask for these specific things or start bringing some type of pressure. Even to date, Negroes have not been allowed to participate in the local Golden Glove Tournament which may be because Negroes have not brought any pressure to participate in this Tournament. We were also ignored in the Voice of Democracy Contest but when pressure was brought by Negroes, Negro students have since been participating.

I think we have a Mayor who is agreeable to the idea of providing Negro citizens with improved facilities, but at the same time, there are certain political considerations that apparently limit his interest and activity where Negroes are concerned.

Very truly yours,

A. J. Clement, Jr.

ajc;lmf

Geo. S. Mitchell
with the compliments
of the author.

Materials —
The South — Gen.

THE SOUTH'S OPPORTUNITY

By

JAMES MCBRIDE DABBS

Reprinted from *The South Atlantic Quarterly*
Vol. LII, No. 2, April, 1953

THE SOUTH'S OPPORTUNITY

James McBride Dabbs

HUNDREDS OF millions over the world look to the United States for leadership. What has it to offer? I was born and bred a Southerner and thus may speak with some knowledge of that section. What has it to offer in particular? The obvious reply, in a world where the white race has long looked down upon and exploited the colored races and where as a consequence there is rising among the colored races a tide of animosity toward the white race, is that the South might show how the white and black races can live together in equality of opportunity, no longer exploiter and exploited, but fellow citizens in the world's greatest democracy. This is the obvious reply, and the South should do this. I am afraid, however, that we shall not, at least immediately, grapple with and solve our racial problem and thereby astound the enemies of democracy and bolster the faltering faith of the undecided millions.

But racial problems are in part psychological, and a psychological problem may disappear if a related problem is taken up. In the South the emotionalized problem of racial equality might disappear if we should take up seriously another urgent world problem, that of security. As the South becomes increasingly a part of the modern world, the problem of security becomes increasingly ours. But unlike most of the modern world, the South has untapped resources for its solution. The problem of security is essentially a personal problem. It has racial overtones in the South, as witness the growing demand among Negroes for "security of the person"; but this aspect of security is marginal to the modern problem. The consideration on the part of the South of this modern personal problem would, by distracting attention from the racial problem of equality, be the first

step in the solution of that problem. Racial problems cease to exist when individuals are considered. In brief, if the South should focus upon the problem of personal security, it would forget the ghost of racial equality.

I said the South has untapped resources—indeed, unique resources—for the solution of the problem of security. Before examining these resources, let us recall the urgency of this problem in the modern world. Insecurity haunts the world; people everywhere long for security. In the West, this security is of two kinds: first, that of the individual, especially security against the loss of job or business, against sickness or old age; second, security of the nation against foreign attack. In the East, the security sought is chiefly against famine, disease, and natural disaster. Over the world as a whole, personal freedom is at a discount, security at a premium: the West would sacrifice some freedom for security; the East demands security now and would put off the problem of freedom, at least of personal freedom, until tomorrow.

We are here concerned mainly with the Western world, for it is in regard to the insecurity which, paradoxically, has developed here that the South may have something valuable to say. We may note also that the desire for security is far more than the desire for safety of person or physical possessions or the continuation of economic well-being. These may be the conscious aims, but underneath them and more important is the desire to belong to some group larger than the family; in the modern world, where the nation has become of paramount importance, it is especially the desire to belong to the nation, to find oneself a part of the nation, to have a place in it. The desire for security is, fundamentally, the desire for an acknowledged place in the social order; it is the desire for status. As such, it recalls the society of the Middle Ages, which was built upon status. As the modern world developed out of the medieval, there was substituted for the condition of status that of free contract. The Middle Ages, though limiting severely the individual's freedom in society, assured him of a place in society. That place, though fixed and often poor, was his, not to be taken from him. Society made itself responsible for protecting him in his place.

The modern world, substituting freedom of contract for the se-

curity of status, gave every man the right to whatever place in society he could contract for, could arrange for, could persuade others to give him. This seemed a great advance, and undoubtedly much of our material progress has been due to the energies thus released. But the drawback is that no one is assured of any place, and in times of depression many people actually have none. In such a society a man's place is not guaranteed by society or even dignified by general social approval; it is gained and held by individual struggle. In such a society you like a man personally or not at all; you cannot like him for his place or function, since that has no greater social reference than the man himself. Therefore, from lack of personal knowledge, you cannot like most people or be liked by them; in the absence of general approval you are always insecure.

Modern warfare has a curious relation to this matter of freedom and security. In the first place, it expresses among nations a lack of good will and the resultant insecurity among individual citizens of each nation; it is the logical result of the kind of life the citizens lead. In the second place, it reduces, sometimes drastically, the freedom of all people who participate, though it strengthens their status. Thus, though it jeopardizes the physical security of all, it increases tremendously their psychological security by making everyone important to the state. Each one has his place in the total order; he is not forgotten; he belongs. Modern warfare is at once the partial result of and the temporary solution of modern insecurity. But when the war is over, and the nation no longer needs the total support of every citizen in order to survive, the sense of being part of the group becomes weak. The long-developed and briefly restrained desire for freedom then reasserts itself, and men begin to pursue their separate and insecure ways again. We have seen the bickering, the sparring for advantage, the class and race struggle in the United States since the end of World War II.

It may be urged that in the United States and in all the parliamentary democracies of the West every man has a place in the political order even in times of peace and should find his security therein. Certainly in the United States, with the exception of several minorities chief among which is the Negro in the South, it is true that every man has his place as a citizen. In time of crisis the political

order is an effective cement. But in time of peace the political order is generally too vaguely related to economic activities to create an economic order. In our economic order we have freedom of contract, not status: no man has an assured place. Yet our economic life is the very core of our daily existence. We act politically only occasionally; we work—or hope to work—regularly. Our political place is guaranteed; our economic place is not. So far we have not been able to solve the problem of guaranteeing a place to a man without freezing him in it, to give him security in work—economic status—without destroying his freedom to work as he wills. This being the choice, it has seemed much better to most Americans throughout our history to swap the security of status for the choice of winning and holding what we can. Indeed, until fairly recently there was no question. Men were so few and economic needs so great that a man could choose almost any job and find the place of his choice. No one tried desperately to take it from him; if anyone did take it, there were dozens of other jobs open. In general, one did not hold his job against other men but with them, by their consent. In an expanding economic system the total of the private interests did appear to add up to the public interest. The trick was so neat that nobody realized that at the heart of every man there is a public interest which demands satisfaction.

Such a condition no longer obtains. Except in time of total war, preparation for such war, or the rebuilding as by the Marshall Plan of the destruction wrought by an earlier war, there are increasingly more men than jobs. This means that every man tends to take the job he can and hold it as he can. Men do not have economic status, a place in the economic order. Humanly speaking, it is not an order but chaos.

Our unhappiness amid this chaos has caused us in recent years to bring our economic life increasingly under political control through the passage of laws in regard to wages and hours, unemployment and old age insurance, and the right of labor to organize. All such laws limit freedom but extend security. There are those who think that the passage of such laws indicates a loss of pioneering stamina among Americans: the once rugged individualists have now to be taken care of. Perhaps so. But we should remind ourselves that

the once rugged individualists found that the freedom they exercised led to some security, whereas we find that the same freedom in our more complex life leads toward chaos. What we are witnessing, therefore, in modern industrial society, is a movement away from unlimited freedom towards some form of security; and real security belongs only to those who have a recognized place in the social order, that is, status.

This brings us back to the South and the universal truth that lies imbedded in her society, however warped by local pressure. The Western world generally began to break with feudalism four hundred years ago. In its long reliance upon freedom of contract, it has pretty well forgotten what status is and the security it brings. The South, however, was feudal until 1865; in some of its attitudes it is feudal today. It possesses, therefore, a living memory of the condition of status and of the resultant security. The most striking evidence of the continuing strength of status in the South is the invidious remark so often made by white Southerners, "I like the Negro in his place." Within this remark there lies embalmed and unrecognized the general truth, we like a man in his place.

Not that the white South generally recognizes this truth it so backhandedly honors. The statement as applied to the Negro means condescension, the sense of superiority, and the determination to maintain interracially the *status quo*. Nevertheless, one who likes the Negro in his place stands at least in the vicinity of the basic truth, we like any man in his place. If I put this negatively, the statement needs no proof: we don't like any man out of his place, nor do we like to be out of place ourselves. Though the South is increasingly a part of the world of free contract, it yet remembers the truth of status far better than any other section of our country. Relatively strong ties of community and kinship still hold here. Here a man has some value just because he belongs to a family; here there is still some sense of place regardless of achievement. There is much truth in Donald Davidson's lines:

> None here but has his best desire:
> A kinsman's footstep on the walk;
> An old man's laughter by the fire;

Then in our father's house the sleep
Of sons who bide the calm night through,
The living near the long-lost dead
Who yonder without are sleeping too.

For better or for worse, it is still something just to be a Southerner. Over a century of unavailing defense has given us all a sectional status.

But to speak more particularly, my uncle, though offered upon graduation an excellent position at his alma mater, came back to the house in which I write this, his home then, because he considered it his place to run the old plantation, Rip Raps. Possibly he sacrificed a brilliant career; certainly he had no material success as a farmer; nevertheless, he lives in the hearts of many, white and black, as the *beau ideal* of the Southern Gentleman. I remember the surprise with which, after his death, a neighbor of his recognized the weakening of status in my failure to return immediately to Rip Raps, then mine: "What! James not coming back to the old place?" There are also countless instances of old Negroes, ancient retainers now, being practically supported by their former employers. Say what you will about the employers' owing it to the old people for low wages paid in the past, they are not generous because of a guilty conscience but because they consider it a part of their place to care for those who have grown old in their service.

This emphasis upon place runs through Southern society. I have heard wage hands criticize the "boss" for doing manual labor: they felt he was out of his place. The cause of the emphasis is not merely the ante bellum feudalistic South; it is also the predominantly agricultural South. In the farm economy the wife and children all have their places, as they do not in the industrial economy, though women are gaining ground in modern industry and have always taken an important part in the most powerful Southern industry, textiles. There is point to the story of the mountaineer who, two weeks after he had lost his wife, made a rare journey into the next cove and asked to wed that very day the daughter of a neighbor there. "All right," said the neighbor, "but what's your hurry? Why today?" "Well, you see, I aims to drap corn tomorrow." The

modern world in its thoughtless search for freedom has tended to reduce the wife to a sexual mate. Many a Southern farmer, however, still aims for his wife to drop corn tomorrow, or process hog meat, or engage in some other economic function; in brief, to fill her place as an economic partner.

I remember the sense of place I felt as a Southern farm boy when on many a night I heard about bedtime the far-off whistle of the nine o'clock express. I was secure and happy; hearing that plaintive note beneath the stars, I was pleased to learn again that the world out there was going about its business. If I had known the great words of Ulysses, I should have applied them to the engineer, "He works his work, I mine." Thomas Wolfe, though a native of North Carolina, in his reaction to train whistles at night was more American than Southern. They were for him the cry of all those earlier displaced persons, who had lost their spiritual father, their final security. These were the peacetime forerunners of the displaced persons we know, who have been physically displaced by modern warfare. But for me the plaintiveness of the train whistle at night was only that of all faraway, lonely sounds.

All men, of course, have some sense of place and find themselves approving of men who are pre-eminently in their places, though without realizing why they approve them. I am only maintaining that the South is more aware of this value than are other sections. Americans as a whole, however, indicate some realization of the value of place in the high position accorded the soldier in time of war—but in modern war everyone attains status—and the low position accorded him in our unmilitary American past in time of peace: he seemed out of place then. They also indicate it in the general esteem in which they hold my unknown boyhood friend, the railway engineer. It is true that the engineer suggests an invitation to travel—and Americans are born traveling. It is true that he also suggests man's control over material forces, and Americans are enamored of such control. But more fundamental than these appeals is the fact that the engineer represents man on the job, delivering power according to schedule, going somewhere on time. He is not alone; he is the visible focus of an invisible, intricate network of directed power. He implies an order far larger than himself, the

implication of which increases the observer's security. The observer feels that the society to which he himself belongs is also functioning in the engineer; valuing that society as the matrix of his own life, he likes the man who represents it.

But such instances are far rarer outside the South than within it. The typical modern man, the non-Southerner, is bewildered by an unanchored and spiritually fruitless freedom and is searching, often unwittingly, for some citadel of security which will give meaning to that freedom. His problem, that of gaining security while maintaining freedom, is extremely difficult. Part of the difficulty lies in the fact that he has left so far behind the status and accompanying security of the Middle Ages and cannot realize just what his unhappy freedom lacks. The South can realize this if it sets its mind to it; for the South was medieval just the other day and stands even now with one foot partly in the Middle Ages. The other is set firmly in the modern world: the South is being industrialized at an unprecedented rate. The growing problem in the South, therefore, as in the modern world, is the problem of security. The possible solution of this problem by the South depends upon focusing within the new industrial scene its clearer experiential knowledge of the value and place of security in the social order.

But to do this the South must have the wisdom and the courage to face this, its real problem, and have done with gnawing the bones of problems now outmoded. There is no chance of industrializing the South and maintaining at the same time the economic and social *status quo*. The South is set upon industrialization. And soon. Yet many Southerners play around with the impossible task of maintaining the *status quo*. One of the South Carolinians important recently in bringing the immense Du Pont industry to Camden was at the same time important in the states' rights affair of 1948. Like many others in that movement, he was trying to "keep unchanged the sacred pattern of life in the South." Or so he said. I do not think Du Pont heard that part of the speech. The sacred pattern of life in the South will become something else again as Du Pont industries get hold of it. And necessarily so. Freedom of contract wrecked, perhaps forever, medieval status.

The sacred pattern of life will have to go. And it should. Life

itself is sacred, not any particular pattern in which it may express itself, though it has to express itself in some pattern. The sacred pattern of life in the South, praised in 1948, was essentially the pattern of white supremacy; the bald phrase is "keeping the Negro in his place." In so far as we try to keep the Negro in a fixed place, we are trying to do with one hand what with our effort at industrialization we are undoing with the other. We are trying to maintain the fixed status of our feudalistic past, while at the same time we are extending the mobile pattern of our industrial future. In this conflict the industrial future will doubtless win; but, unless we show a greater wisdom than we do today, winning, it will bring with it its typical problem of security. It would be the wise thing for the South to have done with the old problem of feudalistic status, the problem of keeping the Negro in his place, and to devote its energies to the new problem that industrialism is now bringing to the South: how to give every man essential freedom of contract with its resultant release of energy while maintaining for him the security that comes from status, from an assured place in society. We need to discover a new form of status, a status mobile, not fixed. Given the wisdom and the courage, we may be able to pass directly from such security of fixed status as we still possess into the combined freedom-and-security that the Western world is now seeking, without experiencing the intervening period of chaotic freedom. Given the wisdom and the courage. Without this we may make the same mistakes other sections of the West have made, and, proceeding rapidly towards industrialization, we may travel the old road to social chaos. If only we learned spiritual facts as rapidly as we learn physical! When we in the South build an industrial plant, we instal up-to-date machines, not copies of the machines that the industrial North installed a hundred years ago. But we are in some danger of installing with these the social machines or institutions that developed with the original physical machines and that are now by the very effect of those machines outmoded.

I hold, then, only this: that the South, changing now from a society of status to a society of free contract, has before it the evidence of the unhappy state into which unmodified free contract leads, and, if it will examine this evidence, need not follow the old, unsatis-

factory road. But to solve this problem of its future, it must forget the problem of its past, the worn-out problem of a fixed status, the so-called Negro problem, and, lifting into the clear light of reason the essential virtues of status, it must discover some way of incorporating these virtues in a free and fluid society. As it does this, it will show both the industrial West and the industrializing East how to be both free and secure at the same time; and it will have solved the problem of racial equality by having let it alone.

Recreation

STATE PARK STATISTICS--1952

EXPENDITURES
SOURCES OF FUNDS
ATTENDANCE
PERSONNEL
AREAS AND ACREAGES
ANTICIPATED 1953 EXPENDITURES

COMPILED FROM THE 1952
ANNUAL RECORDS ON STATE PARKS AND RELATED RECREATION AREAS

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
RECREATION PLANNING DIVISION

AUGUST 1953

December 11, 1953

Mr Bob McKay
N Y U School of Law
Washington Square
New York 3, N Y

Dear Bob,

Recreation material arrived day before yesterday in good shape. Many thanks.

Harold says he will run an article in a couple or more issues of NEW SOUTH--the next two, I believe, are already staked out.

Mr. H. D. Goode, President of the Negro Chamber of Commerce, Pensacola, Fla. sent us a copy of his recent correspondence with the Florida State Park Service regarding Negro use of the state wayside parks. Mr. Goode was informed by the state road department that two wayside parks were set aside for exclusive use of Negroes. Upon further inquiry as to Negro usage of parks not designated for Negroes he received an evasive letter from the attorney general. The Negro Chamber is now enlisting the support of Negro organizations throughout Florida in an effort to break down the present discriminatory practice.

I might add that Florida has a good network of wayside parks--most of which have been built since about 1946.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF LAW
WASHINGTON SQUARE, NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

FACULTY OF LAW

TELEPHONE: SPRING 7-2000

November 19, 1953

RECEIVED
NOV 23
Southern Regional Council

Miss Anna Holden
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Anna,

By now you must certainly believe that I have no intention of finishing the article on segregation in recreation. Incredible though it may at this time seem to you the contrary is quite the case. Getting established in the editorial, administrative and teaching end of my work here has proved more time consuming than I had originally anticipated.

I hope now that it will be possible over the Thanksgiving weekend to complete my use of your materials (and perhaps complete the article as well), so that I can return the materials to you the first week in December. While certainly I have no claim to keep them any longer, I hope that I may have your indulgence for this additional time.

Please tell Harold that it will in no way interfere with my article for him to go ahead with a treatment in the New South. Indeed I think it would be highly desirable for him to do such an article as soon as possible. If I do not hear from you to request the return of the materials sooner, I shall send them back to you the first week in December.

Please give my regards to others of your staff.

Sincerely,

Bob McKay

Bob McKay

RBMcK:dlk

cl 1411

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF LAW
WASHINGTON SQUARE, NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

FACULTY OF LAW

TELEPHONE: SPRING 7-2000

RECEIVED
DEC 21
Southern Reg.

December 16, 1953

Miss Anna Holden
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Anna,

Thank you for your letter of December 11 giving me the interesting information about the use of state wayside parks in Florida. If you learn other details in this connection, I shall appreciate hearing further.

You will note that the materials which I sent you do not include your typed summary of a number of the articles. I have retained that as an excellent supplement to my own notes and a valuable collation of the materials, on the assumption that you have retained for yourself a copy. I hope this is all right.

You will be interested to know that I have been able to get copies of the briefs of one or both parties in the Holcombe v. Beal, City of Kansas City v. Williams and the Louisville Park Theatrical Ass'n cases. I am still hoping that the Supreme Court will either grant or deny certiorari before the end of January in the two cases still pending, which will tie up the subject fairly completely from a legal standpoint.

Please give my best greetings of the season to the members of the staff.

Sincerely,

Bob

Bob McKay

RBMcK:dlk

STATES--SUMMARY

1. Public recreational facilities are supported in all nine states surveyed, involving the expenditure of hundreds of thousands of dollars per year per state, and serving millions of visitors per year.

   In 1948, for example, the nine states spent a total of $34,035,286. Attendance in the parks in the various states in 1950 ranged from a total of 409,652 visitors reported for Florida to 3,742,818 reported for Texas.

2. The pattern of segregation is dominant in park facilities in all states surveyed. The following variations in the segregation pattern exist:

   a) Exclusive white use of parks--Louisiana, Mississippi and Texas. (One exception to this exists in Mississippi; Negroes are allowed to fish in certain lakes in the park system)

   b) Separate Negro parks--Kentucky, South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia have constructed or are constructing a separate Negro park or parks set aside exclusively for Negro use, located apart from the white parks.

   c) Separate Negro areas in white parks--Florida, Georgia and South Carolina have allocated sections of some white parks for Negro use. In some cases these have separate entrances.

   d) Separate Negro eating, sleeping, swimming accommodations, but access to scenic wonders of parks--Kentucky Negroes are permitted to visit such natural wonders as Carter Caves, Natural Bridge and Cumberland Falls (all in state parks) but all accommodations are separate.

   One exception to the general segregation pattern in Southern parks exists in Kentucky's historical shrines. The thirteen shrines under the state park division are open to all citizens "with no restrictions imposed."

3. Within the framework of separate facilities Negro facilities are grossly unequal.

   Negroes comprise 22% of the population of the nine states surveyed. Neither the quantity or quality of Negro facilities is in keeping with Negroes' numerical strength.

   Of the 140 parks, covering 986,184 acres, in use in Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia, Negroes have the use of three parks and six allocated areas. Total park acreage available to Negroes in these states consists of 7879 acres, plus additional acreage included in the four shared areas in South Carolina and the one shared area in Florida.

At least 17 additional white parks are under construction in these states, compared with one additional Negro park and one allocated area in a white park.

As noted above, Louisiana, Mississippi and Texas had no facilities at all for Negroes when this survey was made, despite substantial Negro populations. The Negro population in Mississippi makes up 45% of the total; in Louisiana, 33%. Texas' Negro population is proportionately smaller but numerically larger than Mississippi's.

Where they exist Negro parks are usually not as well developed as white parks. Most are in the beginning states with day-use facilities such as picnicking grounds and shelters, playfields, swimmihg and fishing available. Some have cottages and group camps, but when these are available they are not as numerous as similar facilities in the white parks. Such features as guest lodges, well-equipped tent and trailer ~~park~~ camps , museums and horseback riding are not yet developed in the Negro parks. Very few have restaurants.

Several state park commissioners state that Negro facilities are the same if not better than white park facilities since they are of more recent construction. This might be true of those facilities that <u>are constructed</u>, but throughout the survey we found that white parks have more elaborate accommodations and provide for a greater variation of recreational activities.

It might be well to note here that the white parks, in most instances, have a corner on the historical relics and natural phenomena of the various states. Neither can be duplicated, so that even if the number of Negro parks were proportional to population and facilities within the parks were comparable in quality to the white parks, there would still be inequality resulting from the fact that whites (in private as well as public recreation) got hold of the relics and scenic wonders first.

4. At least some of the Southern states are beginning to seriously consider providing equal state park facilities for Negroes on a segregated basis, and nearly all are aware, if they have not begun to take action, that some facilities for Negroes must be provided.

South Carolina is notable among the few Southern states making a genuine effort to equalize separate park facilities for Negroes. South Carolina now has more areas for Negroes in operation than the other Southern states surveyed and has the longerange goal of equalizing facilities. Tennessee has also made a start in developing Negro facilities and has long-range plans for equalization. Kentucky, with a small Negro population, is building its one Negro park so that all facilities will be comparable to those in the white parks.

Georgia, Florida and Virginia state park commissions have given no evidence that they are contemplating long-range development of equal park systems for Negroes. All three now have one park in use, however, and Georgia has another under construction and has promised a third area in a white park.

While Louisiana and Mississippi had made no effort to provide Negro facilities at the time of this survey, letters from their park commissions indicated that they are at least aware of the need.

A. H. Nall, Park Coordinator for Mississippi Park Service commented on the session on State Parks and Race Problems at the annual meeting of State Park Directors at Albemarle, N. C. in 1950. He said that the concensus of opinion among the directors and leaders present at the session was that Negro facilities should be provided at the earliest date possible because they (Negroes) "deserved" such facilities, not because or until parks departments were forced to provide Negro facilities.

5. As yet none of the states has considered integration of facilities as a means of equalizing park facilities.

Kentucky is somewhat different from the other Southern states in regard to park segregation in that the historical monuments under the park division are open to all Kentuckians, along with several natural wonders. In view of the separate eating, swimming, and lodging arrangements in the "open" parks containing natural wonders they are by no means integrated. Also, the park director in Kentucky, as noted in the detailed description of Kentucky facilities, volunteered his feeling that Kentucky must not go "too fast" in race relations and stated that in the meantime he felt the park division should provide separate facilities--giving evidence that the Kentucky park division is not yet ready to move toward integration of facilities beyond what has already occurred.

6. State park systems in the South are in a period of growth and expansion, as parks are recognized increasingly as drawing cards for tourists and new settlers. Negroes have already gotten a small bit of this general expansion. As long as expansion continues, the time seems ripe for exerting pressure for increased Negro facilities.

Copy of letter to
Mr. Harry L. Alston from
Mrs. Margery T. Ware,
Assistant Executive Secretary
Washington Urban League (D.C.)

Following is an answer to your request for recreation information in this city.

Here in Washington the white people represent about sixty-five per cent while Negroes represent about thirty-fice per cent.

Recreation facilities of the Federal Government are open without racial restriction. Most facilities owned by the District of Columbia government are segregated. There is a dispute over some sites brought by the Interior Department for the District. At present the D.C. recreation department operates them on a segregated basis.

You asked specifically about certain facilities. Public golf courses being federal property are non-segregated. Tennis courts fall into three groups: for Negroes, for whites, and open. All federal swimming pools are open, but the two District pools are for whites only. One is in a playground which has just been declared interracial and a recommendation will be made next year on whether it should be open or be held for whites only. All public libraries are open.

Three suits will be filed soon against the Recreation Department to force the opening of District playgrounds.

Several years ago the Recreation Department adopted a policy of "progressive integration" of facilities. The Department operates 15 interracial playgrounds on D.C. land but it still has 125 segregated units. It operates an indoor center and also all but one of its day camps with non-segregation. It also encourages and supervises athletic contests between some "mixed" and some white and colored amateur athletic teams. The Washington Civic orchestra, sponsored by the Department, is also "mixed."

While a private report calculated that at the present rate of de-segregating District playgrounds it would take 40 years. However, the high caliber of support for integration shown at the last recreation department hearing indicates the kind of public opinion which will encourage the Board to progress more rapidly. A conference with the Department has already indicated a more receptive attitude than before the hearing. I might add parenthetically that the swimming pools and the playgrounds which have been opened are operating without incident altho disturbances preceded the decision to open some of them.

This, of course, is not exhaustive but I trust that it will be adequate.

Margery T. Ware

Competitive Activities for Children

A POLICY STATEMENT

No. 7

May 1952

The North Carolina Recreation Commission

33 - Segregation

Do you know about

Segregation in Washington

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Southern Regional Coun

Ghettoes in the Capital

"Washington is not a Southern city, nor a Northern or Eastern or Western city. It is the capital of the nation. . . . For that reason the Committee hopes to cause the widest possible diffusion of its Report outside Washington, so that an aroused national public opinion may impose an effective end to what it rightly calls 'a blot on our nation.' "

—Wilfred Parsons, S.J., in *America*

"*Segregation in Washington*" . . . is the most effective pamphlet in content, lay-out, design, and illustration that has come my way in a long time."

—Carey McWilliams, in *Common Ground*

". . . well documented, temperate in tone, and expressed in very readable copy. . . . The final report is a staggering pyramid of disturbing facts. . . . They are the facts on which America is being judged. The study is a must for anyone who is concerned about that judgment."

—University of Chicago Magazine

". . . Provides even more ugly reading than (the report of the President's Committee) . . . For the first time the increasing growth and depth of the color line in Washington has been made clear."

—The Atlantic

"A rattling good job. . . . Aside from its evidence of inhumanity in the city that considers itself humanity's capital, it contains a good deal of thoughtful and exciting analysis."

—Richard H. Rovere, in *The New Yorker*

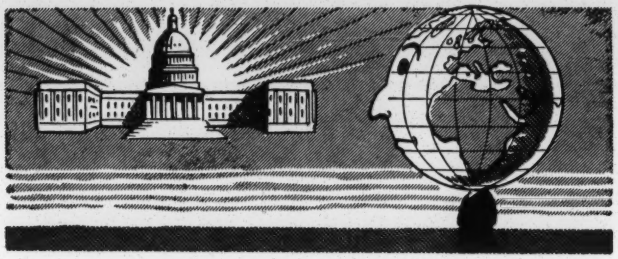
"The dikes of prejudice are crumbling all over the country—except in Washington, the nation's capital, where they are higher than ever before. . . . Kenesaw Mountain Landis 2d's booklet based on a mountain of research reports, is written with . . . the fire of the old baseball commissioner."

—Lewis Gannett, in *New York Herald Tribune*

"A stinging report. . . . Research work was done by a twenty-two-man staff. . . . It is a report that . . . can't be laughed off.

—Richard Lee Strout, in *Christian Science Monitor*

Chapter 2



Symbol of Democracy

We fought for the dignity of the individual.
Secretary of State George C. Marshall
Rio de Janeiro, 1947

In the eighty-six years since the abolition of slavery, Washington has become the most important capital on earth. It is the great stage of world events, and the curtain is always up on the play entitled: "Democracy In Action."

Democracy's Great Stage

How do we look across the footlights to the rest of the world? Even if we wished, we could not dim the lights or lower the curtain. In 1947 the following item appeared in a Washington newspaper:

> RUSSIAN NEWSPAPER HITS TREATMENT OF NEGROES HERE
>
> (By the Associated Press)
>
> Moscow, Aug. 21—The newspaper "Trud" said today that Negroes in Washington were "prohibited from attending movies, restaurants, barber shops and beaches where whites were present."
>
> "Let us remember this is all taking place in the city which, according to the reference books, has the residence of the President and the Capitol building in which Congress sits," the article continued.
>
> Trud asked: "Will Washington 'democrats' dare restrict the Liberian Ambassador to movies and restaurants only in the Negro ghetto?"[1]

The Voice of America

Each year Congress appropriates money for "Voice of America" broadcasts to counteract Russian propaganda abroad. But every incident and every court decision affecting Negro rights in this country is front-page news throughout Asia, Africa, and much of Europe. Moreover, the great voice of America is our capital itself. It speaks for us directly to a world audience that is only one-third white.

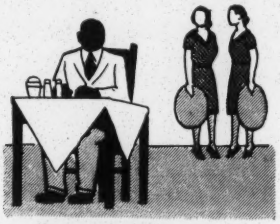
[1] Washington Evening Star, Aug. 21, 1947. (The answer to Trud's last question is, with occasional exceptions, "yes.")

(*Reprint of page of text.*)

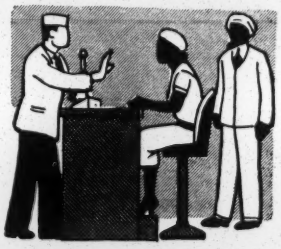
WE PREACH DEMOCRACY TO THE WORLD—

BUT WE PRACTICE IT IN NATION'S CAPITAL WITH EXAMPLES LIKE THESE —

African foreign minister refused admittance to a white hotel.

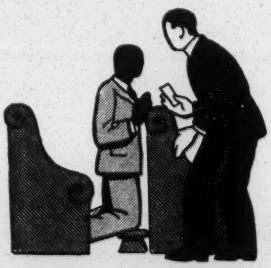


Bolivian educator refused service in a chain restaurant.



* Hindu woman refused service at a soda fountain.

West Indian students forced to stand at counter.



Panama visitor asked to leave a white church.

Puerto Rican senator forced to sleep on couch in government office.

** Dark-skinned foreigners are often embarrassed*

OUR WORLD PROMISES

All Nazi race, creed, or political discrimination shall be abolished.
—*Berlin Agreement, 1945*

World peace necessitates elimination of racial and religious distinctions.
—*Act of Chapultepec, 1945*

"We fought for the dignity of the individual".
—*Secretary of State Marshall, Rio de Janeiro, 1947*

(Reprint of one of twelve pages of graphics.)

What Our Booklet Is—

This booklet is a summary of the research findings of the National Committee on Segregation in the Nation's Capital. The study was conducted by a research sub-committee of noted Social Scientists under instruction to investigate the conditions and causes of segregation and discrimination in Washington. A staff of investigators and research analysts prepared the basic monographs after eight months of intensive field work.

It consists of a very readable 76 pages of text, 12 pages of graphics and 3 maps, clearly presenting the facts of Segregation in our Capital in the fields of Employment, both public and private; Housing; Education; Health Services; and Public Accommodations.

In these critical times when the eyes of the world are directed toward Washington, every American will want to read this account of racial practices in the National Capital.

Order from:

JOSEPH D. LOHMAN, *Executive Secretary*
THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON SEGREGATION
IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL, INC.
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Individual Copies.....85c postpaid

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21

(DETACH HERE)

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in the Nation's Capital, Inc.
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Check enclosed_____

Bill me_____

Please send me_____copies of
"SEGREGATION IN WASHINGTON."

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ Zone_____ State_____

9-24-52

SUMMARY OF COURT CASES INVOLVING RACE
WHICH HAVE HAD WORLD-WIDE NOTORIETY

SCOTTSBORO CASE--Prototype of the court cases in the U. S. involving race which have had world-wide notoriety. On Mar. 25, 1931 nine Negro youths whose ages ranged from 13 to 20 were accused of attacking two girls on a freight train near Scottsboro, Ala. On Apr. 9 eight were found guilty of rape and received death sentences; the ninth was tried in the Juvenile Court. Six years of litigation in state and federal courts followed. The Scottsboro case reached the Supreme Court of the U. S. several times. In the course of the trials Ruby Bates, one of the girls bringing charges, repudiated the testimony she had given earlier, declaring on the witness stand that the entire story had been manufactured by the arresting sheriff. The five Scottsboro boys in their teens at the time the incident occurred were finally exonerated in 1937. Four were convicted, receiving 75, 99 and life prison sentances. In 1943 one of the four convicted was paroled; in 1944 two more were paroled. Haywood Patterson, last of the Scottsboro boys in prison, escaped in 1948. The governor of Michigan refused to return him to the Alabama prison in 1950; in 1951 Patterson was convicted on manslaughter charges in Detroit.

WILLIE MCGEE--Willie McGee, charged with raping a white woman in Laurel, Miss. on Nov. 2, 1945, was executed for the alleged crime May 8, 1951. McGee's position throughout the trials was that his intimacies with the womas in question were of a "mutually voluntary" nature. Final conviction came after the case had been in state and federal courts for six years and two earlier convictions had been thrown out because of unfairness of trial. The Supreme Court of the U. S. refused appeals to review the case. McGee was the 29th Negro executed for rape in Miss. since 1907; no white men have received the death penalty for rape in the same period.

TRENTON SIX--On Jan. 27, 1948 William Horner, storekeeper of Trenton, N. J., was beaten to death in his combination store and home. A salesman reported that he saw tow Negroes leaving the store at the time the crime occurred, and a neighbor said she had seen three Negro "teen agers" run from the direction of the store and leave in a car with a fourth Negro boy. Six Negroes were charged with the crime, convicted and sentenced to death. Testimony at subsequent trials indicated that the six Negroes were interrogated over long periods of time (as much as 19 hours at a stretch), held incommunicado, refused legal counsel; that confessions were secured while they were under the influence of drugs. Mrs. Horner, sole witness, stated that she did not recognize the Trenton Six when confronted with them 10 days after the murder; later she changed her statement. In 1949 the New Jersey Supreme Court reversed the verdict of guilty and the death sentence, called for a new trial. At the second trial, held in 1951, four were acquitted, two received life imprisonment. Efforts are being made to secure a retrial for the Trenton Two.

MARTINSVILLE SEVEN--Seven Negroes convicted of raping a white woman in Martinsville, Va. were electroduted in Feb., 1951. The seven were convicted by an all-white jury in separate one-day trials in May, 1949. Despite the efforts of NAACP and other groups concerned the Supreme Court of the U. S. twice refused to review the case. Gov. Battle of Virginia ignored pleas to extend executive clemency. In the last 50 years 45 Negroes have been

executed for rape in Virginia; no white men were executed for that crime in the same period. Shortly after the execution of the Martinsville Seven two white men were convicted of raping the bride of a white Naval officer; the defendants confessed; sentences were for 35 and 17 years.

INGRAM CASE--Mrs. Rose Lee Ingram and her sons Sammie(13) and Wallace(15) were sentenced to death at Ellaville, Ga. in Jan., 1948 by an all-white jury for the murder of a white sharecropper. According to the Ingrams' testimony the sharecropper, John Stratford, assaulted Mrs. Ingram with intent to rape. Her sons struck and killed Stratford with the gun he had used to beat Mrs. Ingram. Death sentences were later commuted to life imprisonment.

HENDERSON CASE--Clarence Henderson, Negro sharecropper of Carrollton, Ga., was convicted for the third time in Oct., 1951 for the murder of a Georgia Tech student. The Georgia Supreme Court voided the death sentence for the third time June, 1952 on the basis of insufficient identification. Henderson allegedly shot Carl Stevens, Jr. on the night of Oct. 31, 1948 in a scuffle resulting from Steven's attempts to protect his date from a rape attack. The girl failed to identify Henderson at the first trial, later identified him on the basis of his voice. The murder weapon appeared a year after the slaying in an Atlanta pawn shop and was circumstantially linked to Henderson.

GROVELAND, FLA. RAPE CASE--Mrs. Willie Padgett, 17-year-old farm wife, charged that four Negroes raped her in the early morning of July 16, 1949 near Groveland, Fla. Samuel Shepherd (22), Walter Irwin(22) and Charles Greenlee(16) were convicted of rape Sept. 3, 1949, following an outburst of mob violence in the area. A fourth suspect, Ernest Thomas, was shot to death by a posse two weeks after the incident occurred. Irwin and Shepherd, sentenced to death, received a reprieve from the Supreme Court of the U. S. in 1951. Shepherd was shot to death and Irwin critically wounded in Nov., 1951, while being moved from the state prison at Raiford to the Lake County jail. Sheriff Willis McCall, who protected the Negroes from lynch mobs in 1949, testified that the two attacked him when he stopped the car to fix a flat. McCall was moving the two prisoners at night, unaccompanied by other law officers. The second trial, moved to Ocala, Fla., resulted in a second conviction of Irwin. Appeal for a new trial was denied Mar. 11, 1952.

LEERING SHARECROPPER CASE--Mack Ingram, Negro sharecropper of Yancyville, N. C., was accused of intent to rape a white girl because he "leered" at her at a distance of 75 feet. Ingram was convicted on a reduced charge of assault, with a maximum penalty of two years in prison, June, 1951. NAACP secured a second trial which resulted in a hung jury. A third trial was pending at the end of 1951.

BROOKSVILLE, FLA. JAIL CASE--Sheriff Sim Lowman released David Reese on Feb. 28, 1952 from the Hernando County jail where he had been held a year and a half after being acquitted of a murder charge. Sheriff Lowman said Reese had been held on a verbal order from Judge Fred Hocker as "an accessory and witness" in the case of another Negro. Reese was acquitted of the murder charge July 20, 1950.

HB MP

DEC 17 1952

A Voice from the South

By Sarah Patton Boyle

I AM a southerner and I find racial segregation distasteful, ridiculous and inexcusably undemocratic. There are millions like me and we are multiplying every day. The south does have more than its share of racial bigots who steadfastly refuse to recognize Negro rights, but they are not present in the large numbers generally imagined. A few courageous leaders in key positions could take what appears to be a rocklike tradition and crack it like a shell.

The conviction that all southerners are prejudiced holds the south captive in a tradition which in our hearts we have happily outgrown. Overwhelming evidence points to the fact that wherever nonsegregation has been introduced by a recognized authority, southerners of all classes and temperaments have accepted it with good grace and often with acclaim.

No Headlines for Good Will

The nation's newspapers tend to feature stories of discrimination as practiced in the south. Seldom do headlines or editorials proclaim proofs of southern good will. When a qualified Negro law student had to fight from the lowest to the highest court to dissolve the law which barred him from the University of Texas, the case was front-page material. But later, buried on the back page if mentioned at all, was the news that the students of the University of Texas welcomed him warmly into their midst and shortly elected him chairman of the social committee of the law school.

Similarly, everyone was informed when a bomb was planted on Christmas night 1951 in Mims, Florida. One man was killed, presumably for his efforts to end segregation. But how many knew that earlier in the same year the Florida Student Government Association, composed of student leaders representing all the "white" colleges and universities in Florida, had *unanimously* approved a resolution calling for the abolishment of segregation in all the state's institutions of higher learning? Or that 95 per cent of the students at the Baptist Seminary in Louisville, Kentucky, voted to admit Negroes not only to classes but also to dormitories? Or that the Student Federation of Louisiana voted 76 per cent in favor of having Negroes participate in their programs?

A Swelling Tide of Democracy

Nor is the swelling tide of liberal thinking in southern colleges confined to students. A 1949 poll at the University of Oklahoma showed 76 per cent of the students and 100 per cent of the faculty favoring removal of all segregation signs on the campus. The same year, the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., polled the faculties of 143 "white" colleges and universities in 14 southern and border states. Of the 4,000 ballots returned, approximately 70 per cent favored nonsegregated schools; the percentage would doubtless be much higher now.

The incoming tide of democracy is not confined to highly educated groups. In the realm of politics a wholesome trend is apparent. Five Negroes were elected to city councils in North Carolina last year, with such a large white vote that they would have been elected had no Negroes voted for them at all. In Louisiana a Negro ran for the state board of education and carried more white than Negro precincts. This year in Tennessee a Negro physician was appointed to the Knoxville city planning commission and a Negro lawyer to the Nashville board of education. In Florida a Negro minister was appointed to the Miami welfare board and a Negro was elected by an all-white vote to the Dade county medical association. In Richmond a Negro lawyer serves on the city council, another Negro on the planning commission.

In 1950 New Orleans elected as mayor De Lesseps Morrison, a man known to entertain Negroes in his home and characterized as a "nigger lover" by the race-baiting opposition.

Four years ago when Mayor W. B. Hartsfield of Atlanta stated that it was time to add Negroes to the police force, opposition rose like a wall. It was said that Negroes would not respect police of their own race, that white police would resign, that the public would rebel, that any Negro who "strutted the streets in a uniform" would be lynched. But the mayor, who knew his fellow southerners, merely waited for tempers to cool, then put eight Negroes on the force. No white policemen resigned, not one unpleasant incident resulted, and the rate of crimes and misdemeanors in the Negro community dropped by half.

Citizens Hail Success of 'Experiment'

Towns and cities in every southern state except Louisiana now employ Negro policemen. Miami has 41, Louisville 34. And everywhere citizens boast of the success of their "experiment." Even in New Orleans, where Negro policemen are not yet accepted, an instruction booklet for members of the force goes so far as to state, "The delinquency rate is not as high in respectable Negro homes as it is in respectable white homes."

Labor leaders have not found it dangerous, or even in most cases difficult, to erase color lines in labor organizations throughout the south. E. B. Pugh, Virginia state director for the C. I. O., says: "There has never been the slightest friction, as far as I know, between whites and Negroes working together on a nonsegregated basis in the plants or in our union meetings. Negroes are often elected to important offices by a majority white vote. In one of our locals, where five-sixths of the membership is white, a Negro secretary has been elected and re-elected three times. One of my own staff members is a Negro."

On the executive board of the Alabama C. I. O. there are at least five Negro vice-presidents though white delegates outnumber Negroes four to one.

In hundreds of southern towns, long-established organizations for civic, social and spiritual welfare are laying heavy stress on equality and brotherhood for all. Foremost

is the Methodist Youth Fellowship, which, spearheaded by their alert and well edited magazine *Concern,* is putting a strong shoulder to the wheel of interracial brotherhood. The Catholic youth, the Y. W. C. A. and the Y. M. C. A., and the Baptist youth are beating insistently against the bars throughout the south. The Southern Baptist Church, incidentally, has been the first to drop racial bars in every one of its southern seminaries. The ministerial association of Augusta county, Virginia, is more than 90 per cent white, yet recently the Rev. Morris Tynes, a Negro, was *unanimously* elected president.

Negro Physicians in Hospitals

Few southern hospitals allow Negro doctors to practice in them. Convention says that white patients, especially white women, would object. Yet Emory University's school of medicine, at Atlanta, has established a postgraduate clinic for Negro physicians; Johns Hopkins has admitted Negro physicians to its postgraduate school of medicine; and community hospitals in Virginia and Arkansas have admitted Negro doctors. Certainly not much "objecting" by white women is discernible in the case of such a physician as T. E. Connor, a Negro practicing in Clifton Forge, Alabama, who in 1951 announced that he had already delivered 4,962 babies. More than 70 per cent of his patients are white.

Some months ago several southern nurses walked out of a Catholic hospital in West Virginia when the sister superior refused to discharge three Negro nurses who had been added to the staff. But the hospital stood its ground and received full support from the community and the newspapers.

Another proof of the south's unrecognized readiness to accept our Negro citizens is the widespread practice of bootleg nonsegregation. This is sometimes secret, sometimes open and winked at. Typical of secret violations in a certain southern city was the move of a director of newsboys to engage the public recreation hall several hours each week for the use of his charges. He "forgot" to mention that more than a third of them were black. For three years these youngsters played happily together. The parents of all knew what was happening and none objected. When finally the authorities heard of it and ordered the meetings segregated, the white boys refused to meet at all if their Negro friends were excluded. So the program was dropped.

Techniques of Bootleg Nonsegregation

Techniques for carrying on bootleg nonsegregation are often ingenious. Increasing in popularity is that of making any interracial meeting legal by calling it "private"—for the law usually stipulates "public assembly." Soft chuckles rolled from the three corners of Virginia last year when the city of Richmond called the annual conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People a "private meeting," despite the fact that it was held in the town's largest auditorium and the public was cordially invited.

And when Adlai Stevenson spoke to the people of Virginia on September 20, 1952, Richmond officials decided that, as he "would be speaking to a Democratic party meeting and not to a public gathering," it was quite all right for the audience to be mixed. More than 5,000 persons, white and Negro, crowded through the wide-open doors of the Mosque theater.

In many places nonsegregation is bootlegged on common carriers by the simple expedient of instructing bus drivers and railroad conductors to allow Negroes to sit where they like unless some white person complains. Complaints are rare. One of the best railroads in the south has not segregated passengers for years.

And although theaters themselves are rigidly segregated by law, Thomas Poag, a Negro, was elected by a 90 per cent white vote to the presidency of the South Eastern Theater Conference.

Everywhere in the south segregation is far more active on paper than in practice, and far more active in practice than in the hearts of white southerners. On paper, for example, Negro and white teachers are completely segregated in Virginia, having two separate state associations. In practice, however, they get together throughout the state for local meetings and conferences. They often meet in school buildings, which are strictly segregated during school hours.

False Assumptions of Prejudice

Much of the south's failure to realize the democratic ideals for which our nation stands can be attributed to a false assumption that everybody else is prejudiced. In 1950, U. S. District Justice A. B. Conger of Georgia called the opposition to nonsegregation in schools the reaction of the "selfish few," and Georgia's largest newspaper, the *Atlanta Constitution,* backed him up with the statement: "His example should serve to strengthen and encourage the great timorous majority of us who are reluctant to speak our consciences."

A Negro dentist told me that his white practice [illegible] when he moved his office from a busy corner of Main street to an obscure side street. White people, it seems, are personally delighted with his services, but each is quite sure that his friends would disapprove if they knew the color of his dentist.

Harold C. Fleming, director of information for the Southern Regional Council, says, "Give us leaders who evoke the best rather than the worst in us and we will shortly be a united people." Such leaders have already made their appearance and none has been labeled a social outcast. A Georgia woman, Mrs. M. E. Tilly, sat on the President's Civil Rights Commission and was in the forefront of the huge movement of southern churchwomen to end lynching in the south. She is now director of the Fellowship of the Concerned, an organization to end discrimination in the courts, which under her leadership attracted a membership of more than 3,000 southerners within three months. Mrs. Tilly makes no secret of the fact that she thinks segregation in all forms is nonsense. Has she been weighted down with public disapproval? On the contrary, a group of southern women's societies voted her "Woman of Achievement in Social Welfare," and she has received many other awards, having, as one organization put it, "stretched our minds and hearts."

Lillian Smith, also a native Georgian, has for years attacked segregation in articles, speeches and books. Yet she has repeatedly been asked to serve on local boards in

her community and owns and directs a fashionable and highly successful summer camp for southern girls. The year *Strange Fruit* was published, she tells me, she had only 4 withdrawals from her camp and had 40 applications for those 4 places.

The capacity for democracy of the average southerner is far ahead of the restrictions imposed by our laws and our leaders. When dining-car segregation was declared unconstitutional, it was predicted that scenes and even violence would follow. No such thing happened. A typical reaction was that of a dyed-in-the-wool southerner who when seated next to a Negro in a dining car was heard to murmur to his companion, "We'll get used to it."

It is often remarked in the armed services today that when Negroes are added to white units, southerners are the first to drop all symptoms of discrimination and to extend unself-conscious friendship to black G. I.'s. Why not? To northerners, Negroes are strangers; but we in the south were raised by and with Negroes. "The southern people," says Dr. Benjamin Mays, distinguished Negro educator, "are far more ready to move toward racial integration than their political leaders believe."

This sentiment, echoed by countless others who have devoted their lives to the study of race relations in the south, is one that cannot be ignored. Many of us southerners firmly believe that the race problem in the south could be solved if only our leaders would have faith enough in us to put us to the test.

BOOKS

Great Things to Come

THE LIBRARY OF CHRISTIAN CLASSICS. *To be completed in 26 volumes. General editors, John Baillie, John T. McNeill and Henry P. Van Dusen. Vol. I, Early Christian Fathers, edited by Cyril C. Richardson. Vol. XXIV, Selections from Zwingli and Bullinger, edited by G. W. Bromiley. Westminster Press.*

SCHOLARS have for years been feeling the need of a new collection of the classic literature of Christianity, selected with mature judgment as to what is permanently significant, translated into good modern English where the originals are in other languages (as most of them are), and presented with ample historical and biographical introductions based on the best contemporary scholarship. The two volumes now at hand in pre-publication proof copies, anticipating a publication date in April 1953, give promise that this need will be admirably met by the series now announced.

Serious students of Christian history have never failed to realize the importance of the writings of the "Fathers" as source materials. In recent years there appears to have been a fresh interest in these writings and a new realization that many of them, besides being historically valuable as mirrors of the thought of their own time, have living religious and theological messages for our time. In some quarters also there has been a growing conviction that the category of "Fathers of the Church" needed to be extended beyond its traditional limits and be made to include writers later than the sixth or seventh century; or, if long usage has destroyed the elasticity of that term, then it might be better to speak of "Christian classics."

The massive and magnificent old series of "Apostolic, Ante-Nicene, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers" has been out of print as long as most readers can remember. Except for a reprint of part of the series from the old plates, it is available, if at all, only through antiquarian bookstores. Its scope was limited, and its scholarship was the very best of three-quarters of a century ago. After some confusion apparently occasioned by conflicting publishing interests, the splendid Roman Catholic series now being issued by "Fathers of the Church, Inc.," has got fairly under way. Already something like 15 of the promised 72 volumes have appeared. The translations are new and some works are included that have never before appeared in English, but the chronological limit seems to be the traditional one. Meanwhile various publishers and editors have offered new editions of separate works or groups of works in the area of patristic literature.

The series now being announced, under the confidence-inspiring editorship of Baillie, McNeill and Van Dusen, will at once gratify and stimulate this quickening interest in the Christian classics. Especially notable is the inclusion of a great body of material from the late medieval, Reformation and post-Reformation periods. Only the first eight (and perhaps part of the ninth) of the planned 26 volumes are devoted to the writers who have generally been listed as the "Fathers," through Augustine. The next six cover medieval thought, with one volume containing works by the frequently neglected late medieval advocates of reform. Then follow ten volumes of the writings of the great Reformers—Luther, Melanchthon, Bucer, Calvin, Zwingli and Bullinger. The last two include works by "Spiritual and Anabaptist" writers and English Reformers. One can think of a few others whom one would like to see included in such a collection—Wesley, for example, and Roger Williams, and William Law, though perhaps these have been brought in under the last two categories.

In any case, this is a much better balanced list of the "Great Books" of the Christian tradition than has hitherto found publication as a series on such an ample scale. The works in languages other than English have been newly translated. Samplings of the two volumes now at hand indicate a successful effort to combine accuracy with readability. The historical and critical introductions to the several works are more extended than is usual in collections of this kind and add greatly to the value of the whole.

This series is going to be well worth watching for. Don't try to buy them now, but make a memorandum of the publication date of the first volume—April 27, 1953.

W. E. GARRISON.

Books in Brief

A LITTLE TREASURY OF WORLD POETRY. *Edited by Herbert Creekmore. Scribners, $5.00.* The "Little Treasury" series already includes collections of British, American and modern poetry all edited by Oscar Williams, and of love poems and American prose with other editors. This new volume contains translations from the great poets of languages other than English—in fact, 32 different languages. A few of the languages are dead, but most of the poetry is living, in the sense of expressing human emotions which are as deathless as humanity itself. It is doubtless true that every translation of a poem is really a new and different poem, for, while ideas can be transferred from one language to another, the essential quality and personality of a poem are inseparable from the idiom in which it was created. However, the ideas are worth transferring, and something more comes with them. Fortunately, a large proportion of the translators here represented are themselves authentic poets and many are very eminent ones.

THE MIRROR OF LOVE, A REINTERPRETATION OF "THE ROMANCE OF THE ROSE." *By Alan M. F. Gunn. Texas Tech Press, Lubbock, Tex., $5.25.* Immensely popular in its own time and for two or three centuries thereafter, the *Roman de la Rose* is still rich in reputation but rather destitute of readers. An interval of half a century separated the writing of the two parts of this medieval masterpiece by two authors

1953?

Materials — Violence

VIOLENCE AND VANDALISM IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Date	Source	Incident
2/26/51	Atlanta Constitution	Negro garage was found afire in an East Avenue section where Negro ownership of a home was being protested by white residents of the area. The building had been saturated with kerosene and piles of trash had been heaped against the building. About a half hour later officers returned to the scene and discovered a second fire.
3/25/51	Atlanta Journal	Stick of dynamite was set off in the back yard of a home on East Avenue recently purchased by Negroes. Raw eggs were also thrown on the front porch. In July, two klansmen were indicted for the bombing. The two were arrested and placed under $5,000 bonds.
6/19/51	Atlanta World	House dynamited on Fourth Street, N. W. before new Negro owner moved in. (Negro-white housing tension)
6/28/51	Atlanta Journal	A bomb was exploded on the front porch of an unoccupied house on Fourth Street, N. W., recently purchased by a Negro family.
6/30/51	Atlanta World	Two shots fired into the home of a Negro family on Chicamauga Avenue, S. W. A shot was also fired into the home of a Negro family on Mozley Place, N. W.
2/52		Cross burned in front of Negro home. (Racial tension)
		Catholic church receives bombing threat. (Religious tension)
8/3/53		An unidentified white man hurled gasoline at the porch of a home on Park Street, S.E. in an attempt to set the house afire. The owner, a white woman, said the arson attempt was probably made because she is boarding a couple who recently sold their home to Negroes

2--Violence and Vandalism

8/20/53	Atlanta World	Pharmacy on Simpson Road, N. W. was dynamited.
10/8/53		Three houses damaged from dynamite explosions in Cairo Street area.

Other information from newspaper clippings

10/11/46	Atlanta Constitution	Negro woman jailed on suspicion of malicious mischief after admitting writing threatening notes warning white residents to vacate a Windsor Street house near a Negro residential area.
8/14/48	" "	A group of white residents from the Mozley Park area joined the West Eng Cooperative Association and raised money for the purchase of Association bonds to be used in acquiring real estate where they claimed Negroes were buying the building. A drive was launched to obtain additional members from the area. Real Estate purchased by the Association was turned back to white persons.
10/8/48	" "	Negro real estate agent held to Criminal Court on a charge of cheating and swindling by alledgedly selling houses on Mozley Place, S. W. to other Negroes on the pretext that it would become a Negro neighborhood. (The case was declared a mistrial)

FORT WORTH, TEX.

"There is no segregation whatsoever in the Public Library."

SOURCE: Letter from George D. Flemmings, Pres.
Forth Worth Branch, NAACP
(See RECREATION survey file)

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THE LAWS OF ATLANTA AND GEORGIA RELATING TO THE SEPARATION OF RACES

Compiled from

Georgia Code, Annotated (1935)

and

Municipal Code of Atlanta (1942)

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

October, 1945

I

THE GEORGIA CODE

Chapter and
Section

2 CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE OF GEORGIA

117 (Article I, Bill of Rights) Paragraph XVII. SLAVERY AND INVOLUNTARY SERVITUDE. - There shall be within the State of Georgia neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, save as a punishment for crime after legal conviction thereof.

118 (Article I, Bill of Rights) Paragraph XVIII. STATUS OF THE CITIZEN.- The social status of the citizen shall never be the subject of legislation.

Cross Reference. - Rights of a citizen, see 79-205.

Judicial Notice of social status and superiority and inferiority of races not prevented by this provision. 2 App. 505 (58 S.E. 899).

Marriage between members of the white and black races, law prohibiting, does not regulate the social status of citizens. 39/321

125 (Article I, Bill of Rights) Paragraph XXV. CITIZENS, PROTECTION OF.- All citizens of the United States resident in this State, are hereby declared citizens of this State, and it shall be the duty of the General Assembly to enact such laws as will protect them in the full enjoyment of the rights, privileges and immunities due to such citizenship.

Profession: Every citizen has right to follow any lawful calling, business, or profession he may select, subject only to restrictions as government may impose for welfare and safety of society. 162/246 (134 S.E. 42)

White and colored races: Distinctions between, as to rights pertaining to citizenship are abolished by Fourteenth Amendment to Federal Constitution, and as to their civil rights, the races stand upon same footing; therefore, whatever rights belong to white concubine or bastard under laws of Georgia belong also to colored concubine or bastard. 78/413 (1-d) (3 S.E. 309)

5002 (Article VII, Finance, Taxation, etc.) Paragraph II. EXEMPTIONS. - The General Assembly may, by law, exempt from taxation all public property; places of religious worship or burial; all institutions of purely public charity; all buildings erected for and used as a college, incorporated academy, or other seminary of learning, and also all funds or property held or used as endowment by such colleges, incorporated academies or seminaries of learning, provided the same is not invested in real estate; and provided, further, that said exemptions shall only apply to such colleges, incorporated academies or other seminaries of learning as are open to the general public; provided, further, that all endowments to institutions established for white people shall be limited to white people, and all endowments to institutions established for colored people shall be limited to colored people....

92-201 (998) of Code contains same provisions.

6601 (Article VIII, Education) Paragraph I. SYSTEM OF COMMON SCHOOLS: FREE TUITION; SEPARATION OF RACES. - There shall be a thorough system of common schools for the education of children as nearly uniform as practicable, the expenses of which shall be provided for by taxation, or otherwise. The schools shall be free to all children of the State, but separate schools shall be provided for the white and colored races. (Acts 1911, p. 46, ratified Oct. 2, 1912)

Editorial Note. -- By the amendment ratified October 2, 1912, the words, "in the elementary branches of and English education only," which im-

mediately followed the word "children", were stricken from this paragraph. Otherwise the paragraph is the same as it was in the original Constitution of 1877.

Cited. 145/408, 409 (89 S.E. 367); 168/86 (147 S.E. 373).
Stated. 160/268 (127 S.E. 868).

Colored person not denied equal protection of laws by decision of State court denying injunction against maintenance by board of education of high school for white children, while failing to maintain one for colored children also, for reason that funds not sufficient to maintain it in addition to needed primary schools for colored children. 175 U.S. 528 (44 L. Ed. 262, 20 Sup. Ct. 197) affirming 103/641 (29 S.E. 488).

7101 (Article VII, Education) Paragraph I. DONATIONS AND GRANTS; APPROPRIATIONS The trustees of the University of Georgia may accept bequests, donations and grants of land, or other property, for the use of said university. In addition to the payment of the annual interest on the debt due by the State to the University, the General Assembly shall from time to time make such appropriations to the University, and high schools, as the condition of the treasury authorizes. (Acts 1920, p. 32 ratified Nov. 2, 1920).

Cross-References - Taxation for public institutions, see 2-4901. State University, see Title 32, Education, Chapter 32-1.

Editorial Note -- This paragraph, as it appeared in the original Constitution of 1877, read as follows: "The trustees of the University of Georgia may accept bequests, donations and grants of land, or other property, for the use of said university. In addition to the payment of the annual interest on the debt due by the State to the University, the General Assembly may, from time to time, make such donations thereto as the condition of the treasury will authorize; and the General Assembly may also from time to time make such appropriations of money as the condition of the Treasury will authorize to any college, or university in this State for the education of persons of color." The amendment of 1920 changed it to read as set out above.

"The annual interest on the debt due by the State to the University," mentioned in the above paragraph, refers to the annual appropriation mentioned in section 1394 of the Code of 1910, first enacted by an Act approved December 21, 1821 (Cobb's Digest p. 1091), guaranteeing a permanent income to the University of not less than $8,000 a year from its bank stock. The bank stock therein referred to was stock purchased in the Bank of the State of Georgia at Savannah with the proceeds of the sale of wild lands owned by the University, pursuant to an Act approved December 16, 1815, (Cobb's Digest pp. 1088-89) of which section 1381 of the Code of 1910, prohibiting the trustees from disposing of such stock without the consent of the General Assembly was a part. The Governor's message of November 24, 1866, states that this bank filed deeds of surrender of its charter in his office between March 13, 1866, and November 24, 1866. The Comptroller General's report of 1869 declares this stock worthless. The income guaranteed by the above-mentioned Act of 1821 was recognized by the above provision of the Constitution as due to the University. Since the University no longer owns any bank stock, sections 1381 and 1394 of the Code of 1910 have not been included in this Code.

Cited. 141/390, 396 (81 S.E. 238).
Name: Act of 1933 (32-101) changing corporate name from "Trustees of the University of Georgia" to "Regents of the University System of Georgia," does not violate this provision. 179/210 (3) (175. S.E. 567)

18 CARRIERS

202 DUTY AS TO RECEPTION OF PASSENGERS.- A common carrier, holding himself out to the public as such, is bound to receive all passengers offered that he is able and accustomed to carry, upon compliance with such reasonable regulations as he may adopt for his own safety and the benefit of the public.

Cited. 74/685; 159 Fed. 960.
Construction: Construing sections 93-304 et seq., 93-309 et. seq., this section and section 18-203 in harmony, the power of a common carrier to make reasonable regulations must yield where regulations have been made by authority of the State, unless they are invalid. 140/817, 827 (80 S.E. 327).

203 WHAT PERSONS MAY BE REFUSED AS PASSENGERS OR EJECTED. - Carriers of passengers may refuse to admit, or may eject from their conveyances, all persons refusing to comply with reasonable regulations, or guilty of improper conduct, or of bad, dissolute, doubtful, or suspicious character. They may refuse to convey persons seeking to interfere with their business or interests.

Colored trainhand may properly be called by conductor to assist in ejecting passenger who ought to be ejected. 90/562 (4) (16 S.E. 352).

Disorderly passenger, using obscene, profane, or vulgar language, has no right to remain on train and be carried, 81/485 (8 S.E. 70); see 132/552 (64 S.E. 549); 89/554 (16 S.E. 69). See 27-213 to 27-215.

204 DILIGENCE REQUIRED OF CARRIERS. - A carrier of passengers must exercise extraordinary diligence to protect the lives and persons of his passengers, but is not liable for injuries to them after having used such diligence.

Cross-reference. Limitation of liability by giving notice, see 18-104. Presumption in case of loss, see 18-102. What is extraordinary diligence, see 105-202.

Violence and insult at hands of fellow passengers or third persons, duty of carrier to use extraordinary care to protect passenger from. 115/836 (42 S.E. 242); 117/63 (43 S.E. 430); 126/814 (56 S.E. 68); 1 App. 557 (57 S.E. 943); 132/552, 558 (64 S.E. 549).

Presence on train of two Negro tramps stealing ride not sufficient to cause employees to anticipate that when brought into train under arrest they might endeavor to escape and make murderous assault upon one to whom carrier owed duty of protection and who was taking no part to prevent the escape. 115/836 (42 S.E. 242).

Insult not necessarily consist in use of language imputing crime; more generally consists in language affecting social status and personal feelings or business relations of person insulted. Id. 500 (3-b)

To call a white man a Negro or intimate that he is of African descent may be an insult. Id. 500 (3-a).

Where one sues for being mistaken for Negro by street car conductor, petition must allege that plaintiff is a white man. 124/693 (53 S.E. 239)

Colored passenger entitled to same protection as white passenger against violent men seeking to molest, outrage, and humiliate him. 89/554 (16 S.E. 69); 126/814 (56 S.E. 68)

205 DUTY OF CARRIERS TO FURNISH EQUAL ACCOMMODATIONS. - Common carriers of passengers for hire shall furnish like and equal accommodations to all persons, without distinction of race, color, or previous condition. (Acts 1870, p. 398).

Cross-Reference -- Penalty for violation of this section, see 18-9901. Venue of suit by person wronged and amount recoverable, 18-606.

Cited. 1 App. 632, 635 (57 S.E. 1007); 3 App. 534, 540 (60 S.E. 278)

Baggage transfer company may be granted exclusive right to enter incoming trains to solicit transportation of passengers and baggage, and it may rent a portion of the baggage room in depot for its use, provided that so doing does not interfere with exercise of any right which any other person may lawfully demand of railroad company as common carrier. 107/636 (34 S.E. 372), followed 128-754 (58 S.E. 452); and see 125/677 (54 S.E. 711).

206 SEPARATE CARS OR COMPARTMENTS FOR WHITE AND COLORED PASSENGERS; SEATS; LIGHT; VENTILATION. - Railroad companies doing business in this state shall furnish equal accommodations, in separate cars or compartments of cars, for white and colored passengers, and when a car is divided into compartments, the space set apart for white and colored passengers respectively may be proportioned according to the proportion of usual and ordinary travel by each on the railroad or line on which cars are used. Such companies shall furnish to the passengers comfortable seats and shall have the cars well and sufficiently lighted and ventilated. Officers or employees having charge of railroad cars shall not allow white and colored passengers to occupy the same car or compartment. (Acts 1890-1, p. 157)

Cross-reference. - Penalty for violation of section, see 18-9902, 18-9903. Cited. 110/771 (36 S.E. 68); 2 App. 499, 503 (58 S.E. 899); 116/845 (43 S.E. 254); 126/814 (56 S.E. 68).

Civil liability of railroad company where white passenger occupied car of colored passengers and injured one of them. 126/814 (56 S.E. 68).

Constitutionality: Statute held constitutional as being general law. 125/287 (2) (54 S.E. 160)

Seats: Whether failure to provide is breach of duty, question for jury; where injury caused, or partly caused, by such failure, fact that for long time sufficient seats had not been furnished and that defendant knew it may be pleaded and proved as negligence as well as aggravation. 3 App. 534 (3) (60 S.E. 278).

As a general rule, carrier operating interurban railroad line is under legal duty to furnish passengers on its cars with seats. 146/264 (1) (91 S.E. 90).

Sick passenger: Section quoted in considering carrier's duty as to sick passenger. 13 App. 464, 465 (79 S.E. 369).

Street cars: This section not applicable to street cars. 27 App. 350 (1) (108 S.E. 313).

207 DUTY TO ASSIGN PASSENGERS TO THEIR CARS: POLICE POWERS OF CONDUCTORS.- All conductors or other employees in charge of passenger cars shall assign all passengers to their respective cars, or compartment of cars, provided by the said companies under the provisions of section 18-206 and all conductors of street cars and busses shall assign all passengers to seats on the cars under their charge, so as to separate the white and colored races as much as practicable; and all conductors and other employees of railroads and all conductors of street cars and busses shall have and are hereby with, police powers to carry out said provisions. (Acts 1890-1, p. 157).

Cross-reference. - White and colored passengers on sleeping cars separated, see 18-210.
Cited. 110/771, 772 (36 S.E. 68); 1 App. 632,635 (57 S.E. 1007); 120/991 (48 S.E. 355); 126/814, 819 (56 S.E. 68).

Arrest: Conductor of street car may arrest passenger for violation of section 18-208. 27 App. 350 (1) (108 S.E. 313).

Insult by conductor in mistaking white man for Negro, while attempting to enforce this section, may render company liable for damages. In enforcing this section, conductor is still the agent of the company, and

the liability for his acts is not diminished by delegation of police power. 2 App. 499 (58 S.E. 899).

Sick passenger: Section quoted in considering carrier's duty as to sick passenger. 13 App. 464, 465 (79 S.E. 369).

208 REMAINING IN SEAT, COMPARTMENT OR CAR OTHER THAN THAT TO WHICH ASSIGNED.- No passenger shall remain in any car, compartment or seat other than that to which he has been assigned. The conductor and any and all employees on such cars are clothed with power to eject from the train or car any passenger who refuses to remain in the car, compartment or seat assigned to him. (Acts 1890-1, p. 157).

Cross Reference. - Penalty for passenger remaining in car, see 18-9904. Cited. 126/814, 819 (56 S.E. 68).

Insult in mistaking white man for Negro. 2 App. 499 (58 S.E. 899).

Pass through car: Though passenger's purpose was to, he was guilty if he refused to leave at conductor's request. 110/771 (36 S.E. 68).

Sick passenger: Section quoted in considering carrier's duty as to sick passenger. 13 App. 464, 466 (79 S.E. 369).

209 NURSES AND SERVANTS EXCLUDED FROM OPERATION OF LAW. - The provisions of the preceding three sections shall not apply to colored nurses or servants in attendance on their employers. (Acts 1890-1, p. 157)

210 WHITE AND COLORED PASSENGERS ON SLEEPING CARS TO BE SEPARATED. - Sleeping car companies and railroad companies operating sleeping cars in this State shall have the right to assign all passengers to seats and berths under their charge, and shall separate the white and colored races in making said assignments, and the conductor and other employees on the train to which sleeping cars may be attached shall not permit white and colored passengers to occupy the same compartment: Provided, that nothing in this section shall be construed to compel sleeping-car companies or railroads operating sleeping cars to carry persons of color in sleeping or parlor cars: Provided, that this section shall not apply to colored nurses or servants traveling with their employers. A conductor or other employee of a sleeping car, as well as a conductor or other employee of the train to which a sleeping car may be attached, shall have full police power to enforce this section. (Acts 1899, p. 66).

Cross reference. - Acting as peace officer without authority, see 26-4902. Penalty for employee's failure to eject passengers, see 18-9906.

211 WATER AND LIGHT IN PASSENGER CARS. - Railroad companies shall keep in each passenger car or in any car in which passengers are transported an adequate supply of good, pure drinking water at all hours during the day and night. (Acts 1863-4, p. 132).

Cross-reference.- Penalty for violation, see 18-9907, 18-9908.

212 CINDER DEFLECTORS ON RAILROAD TRAINS. - All railroad companies operating passenger trains or coaches by steam within or throughout this State, are hereby required to put cinder deflectors, the same as are used on Pullman coaches or that will keep cinders from entering the car, upon all windows of passenger coaches, so as to protect the passengers when the windows are raised. (Acts 1912, p. 157).

Cross-reference.- Penalty for violation, see 18-9909.

213 STATION ACCOMMODATION FOR PASSENGERS. - All railroad companies operating passenger trains through county seats and towns and cities having a population of more than 1,000, and stopping thereat to take on and put off passengers, shall keep open at least one hour before the arrival of, and half an hour after the departure of, passenger trains, according to the scheduled time for the arrival of and the departure of said trains, a lighted and comfortable room, between the hours of 6 o'clock P.M. and 6 o'clock A.M., for the comfort and convenience of their passengers. (Acts 1906, p. 101).

Cross-references. - Penalty for violation, see 18-9910. Powers of Public Service Commission, see 93-308. See 133/413 (65 S.E. 890); 119/88 (2) (46 S. E. 71); 11 App. 805 (76 S.E. 364).

Contract by railroad company to locate station at given point is not per se void; contract is enforceable unless shown that there is such a conflict between railroad company's duties to public and its duties under the contract that it is impossible to discharge former without abandoning latter. 13 App. 357, 358 (6) (79 S. E. 187).

Eviction, unjustifiable, of passenger from waiting room in depot maintained by carrier at night, though under no duty to so maintain it, gives rise to cause of action. 33 App. 407 (126 S.E. 736). Waiting room at junction point maintained by both carriers, and eviction by agent of both, acting within scope of authority, both carriers liable. Id.

Heat: In suit against railroad for failure to heat waiting room, erroneous to charge that when plaintiff has shown she was passenger and that she was injured, presumption of negligence arises. 30 App. 621 (1) (118 S.E. 566).

Rule of Railroad Commission with regard to keeping open of depots and stations, held to be reasonable. 10 App. 227 (73 S.E. 523).

Statement by agent of carrier when selling ticket that waiting room at junction point open all night for accommodation of passenger, not binding upon carrier. 33 App. 407 (126 S.E. 736).

Waiting room: Passenger traveling on through ticket preserves status as passenger when in waiting room of depot for purpose of continuing journey upon next train of connecting carrier. 33 App. 406, 407 (126 S.E. 736).

606 FAILURE TO SUPPLY EQUAL AND LIKE ACCOMMODATIONS. - Any railroad violating the conditions of section 18-205, by any of its employees, may be sued in the superior court of the county where the offense is committed, and any person so wronged may recover such sum as the court thinks right and proper in the premises, not to exceed $10,000. (Acts 1870, pp. 427, 428).

9901 FAILURE TO FURNISH EQUAL ACCOMMODATIONS TO ALL. - Any officer, employee, or agent of a common carrier of passengers for hire, or persons who are common carriers, who shall violate the provisions of section 18-205 shall be punished as for a misdemeanor. (Acts 1870, pp. 398).

9902 ALLOWING WHITE AND COLORED PASSENGERS TO OCCUPY SAME CAR OR COMPARTMENT. - Any officer or employee having charge of railroad cars, who shall violate the provisions of section 18-206, prohibiting such officer or employee from allowing white and colored passengers to occupy the same car or compartment, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor. (Acts 1890-1, p. 157).

Cited. 126/814, 819 (56 S.E. 68).

9903 FAILURE TO FURNISH SEATS, LIGHTS, ETC., TO PASSENGERS. - Failure of companies operating and using compartment cars or separate cars to furnish to passengers comfortable seats, and to have the cars well and sufficiently ventilated as required by section 18-206, shall be a misdemeanor. (Acts 1890-1, p. 157).

9904 PASSENGER REMAINING IN CAR, COMPARTMENT OR SEAT OTHER THAN THAT TO WHICH ASSIGNED. - Any passenger violating the provisions of section 18-208, prohibiting any passenger from remaining in any car, compartment, or seat other than that to which he has been assigned, shall be guilty of misdemeanor. (Acts 1890-1, p. 157).

9905 SLEEPING CAR PASSENGER REMAINING IN COMPARTMENT OTHER THAN THAT TO WHICH ASSIGNED. - Any sleeping-car passenger remaining in any compartment other than that to which he may be assigned, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor. (Acts 1899, p. 66).

Cross-reference. - White and colored passengers in sleeping cars separated, see 18-210.

9906 EMPLOYEE FAILING TO ASSIST IN EJECTING PASSENGER FROM SLEEPING CAR. - A conductor or other employee of a sleeping car, or of a train carrying a sleeping car, who shall fail or refuse to assist in ejecting a passenger violating the provisions of section 18-210 shall be guilty of a misdemeanor. (Acts 1899, p. 66).

9907 FAILURE TO KEEP WATER OR LIGHTS IN PASSENGER CARS. - A violation of section 18-211, requiring railroad companies to keep an adequate supply of good, pure drinking water in each passenger car at all hours, and lights during the night for the use of passengers, shall be a misdemeanor. (Acts 1863-4, p. 132).

9908 CONDUCTOR OR AGENT OF RAILROAD FAILING TO FURNISH WATER OR LIGHTS. - Any conductor or agent of a railroad, who, after being requested by a passenger to furnish a sufficient supply of water to the passengers in each car, or light at night, shall pass any depot or station without doing so, may be indicted in any county through which the railroad of which he is agent or conductor runs, and shall be punished as for a misdemeanor. (Acts 1863, 4, p. 132).

9909 FAILURE OF RAILROAD TO INSTALL CINDER DEFLECTORS ON PASSENGER COACHES. - Any railroad company refusing or neglecting to comply with section 18-212, with regard to installing cinder deflectors on passenger coaches, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in the sum of not less than $500 or more than $1,000 for each coach not equipped as required by said section. (Acts 1912, p. 157).

9910 FAILURE TO PROVIDE RAILWAY STATION ACCOMMODATIONS FOR PASSENGERS. - A failure by a railroad company to comply with section 18-213, in relation to a lighted and comfortable room for passengers, shall be a misdemeanor. (Acts 1906, p. 101).

26 CRIMES AND PUNISHMENT -- APPOINTMENT OF PEACE OFFICERS AND DETECTIVES

4902 ACTING AS PEACE OFFICER WITHOUT AUTHORITY. - Any person who shall, without authority, exercise or attempt to exercise the functions of, or hold himself out to anyone as, a deputy sheriff, marshal, policeman, constable, or other peace officer or detective shall be guilty of a misdemeanor: Provided, that nothing in this Chapter shall be construed to interfere with the police powers granted to conductors of passenger trains, nor shall this and the preceding section apply in times of riot or unusual disturbance, or in other instances provided for by law. (Acts 1890-1, p. 220).

Cross-reference: Police powers of conductors, 27-214.

27 CRIMINAL PROCEDURE -- ARREST

213 POLICE POWER OF RAILROAD TRAIN CONDUCTOR. - The conductors of trains carrying passengers are invested with all the powers, duties, and responsibilities of police officers while on duty on their trains: Provided, nothing herein contained shall affect the liability of any railroad company for the acts of its employees. When a passenger is guilty of disorderly conduct, or uses any obscene, profane, or vulgar language, or plays any game of cards or other game of chance for money or other thing of value, upon any passenger train, the conductor of the train may stop it at the place where such offense is committed, or at the next stopping place of the train, and eject the passenger from the train, using only such force as may be necessary to accomplish the removal; and the conductor may command the assistance of the employees of the company and of the passengers on the train to assist in the removal; and the conductor may cause any person violating the provisions of this section of the laws of this State to be detained and delivered to the proper authorities for trial as soon as practicable. (Acts 1880-1, p. 138).

Cross-reference. - Ejecting passengers, see 27-215. Carrier's duty to passengers, see 18-204. What passengers may be refused, see 18-203.

Arrest of passenger made by officer of law, company is under no duty to inquire into legality of arrest. Where such arrest is illegal but company has no notice of that fact, company not liable to passenger for failure to interfere with officers and prevent arrest, or for stopping train to allow officers to remove prisoner; company is under no duty to see that the officers use only such force as is necessary to make arrest. 117/63 (43 S.E. 430).

See 18-204, catchword arrest.

Assault and battery committed by conductor on passenger, road not liable if passenger's conduct such as to justify act; if conductor's act not justified but mitigated by passenger's conduct, such mitigation inures to company's benefit; but if passenger's words and conduct were such as to arouse conductor's anger and to tend to provoke difficulty, but not such as to justify conductor, company would not be freed from liability. 135/741 (4) (70 S. E. 225), reviewing and modifying former decisions. See 18-204, catchwords violence and assault.

Colored passenger is entitled to same protection against drunken and violent men as white passengers. 89/554 (16 S.E. 69).

Ejection of passenger, with or without ticket, is warranted when he is disorderly or uses any obscene, profane, or vulgar language. 81/485 (1) (8 S. E. 70).
See 18-203 and notes.

Lunatics: Right and duty of carrier with reference to transportation of, 119/230 (46 S.E. 87).

Mistake: Where on account of, wrong passenger ejected, carrier nevertheless liable for the tort; good faith of company's servants in such eviction, available only to defeat punitive damages. 124/357 (2) (52 S.E. 427); see 2 App. 499 (2) (58 S.E. 899).

Protection must be afforded by conductor against violence, injury, or humiliation by third persons, to extent of all the power with which he is clothed by company or by the law, and his failure to afford it, when he has knowledge that there is occasion for his interference, will subject company to damages. 126/814 (1) (56 S.E. 68); 89/554 (16 S. E. 69).

Police power is granted to better enable corporation to protect passengers, but burden of exercising extraordinary diligence in the protection is not diminished in the delegation of police power. 2 App. 499 (2) (58 S. E. 899); see 124/357 (52 S.E. 427); 1 App. 833 (6) (58 S. E. 88).

Shooting and wounding passenger, though conductor not fully excusable for, company not liable if passenger defies conductor and draws pistol, and after being expelled still uses grossly insulting language, on which mutual combat with pistol ensues. 81/485 (2) (8 S. E. 70); but see 135/741 (4) (70 S. E. 225).

Stealing ride: Where person attempting to steal ride is discovered by conductor, latter has right to require such person to come into train and pay his fare, and is not compelled to immediately stop train and eject him; if he refuses to come in and makes assault upon employees with deadly weapon, conductor and other employees are authorized to arm themselves with weapons as may be necessary in order to protect themselves from further assaults. 113/279 (2) (38 S. E. 844).

214 POLICE POWER OF STREET CAR CONDUCTORS AND OTHERS. - The conductors, motormen, and drivers of street railroad cars are invested with all powers, duties, and responsibilities of police officers while on duty on their trains or cars, and while on duty at the termini of their lines: Provided, nothing herein contained shall affect the liability of any railroad company for the acts of its employees. (Act 1890-1, p. 230).

Cross-reference. - Acting as conductor without authority, see 26-4902. Duty of carriers as to passengers, see 18-204.

Arrest: Street car conductor may arrest passenger for refusal to sit in part of car reserved for passengers of his class. 27 App. 350 (1) (108 S.E. 313). Street car conductor cannot arrest passenger for infringement of regulation of Railroad Commission with regard to seating of passengers in absence of disorderly conduct by passenger. Id. 350 (4).

Charge: This section gives in charge in action by street car passenger for injuries inflicted by conductor after arresting such passengers. 141/363 (3) (80 S. E. 993).

Opprobrious language: If conductor strikes one passenger and knocks him against another passenger, injuring latter, it is no defense to suit against company by injured passenger that other passenger had used opprobrious language to conductor. 9 App. 497 (1) (71 S. E. 759).

Tort of conductor in wrongful or illegal discharge of his duty, either as police officer or as servant, carrier not exempt from liability for, because of police power. 1 App. 833 (6) (58 S.E. 88).

215 AUTHORITY OF CONDUCTORS AND OTHERS TO EJECT PASSENGERS, ETC. - When a passenger is guilty of disorderly conduct, or uses any obscene, vulgar, or profane language, or plays any game of cards or other game of chance for money or other thing of value, or is guilty of any disorderly or improper conduct tending to cause a breach of the peace, said conductors, motormen, and drivers are authorized to eject him from the cars, using only such force as may be necessary to accomplish the removal, and they may command the assistance of the employees of the company, and the passengers on such trains or cars, to assist in the removal, and they may cause any person who violates the provisions of this section, or who commits acts in violation of law, to be detained and delivered to proper officers for trial as soon as practicable; and said officers are authorized to exercise the police powers hereby conferred, at the termini also of their lines, while on duty either as conductors, motormen, or drivers. (Acts 1880-1p. 230).

Cross-references.- Police powers of conductors, see 27-213. What passengers may be refused, see 18-203.
Applied: 37 App. 79 (139 S. E. 82).
Charge: This section given in charge in action by street car passenger for injuries inflicted by conductor after arresting such passenger. 141/363 (3) (80 S. E. 993).

1201 WHEN AND HOW VENUE CHANGED. - The defendant in any criminal case in the superior court may move, by petition in writing, for a change of venue, whenever, in his judgment, an impartial jury cannot be obtained in the county where the crime is alleged to have been committed. Upon the motion it shall not be necessary to examine all persons in the county, liable to serve on juries, but the judge shall hear evidence by affidavit or oral testimony in support of or against the motion; and if, from the evidence submitted, the court shall be satisfied that an impartial jury cannot be obtained to try the case, the judge shall transfer it to any county that may be agreed upon by the solicitor general and the defendant or his counsel, to be tried in the county agreed upon. If a county is not thus agreed upon, the judge shall select such county as, in his judgment, will afford a fair and impartial jury to try the case, and have it transferred accordingly. The judge of the superior court of the circuit in which a crime is alleged to have been committed may change the venue for the trial of said case, on his own motion, with or without petition, whenever, in his judgment, the accused party will be lynched, or there is danger of violence being attempted to be committed on said accused, if carried back, or allowed to remain in the county where the crime is alleged to have been committed If a motion by petition shall be made by the accused for a change of venue, said judge shall hear the same at chambers, with or without the presence of the accused, at such time and place as he may direct; and if the evidence submitted shall reasonably show that there is probability or danger of lynching, or other violence, then it shall be mandatory on said judge to change the venue to such county as, in his judgment, will avoid such lynching. The petitioner shall have the right to except to the ruling of the court at such interlocutory hearing and the bill of exceptions when signed shall operate as a supersedeas in the trial of said case, until passed on by the Supreme Court: Provided, that said prisoner shall present said bill of exceptions to the judge hearing said motion within six days after the refusal to grant said motion. Said bill of exceptions shall be filed in the office of the superior court clerk of the county of the alleged crime within two days after being signed by the judge, and said clerk shall transmit said bill and the required record of said case as early as possible and not exceeding ten days from the filing in said office to the Supreme Court. Said case in the Supreme Court shall be heard as soon as possible, taking precedence of all other causes: Provided, that should the Supreme Court not be in session at the time said writ of error is received in said Court it shall

be the duty of the clerk of said Supreme Court to at once notify the Chief Justice of said Court, or, in his absence or illness, one of the other Justices of said Court, of the receipt of said writ of error; and it shall be the duty of said Justice to at once convene said Supreme Court for the purpose of hearing said case, and said Supreme Court shall remand said case with directions or pass such final order as may be deemed proper and correct. (Acts 1895, p. 70; 1911, p. 74).

Cross-references. -For constitutional provision, see 2-4401. See also 27-1101. Changes in civil cases, see 3-207. When a writ of error lies, see 6-701. Bills of exception in criminal cases, see 6-904.
Cited. 27 App. 309 (108 S. E. 123).

Lynching or mob violence: On petition for change of venue of one charged with murder, on ground that there was danger of lynching, it was error to refuse change, in view of evidence introduced and failure by State to rebut or deny allegations and evidence of what transpired between mob and sheriff shortly before petition was made. 141/812 (82 S.E. 232).

Where, on application for change of venue, it appeared that in consequence of the inflamed state of the public mind, there was danger of defendants being lynched if brought back for trial, application should have been granted. 141/314 (80 S. E. 1012).

Change of venue because of prejudice of inhabitants of district was improperly denied here in prosecution of Negro for murder of white man. 143/270 (84 S. E. 579).

Evidence here as to probability of lynching or attempt to do violence to accused was sufficient to require change of venue. 145/416 (89 S. E. 370).

It is primarily question for judge to determine from evidence whether or not probability or danger of lynching or other violence exists, and where evidence is conflicting judgment denying motion to change venue will not be reversed, unless manifestly erroneous; where evidence fails to reasonably show probability or danger of lynching or other violence, it is not error to refuse to change the venue. 24 App. 31 (1) (99 S. E. 635); 44 App. 210 (160 S. E. 682).

It was trial court's duty to refuse to put accused to trial in presence of mob whose violence against accused was prevented only by presence of troops. 53 F. (2d) 586.

Mandatory upon judge to whom petition for change of venue presented to change venue of evidence reasonably shows that there is probability of danger of lynching. 33 App. 613, 614 (127 S. E. 302).

32 COUNTY BOARDS OF EDUCATION

909 SCHOOL TERM. SCHOOL PROPERTY AND FACILITIES. - The county boards of education shall have the power to define and regulate the length of the public school terms of their respective counties, and power to purchase, lease, or rent school sites; build, repair, or rent schoolhouses, purchase maps, globes, and school furniture, and make all arrangements necessary to the efficient operation of the schools. The said boards are invested with the title, care, and custody of all schoolhouses or other property belonging to the subdistricts now or hereafter defined, with power to control the same in such manner as they think will best serve the interests of the common schools; and when, in the opinion of the board, any schoolhouse site has become unnecessary or inconvenient, they may sell the same in the name of the county board of education; such conveyance to be executed by the president or secretary of the board, according to the order of the board. They shall have the power to receive any gift, grant, donation or devise made for the use of the common schools within their respective counties, and all conveyances of real estate which may be made to said board shall vest the property in said board of education and their successors in office. It shall also be the duty of said board of education to make arrangements for the instruction of the children of the white and colored races in separate schools. They shall, as far as practicable, provide the same facilities for both races in respect to attainments and abilities of teachers and for a minimum six months length of term time;

but the children of the white and colored races shall not be taught together in any common or public school. In respect to the building of schoolhouses, the said board of education may provide for the same, either by labor on the part of the citizens of the subdistricts, or by a tax on their property. The construction of all public school buildings must be approved by the superintendent and board of education and must be according to the plans furnished by the county school authorities and the State Board of Education. (Acts 1919, p. 323). Cited. 123/862 (51 S. E. 617).

937 FREE TUITION: COLORED AND WHITE CHILDREN SEPARATE. - Admission to all common schools shall be gratuitous to all children between the ages of six and eighteen years residing in the subdistricts in which the schools are located. Colored and white children shall not attend the same school; and no teacher receiving or teaching white and colored pupils in the same school shall be allowed any compensation at all out of the common school fund. (Acts 1919, p. 331).

Cross-references. - Compulsory school attendance, see Chapter 32-21. Tuition free, and schools separate for white and colored races, see Constitution, Article VIII, Section I, Paragraph I (2-6601)

34 VOTERS' BOOKS AND OATH

111 RACE TO BE NOTED IN BOOK. - For the purpose of more easily identifying voters, the officers in charge of the voters' book shall note therein, in connection with each signature, the race of the person signing--that is to say, whether white or colored. (Acts 1894, pp. 115, 117).

Cross-references. - Persons of color defined, see 79-103. White person defined, see 53-312.

202 LISTS TO BE FILED WITH COUNTY REGISTRARS; CONTENTS. - Within ten days after closing the voters' books, as provided in section 34-106, the tax collector shall file with the county registrars an accurate and complete copy of the registration list made up as provided in the preceding section, arranged in alphabetical order, and by militia districts and city wards, and also showing the dates in that year when persons will arrive at full age or will have resided in the State and county the requisite time, as sworn to in the voters' books. The list shall also show the race of each person -- that is to say, whether white or colored -- his age, occupation, and residence. (Acts 1894, p. 117; 1908, p. 58; 1913, p. 115).

Cross references. - Tax collector to open voters' books, see 34-101. Inspection and disposition of list, see 34-605, 34-1101.

Stated. 175/85, 86 (165 S. E. 121).

203 LISTS OF PERSONS DISQUALIFIED TO BE FILED. - The tax collector, the ordinary, and the clerk of the superior court of each county shall, before the 20th day of April of each year, prepare and file with the county registrars a complete list, alphabetically arranged, of all persons living in the county on April 10 of that year, who appear to be disqualified from voting by reason of nonpayment of poll taxes, or by reason of idiocy, insanity, or conviction of crime whose penalty is disfranchisement, unless such convict has been pardoned and the right of suffrage restored to him; and said list shall also show the race of such person - that is to say, whether white or colored. (Acts 1899, p. 21; 1908, p. 58. Constitution, Article II, Section I, Paragraph III (2-603).)

35 MILLEDGEVILLE STATE HOSPITAL

225 HOSPITAL TO BE DIVIDED INTO APARTMENTS. - The Board of Control shall see that proper and distinct apartments are arranged for said patients, so that in no case shall Negroes and white persons be together, nor the penitentiary convicts with inmates of any other class; and males and females shall be kept separate. (Acts 1931, pp. 7, 19).

53 MARRIAGE

106 MISCEGENATION PROHIBITED. - It shall be unlawful for a white person to marry anyone except a white person. Any marriage in violation of this section shall be void. (Acts 1927, p. 277).

Cross-references. - Punishment for violation of this section, see section 53-9903. Persons of color defined, see section 53-312. Who may perform ceremony for colored persons, see section 53-212. Penalty for issuing license for intermarriage of white and colored persons, see section 53-9902. White person defined, see section 53-312.
Constitutionality. - Section declared to be constitutional. 41 Fed. 753. Section not violative of Constitution, sections 2-118, declaring that social status of citizen shall never be the subject of legislation. 39/321

Estoppel: Husband is estopped to deny wife's competency to contract marriage on account of race or color where he has lived with her many years as his wife and has procured legislative Act establishing rights of citizenship in her and her children. 60/204.

211 JEWISH MARRIAGES. - Upon request, the ordinary may direct the marriage license to any Jewish minister or other person of any religious society or sect authorized by the rules of such society to perform the marriage ceremony, who shall make return thereon as before required.

212 COLORED MARRIAGES, WHO MAY PERFORM. - Ordained colored ministers of the gospel may celebrate marriage between persons of African descent only, under the same terms and regulations required by the law for marriages between white and colored persons. (Acts 1866, pp. 156, 157).

Cross-references. - Licenses, how granted, see section 53-201. Miscegenation prohibited, see section 53-106.

214 MARRIAGE IN ANOTHER STATE. - All marriages solemnized in another State by parties intending at the time to reside in this State shall have the same legal consequences and effect as if solemnized in this State. Parties residing in this State may not evade any of the provisions of its laws as to marriage by going into another State for the solemnization of the marriage ceremony.

Common law: - There may be common-law marriages in this State between persons who have illegally attempted marriage in another state. 33 App. 260 (125 S. E. 885).

Lex loci governs questions of marriage, but will not be enforced, if it involves anything immoral, contrary to general policy or violative of conscience of State. 34/407 (1).

301 REGISTRATION OF INDIVIDUALS AS TO RACE. SUPERVISION, FORMS, ETC. - The State Board of Health shall prepare a form for the registration of individuals, whereon shall be given the racial composition of such individual, as Caucasian, Negro, Mongolian, West Indian, Asiatic Indian, Malay, or any mixture thereof, or any other non-Caucasian strains, and if there shall be any mixture, the racial composition of the parents and other ancestors in so far as ascertainable, so as to show in what generation such mixture occurred. Said form shall also give the date and place of birth of the registrant, name, race, and color of the parents of registrant, with their place of birth, if known, name of husband or wife of registrant, with his or her place of birth, names of children of registrant with their ages and place of residence, place of residence of registrant for the five years immediately preceding registration, and such other information as may be prescribed for identification by the State Board of Health. (Acts 1927, p. 272; 1933, p. 12).

Editorial Note. - No appropriation to carry this Chapter into effect nor any attempt to put it in operation has been made. It appears to be a dead letter.

303 LOCAL REGISTRATION. - Each local registrar shall personally or by deputy, upon receipt of said forms, cause each person in his district or jurisdiction to execute said form in duplicate, furnishing all available information required upon said form, the original of which shall be forwarded by the local registrar to the State Board of Health, and a duplicate delivered to the ordinary of the county. Said form shall be signed by the registrant, or, in case of children under 14 years of age, by a parent,

guardian, or other person standing in loco parentis. The execution of such registration certificate shall be certified to by the local registrar. (Acts 1927, p. 273; 1933, p. 12).

Cross-reference. - Bureau of Vital Statistics, see section 33-1102 et seq.

304 AUTHENTICITY OF STATEMENT. - If the local registrar shall have reason to believe that any statement made by any registrant is not true, he shall so write upon such certificate before forwarding the same to the State Board of Health or ordinary, giving his reason therefor. (Acts 1927, p. 273; 1933, p. 12).

Cross-reference. - Miscegenation prohibited, see section 53-106. Penalty for false statement in application, see section 53-9904.

305 FEE FOR REGISTRATION. - The local registrar shall collect from each registrant a registration fee of 30 cents, 15 cents of which shall go to the local registrar and 15 cents of which shall go to the State Board of Health, to be used in defraying expenses of the State Bureau of Vital Statistics. If any registrant shall make affidavit that through poverty he is unable to pay said registration fee of 30 cents, the local registrar shall receive a registration fee of only ten cents for such registration, which sum shall be paid out of the funds of the State Bureau of Vital Statistics, and the State Bureau of Vital Statistics shall receive no fee for such registration. This section shall not apply to the registration of births and deaths, the registration of which is otherwise provided for. (Acts of 1927, p. 274).

306 FALSE REGISTRATION PROHIBITED. - No person shall wilfully or knowingly make or cause to be made a registration certificate false as to color or race, and upon conviction thereof in such case the State Board of Health may change the registration certificate so that it will conform to the truth. (Acts 1927;p. 274; 1933, p. 12).

Cross-references. - Miscegenation prohibited, see section 53-106. Penalty for false statement in application for marriage license, see section 53-9904. Penalty for violation of above section, see section 53-9907.

307 MARRIAGE LICENSE, FORM OF APPLICATION FOR, PROVIDED. - The State Board of Health shall prepare a form for application for marriage license, which form shall require the following information to be given over the signatures of the prospective bride and groom; name and address; race and color; place of birth; age; name and address of each parent; race and color of each parent; and whether the applicant is registered with the Bureau of Vital Statistics of this or any other State, and if registered, the county in which such registration was made. The State Board of Health shall at all times keep the ordinary of each county in this State supplied with a sufficient number of said forms of application for marriage license to care for all applications for marriage license. Each prospective bride and each prospective groom applying for a marriage license shall fill out and execute said application in duplicate. (Acts 1927, p. 274; 1933, p. 12).

308 FILING OF APPLICATION FOR MARRIAGE LICENSE. - Upon such application for marriage license being filed with the ordinary by the prospective bride and groom, the ordinary shall forward the original of such application to the State Board of Health, and retain the duplicate of such application in his files. (Acts 1927, p. 275; 1933, p. 12).

Cross-reference. - Application for license, etc., 53-203.

309 REPORT OF STATE BOARD OF HEALTH AFTER EXAMINATION AS TO REGISTRATION OF APPLICANT. - The ordinary shall withhold the issuing of any marriage license until a report upon such application shall have been received from the State Board of Health. Said report shall be forwarded to the ordinary by the next return mail, and shall state whether or not each applicant is registered in the Bureau of Vital Statistics; if registered, the report shall state whether the statements made by each applicant as to race and color are correct according to such registration certificates.

If the registration certificate in the office of the Bureau of Vital Statistics shall show that the statement of either applicant as to race or color is untrue, the report of the State Board of Health shall so state, and in such case the ordinary shall not issue a marriage license to the applicants until the truth of such statements of the applicants shall have been determined in a legal proceeding brought against the ordinary to compel the issuing of such license. If the report from the State Board of Health shall show that the applicants are not registered, and if the State Bureau of Vital Statistics shall have no information as to the race or color of said applicants, the ordinary shall issue the marriage license if he shall have no evidence or knowledge that such marriage would be illegal. If one of the applicants shall be registered with the State Bureau of Vital Statistics, and the other applicant shall not be so registered, if the records of the Bureau of Vital Statistics shall contain no information to disprove the statements of either applicant as to color or race, the ordinary shall issue the marriage license, if he shall have no evidence or knowledge that such marriage would be illegal: Provided, that where each party is registered and such registration certificate is on file in the office of the ordinary of the county where application for marriage license is made, it shall not be necessary for the ordinary to obtain any information from the State Bureau of Vital Statistics; and Provided further, that when any person who has previously registered as required herein shall move to another county, he may file with the ordinary of the county of his new residence a certified copy of his registration certificate, which shall have the same effect as if such registration had been made originally in said county. (Acts 1927, p. 275; 1933, p. 12).

310 NONRESIDENTS, APPLICATION BY. - Where any application for a marriage license shall show that such applicant was not born in this State and is not registered with the Bureau of Vital Statistics of this State, the ordinary shall forward a copy of such application to the State Board of Health of this State, and shall also forward a copy of the application to the clerk of the superior or circuit court, as the case may be, of the county of the applicant's birth with the request that the statements therein contained be verified. If no answer shall be received from such clerk or Bureau of Vital Statistics within 10 days, the ordinary shall issue the license if he shall have no evidence or knowledge that such marriage would be illegal. If an answer shall be received within ten days, showing the statement of such applicant to be untrue, the ordinary shall withhold the issuing of the license until the truth of such statements of the applicant shall have been determined in a legal proceeding brought against the ordinary to compel the issuing of such license. In all cases where answers shall be received from such clerk or Bureau of Vital Statistics, a copy of the answer shall be forwarded to the State Board of Health of this State. (Acts 1927, p. 276; 1933, p. 12).

311 RETURN OF MARRIAGE LICENSE. - When a marriage license shall be issued by the ordinary, it shall be returned to the ordinary by the officer or minister solemnizing the marriage and forwarded by the ordinary to the State Board of Health, to be permanently retained by said Board. (Acts 1927, p. 277; 1933, p. 12).

312 "WHITE PERSON" DEFINED. - The term "white person" shall include only persons of the white or Caucasian race, who have no ascertainable trace of either Negro, African, West Indian, Asiatic Indian, Mongolian, Japanese, or Chinese blood in their veins. No person, any one of whose ancestors has been duly registered with the State Bureau of Vital Statistics as a colored person or person of color, shall be deemed to be a white person. (Acts 1927, p. 277).

<u>Cross-reference</u>. - Who are persons of color, see 79-103.

313 REPORT OF VIOLATION OF CHAPTER. DUTY OF STATE BOARD OF HEALTH. - If any case of a marriage in violation of the provisions of this Chapter shall be reported to the State Board of Health, it shall investigate such report and shall turn over to the Attorney General the information obtained through such investigation. (Acts 1927, p. 278; 1933, p. 12).

314 BIRTH OF LEGITIMATE CHILD OF WHITE PARENT AND COLORED PARENT, REPORT OF, AND PROSECUTION. - When any birth certificate, showing the birth of a legitimate child to parents one of whom is colored, shall be forwarded to the Bureau of Vital Statistics, it shall be the duty of the State Board of Health to report the same to the Attorney General of the State, with full information concerning the same. Thereupon it shall be the duty of the Attorney General to institute criminal proceedings against the parents of such child for any violation of the provisions of this Chapter which may have been committed. (Acts 1927, p. 278; 1933, p. 12).

315 ATTORNEY GENERAL, DUTY TO ENFORCE CHAPTER. - It shall be the duty of the Attorney General of this State, as well as the duty of the solicitor general of the superior court where such violation shall occur, to prosecute each violation of any of the provisions of this Chapter, when the same shall be reported to him by the State Board of Health. If the Attorney General shall fail or refuse to prosecute any such violation so reported to him, the same shall be grounds for impeachment, and it shall be the duty of the State Board of Health to institute impeachment proceedings in such case. (Acts 1927, p. 278; 1933, p. 12).

9901 PERFORMING MARRIAGE CEREMONY ILLEGALLY. - If any minister of the gospel, judge, or justice of the peace shall join together in matrimony any man and woman, without a license or publication of banns, as provided by law, or where either of the parties within his own knowledge shall be an idiot or lunatic, or subject to any other disability which would render such contract or marriage improper and illegal, he shall be guilty of a misdemeanor. (Cobb, 818, 819).

Cross-reference. - General principles relating to marriage, Chapter 53-1.

9902 INTERMARRIAGE OF WHITE AND COLORED PEOPLE. - If any officer shall knowingly issue a marriage license to persons, either of whom is of African descent and the other a white person, or if any officer or minister of the gospel shall join such persons in marriage, he shall be guilty of a misdemeanor. (Acts 1865-6, p. 241).

Cross-reference. - Miscegenation prohibited, 53-106.

Marriages between white persons and persons of African descent are null and void; this section not repealed by, nor inconsistent with, that part of Constitution which declares that "the social status of the citizen shall never be the subject of legislation." (2-118). 39/321.

9903 MISCEGENATION, PENALTY. - Any person, white or colored, who shall marry or go through a marriage ceremony in violation of the provision of section 53-106 shall be guilty of a felony, and shall be punished by imprisonment in the penitentiary for not less than one year and not more than two years. (Acts 1927, p. 277).

9904 FALSE STATEMENT IN APPLICATION FOR MARRIAGE LICENSE; PENALTY. - Any person who shall make or cause to be made a false statement as to race or color of himself or parents, in any application for a marriage license, shall be guilty of a felony, and shall be punished by imprisonment in the penitentiary for not less than two nor more than five years. (Acts 1927, pp. 272, 277).

9905 PERFORMING MARRIAGE CEREMONY ILLEGALLY. - Any civil officer, minister, or official of any church, sect, or religion, authorized to perform a marriage ceremony, who shall wilfully or knowingly perform any marriage ceremony in violation of the terms of Chapter 53-3, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor. (Acts 1927, pp. 272, 278).

9906 REFUSAL TO EXECUTE REGISTRATION CERTIFICATE, ETC. - Any person who shall refuse to execute the registration certificate as provided in Chapter 53-3 or who shall refuse to give the information required in the execution of the same, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor. Each such refusal shall constitute a separate offense. (Acts 1927, p. 274).

9907 FALSE REGISTRATION. - Any person who shall wilfully or knowingly make or cause to be made a registration certificate false as to color or race, in violation of section 53-306, shall be guilty of a felony and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by imprisonment in the penitentiary for not less than one year and not more than two years. (Acts 1927, p. 274).

9908 ORDINARY'S NONCOMPLIANCE WITH CHAPTER 53-3. PENALTY. - Any ordinary who shall issue a marriage license without complying with each and every provision of Chapter 53-3 shall be guilty of and punished as for a misdemeanor. (Acts 1927, p. 277).

Editorial note. - See editorial note following 53-301.

54 DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

110 DUTIES OF COMMISSIONER AND ASSISTANTS. - The Commissioner of Commerce and Labor and his lawful assistants shall collect and collate information and statistics concerning labor and its relation to capital showing labor conditions throughout the State, the hours of labor, the earnings of laborers, and their educational, moral financial condition, and the best means of promoting their mental, moral, and material welfare; shall investigate the cause and extent of labor shortage, and the migration of labor; shall also collect and collate information and statistics concerning the location and capacity of mills, factories, workshops, and other industries, and actual output of manufactured products, and also the character and amount of labor employed; the kind and quantity of raw material annually used by them, and the capital invested therein, and such other information and statistics concerning the natural resources of the State and the industrial welfare of the citizens as may be deemed necessary and of interest and benefit to the public, and by dissemination of such data to advertise the various industrial and natural resources of Georgia in order to attract desirable settlers and to bring capital into the State. The Department of Industrial Relations is also charged with the following duties:

1. As soon as practicable the Commissioner shall organize a division of labor of free employment bureau, having for its purpose the listing of the names of all persons desiring employment in this State and the endeavor to secure employment for such persons, and listing of the names of such persons, firms, or corporations applying for labor and the endeavor to supply the demand. In conducting the division of labor the Commissioner is herewith authorized and empowered to assist and act in concert with any person or persons, county organization, municipal or Governmental agency, having for its purpose the distribution of labor in this State, not conducted for profit, and to cooperate with similar exchanges in other States and with the United States employment service; and in every other way the Commissioner is charged with the duty of endeavoring to be of assistance to both employer and employee, and of working in harmony with others having a like end in view, and for which no remuneration is received. For securing employment for those who wish employment and for securing labor for those who need help there shall be no charge whatever made or accepted, directly or indirectly, by any person connected with the Department of Industrial Relations. All officials of the State and the various counties are herewith charged with the duty of lending such aid and assistance as may be called for by the Commissioner: Provided, said Commissioner may inquire into the causes of strikes and lockouts and other disagreements between employers and employees, and if practicable offer his good offices to the contending parties with a view to bringing about friendly and satisfactory adjustments thereof.

2. The Commissioner shall exercise jurisdiction over each person, firm or corporation acting as a private employment agency or intelligence bureau, hereafter referred to as agency; shall, as frequently as may be necessary, examine into the condition of each agency; shall require each agent to make application for license to do business which application must be indorsed by two taxpayers in the county where such agency proposes to conduct business, said license to be granted by the charged, and the filing of a bond in the sum of $500 for the faithful performance of duty, said license to be renewed annually. The Commissioner shall require each agency to report to him once a month in writing, showing the names, addresses and the number of persons for whom positions were secured, where secured, the kind of position, the pay of same, the amount of fee collected and the amount still to be collected. Nothing in this paragraph shall authorize any employment agency or persons with such agency, or any employee thereof, to act as an emigrant agent. If any agent shall be found to be violating the law, it shall be the duty of the Commissioner to immediately proceed to have such person presented to the proper authorities for prosecution and to cancel the license of such agency to do business.

3. The commissioner shall exercise jurisdiction over each person, firm or corporation acting as an emigrant agent or agency, hereinafter referred to as emigrant agent; shall require each emigrant agent to make application for license to do business said application to be indorsed by two taxpayers and accompanied by a bond of $1,000 for the faithful performance of duty, and the payment of such tax as may be required by law. Each emigrant agent shall make a daily report to the Commissioner, showing the names, addresses and number of people carried out of the State, the points to which they have been carried, the kind and character of work secured for them, the pay to be received by them, the fee charged them or to be collected and from whom. The emigrant agent shall show clearly by whom employed, if paid a salary, or from whom he receives a commission, and how much. The Commissioner shall inspect the office and work of each emigrant agent as often as may be necessary and, if any emigrant agent shall be found to be violating the law, it shall be the duty of the Commissioner to immediately proceed to have such person presented to the proper authorities for prosecution and to cancel the license to do business. Each emigrant agent must secure annually a license to do business. In contemplation of this section, the emigrant agent is any person who shall solicit or attempt to procure labor in this State beyond the limits of the same.

9902 ACTING AS EMIGRANT AGENT WITHOUT LICENSE. - Any person who shall solicit or procure emigrants, without first procuring a license as required by section 54-110, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor. An emigrant agent is a person who solicits or attempts to procure labor in this State to be employed beyond the limits of the same. An emigrant is any person who has been solicited, persuaded, enticed, or employed to leave the State to be employed or worked beyond the limits of the same. (Acts 1877, p. 120; 1920 p. 37; 1929 p. 176).

Cross-references. - Tax on emigrant agents, see 92-506. Duties of Commissioner of Commerce and Labor, see 54-110. Who is emigrant agent, see 54-110.

68 MOTOR CARRIERS (See insert page 21A at end of section I, THE GEORGIA CODE)

74 LEGITIMATE CHILDREN

102 COLORED CHILDREN LEGITIMATE, WHEN. - Every colored child born before March 9, 1866 is hereby declared to be the legitimate child of his mother; but such child is the legitimate child of his colored father only when born within what was regarded as a state of wedlock, or when the parents were living together as husband and wife. (Acts 1865-6, pp. 239, 240; 1866, pp. 156, 157).

Burden of proof: When plaintiff claimed to be heir of deceased person and it appeared that plaintiff's father, the deceased, and his mother had been slaves, and that plaintiff was born prior to March 9, 1866, burden was on plaintiff to show that he was his father's legitimate son under this section. 143/671 (1) (85 S. E. 870).

Evidence: Where, on trial of injunction case, one issue was whether one of predecessors in title of defendant was legitimate child of his father and mother (who were slaves), it was competent to permit witness for defendant to testify that at time of his birth in 1859 father and mother were "living there as man and wife." 150/147 (1) (103 S. E. 251).

Father has right of parent over colored child who was born before emancipation, while parents lived in what was regarded as a state of wedlock, and who has been acknowledged by his father as his child. 41/220.

Parents separated before Act of 1866, and child remained with mother, she was entitled to control of it; but if she voluntarily yielded control to father, she could not afterwards resume it without his consent. 45/558.

Colored child acknowledged by father, who died between passage of act of Mar. 9 1866 and passage of Act of December 12, 1866, entitled to inherit as legitimate child of father. 40/339.

Inheritance: When Negro woman had two children born to or before March 9, 1866, by different fathers, both by this section were made her legitimate children, capable of inheriting from each other. 143/342 (3) (85 S. E. 105)....

77 PRISON COMMISSION, ETC.

315 DISCRETION OF COMMISSION AS TO EMPLOYMENT ON STATE FARM; SEPARATION OF RACES. - In exercising their discretion as to what convicts shall be employed upon the State farm or farms, and in awarding the labor of convicts to counties and municipalities, it shall be the duty of the Prison Commission, where practicable, to employ whites and Negroes in separate institutions and locations, and they shall be provided with separate eating and sleeping apartments: Provided, that the Prison Commission shall have authority, in their discretion, to place any number of said convicts on the State farm, to be used on said farm to do farm work or such other labor on said farm as the Prison Commission may deem best; and the Comission may, at any time, when such labor is needed, upon the request of the authorities in charge, place as many as 50 of such convicts at work upon the property of any State institution. (Acts 1908, pp. 1119, 1123).

Cross-reference. - Chaining or confining white and colored convicts together, see 77-9904.

317 SEGREGATION OF CLASSES OF PRISONERS. - The Prison Commission shall provide: For the keeping of the male and female convicts separate and apart, so that they may not come in contact with each other; for the keeping, separate and apart from the other inmates of the prison, of minors under the age of 15 years; for the keeping separate and apart of white and colored convicts when not at work, and when actually engaged in work to be kept separate as far as practicable. (Acts 1897, pp. 71, 73).

Cross-reference. - Chaining or confining white and colored convicts together, see 77-9904.

Editorial note. - The temporary provisions of the above section as it appears in the Code of 1910, relating to the purchase of a State farm, etc., have been omitted.

Stated. 164/211 (133 S. E. 206).

613 SEPARATION OF RACES. - The white and colored inmates shall be kept separate and distinct in all work and study. (Acts 1919, p. 376).

Cross-reference. - See 77-9904 and cross-references.

(This section refers to the Georgia Training Schools; specifically, it refers to the Georgia State Training School for Boys.)

9904 CHAINING OR CONFINING WHITE AND COLORED CONVICTS TOGETHER. - No person controlling convicts shall confine white and colored convicts together, or work them chained together, or chain them together going to or from their work, or at any other time. Any person and each member of a firm violating the provisions of this section shall be guilty of a misdemeanor. (Acts 1890-1, p. 213).

Cross-references. - Duty of prison commission to provide separately for white and colored convicts, see 77-315, 77-317. White and colored inmates of Georgia Training School for boys, see 77-613.

79 IN GENERAL (PERSONS OF COLOR, WHO ARE; CITIZENS; ALIENS)

103 PERSONS OF COLOR, WHO ARE. - All Negroes, mulattoes, mestizos, and their descendants, having any ascertainable trace of either Negro or African, West Indian, or Asiatic Indian blood in their veins, and all descendants of any person having either Negro or African, West Indian, or Asiatic Indian blood in his or her veins, shall be known in this State as persons of color. (Acts 1865-6, p. 239; 1927, p. 272.)

Cross-references. - Registration of individuals as to race, see Title 53, Husband and Wife, Chapter 53-3 and 53-9903. " White person" defined, see 53-312.

See 20/430.
Deed to land in 1854, to white person for use of free person of color was void. 73/187; and see 61/248.

Anomalous condition of post-bellum property rights of Negroes, construed on broad principles of equity. 73/187.

Equities created in one's favor when he was slave, right to enforce, does not extend to action for injuries or for wages. 38/655.

Evidence as to race. 39/232; see 33 Ga. Sup. 22.

Indictment against Negro need not describe him as colored person. 44/263; see 48/30.

Office: Negro can hold. 39/232, 273.

Witnesses: Persons of color competent as. 35/75.

205 RIGHTS OF CITIZENS. - Among the rights of citizens are the enjoyment of personal security, of personal liberty, private property and the disposition thereof, the elective franchise, the right to hold office unless disqualified by the Constitution and laws, to appeal to the courts, to testify as a witness, to perform any civil function, and to keep and bear arms.

Cross-reference. - Who may sue and testify, see 79-305. Comity of States, see 102-110. Power of testators, see 113-106. Due process of law, see Const., Art. I, Sec. I, Par. III (2-103); Const. U. S., Amend. V (1-805). Social status never subject of legislation, see Const., Art. I, Sec. I. Par. XVIII (2-118).

302 ALIENS, WHO ARE. - Aliens are the subjects of foreign governments, not naturalized under the laws of the United States.

Cross-reference. - Power of Congress to establish uniform rule of naturalization, see Const. U. S., Art. I, Sec. VIII (1-125).

92-5 AGENTS, AGENCIES, AND BROKERS

506 EMIGRANT AGENTS. - Each emigrant agent and each employee of such agent doing business in this State shall pay $1,000 for each county in which such agent or employee may do or offer to do business: Provided, that no emigrant agent or employee shall take or attempt to take from this State any person until after first giving bond to be accepted and approved by the Commissioner of Commerce and Labor, conditioned to pay any valid debt owing by said person to any citizen of this State. (Acts 1927, p. 72; 1935, p. 34).

Cross-reference. - Regulations as to emigrant agents, see section 54-9902.

Constitutionality of license tax imposed upon emigrant agents by general tax Act for 1899 and 1900 (Acts 1898, p. 21), upheld. 179 U. S. 270 (45 L. Ed. 186; 21 Sup. Ct. 128) affirming 110/584 (35 S. E. 699).

Definition: "Emigrant agent" means person engaged in hiring laborers in this State to be employed beyond limits of same. 110/584 (1) (35 S. E. 699); and see 110/595 (36 S. E. 93).

One who comes into this State and employs on his own behalf laborers to work for him outside the State is not an "emigrant agent." 114/53 (39 S.E. 913).
Emigrant agent is one engaged in hiring laborers in this State, to be employed beyond limits of State, and who makes that work his business or occupation; evidence here did not show that defendant was engaged in business of an emigrant agent. 23 App. 1 (97 S. E. 274).

507 EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES. - All employment agencies or bureaus doing business in this State shall pay $50 for each county in which they have an office. (Acts 1927, p. 72; 1935, p. 35).

92-63 BLANKS, LISTS, AND DIGESTS

6307 ENTRY ON DIGEST OF NAMES OF COLORED PERSONS. - The tax receivers shall place the names of the colored taxpayers, in each militia district of the county, upon the tax digest in alphabetical order. Names of colored and white taxpayers shall be made out separately on the tax digest. (Acts 1894, p. 31).

Editorial note. - Acts 1935, p. 476, requires the tax receivers in all counties in this state having a population 200,000 or more by the United States census of 1930 or any future United States census to list in the white and colored/tax digests respectively the names of the taxpayers in continuous alphabetical order without segregation by militia districts or other local subdivisions except independent school districts.

6308 RETURNS BY RECEIVERS AND COLLECTORS OF TAXES PAID BY COLORED PEOPLE. - The several receivers of tax returns and tax collectors in this State, or other officers performing similar duties, shall make a report to the Comptroller General of the character and amount of all taxes returned or paid by colored taxpayers in this State, and the Comptroller General in his annual report shall make a general exhibit of the character and amount of the taxes so returned. (Acts 1874, p. 109).

Cross-reference. - Report of Comptroller General to Governor, see section 40-1101.

105 LIBEL AND SLANDER

707 CHARGE OF INTERCOURSE WITH PERSON OF COLOR: PROOF OF SPECIAL DAMAGE. - Any charge or intimation against a white female of having sexual intercourse with a person of color is slanderous without proof of special damage. (Acts 1859, p. 54).

Cross-reference. - Criminal libel and defamation of virtuous female, see 26-2101 to 26-2104.

Formerly this was not the rule; special damages had to be alleged before the Act of 1859. 26/606.

113 INHERITABLE PROPERTY AND RELATIVE RIGHTS OF HEIRS AND ADMINISTRATOR

903 RULES OF INHERITANCE. - The following rules shall determine who are the heirs at law of a deceased person: (Acts 1882-3, p. 47).

1. Upon the death of the husband without lineal descendants, the wife is his sole heir, and upon the payment of his debts, if any, may take possession of his estate without administration.

Cross-references.- Permanent alimony, effect of, upon wife's interest in husband's estate, see 30-218. Wages of deceased employee paid to widow, see 66-103 to 66-105. Deposit in bank not over $300, see 13-2048.

Cited. 48 App. 777, 778 (173 S. E. 495); 51 App. 848, 854 (181 S. E. 680); 173/428, 432 (160 S. E. 405).

Administrator cannot recover land from widow by merely proving title in husband at his death. 108/354 (33 S. E. 1009).

Administrator of father could not recover land from widow of son, without showing order to sell, or prior possession, or necessity for possession to pay debts and distribute. 132/455 (64 S. E. 467); see 134/49, 50 (67 S. E. 435).

Another husband: Where man who was married to woman who had living husband died, no title to his property passed to her, and deed by her purporting to convey property of decedent was without effect, and her grantee took no title as against heirs of decedent. 146/367 (1) (91 S. E. 115).

Children: There being none, widow was heir of husband. 33/409

Collateral heirs: Upon death of man leaving widow but no lineal descendants, his estate descends to widow by inheritance, and death of widow, without known heirs, will not vest her inheritance in collateral heirs of her deceased husband. 147/138 (4) (93 S. E. 93).

2. Brothers and sisters of the intestate shall stand in the second degree, and shall inherit, if there is no widow, child, or representative of a child. The half-blood, both on the paternal and maternal side, shall inherit equally with the whole blood. The children or grandchildren of brothers and sisters deceased shall represent and stand in the place of their deceased parents, but there shall be no representation further than this among their collaterals. If all the brothers and sisters be dead at the death of the intestate, then the distribution is between the nephews and nieces, per capita; and if any of the nephews and nieces be dead, leaving children distribution is to be made as though the nephews and nieces were allalive, the children of the deceased nephew or niece standing in place of the parent. (Act 1804, Cobb, 291; Acts 1859, p. 35; 1931, pp. 114, 115. 45 Ga. 574, 580).

Cross reference. - Inheritance by and from illegitimates, see 113-904, 113-905.

Editorial note. - The last sentence of this subdivision was taken from the decision in 45/574, 580.

Brothers and sisters inherit when no surviving husband, wife, child, or lineal descendant, half-blood on paternal side being equal with whole-blood. 124/552 (2) (52 S. E. 922).

First Cousin of half-blood on maternal side takes in preference to second cousin of whole-blood. 112/557 (37 S. E. 984).

Grandchildren of an aunt are in third degree and are heirs in preference to great-grandchildren of a brother who are in fourth degree. 60/193 (3). Grandchild of brother or sister stands simply in father's place; if nephews and nieces all dead, distribution is per capita; if any of them be living property distributed as though all living, children of each one deceased standing in place of parent. 45/574, 579.

As related to both children and grandchildren of brother or sister of intestate, division must be per stirpes, the children as representing respective deceased sisters here, and the grandchildren as representing deceased nephews or nieces. 175/569 (165 S. E. 554).

Sole surviving brother of intestate who left no wife, child, or descendant of child, was not entitled to entire estate to exclusion of children and grandchildren of deceased brothers and sisters of intestate. 179/615 (176 S. E. 646).

Illegitimates: Children of, took per capita, just as those of legitimates would have done. 45/574; see 78/770 (3 S. E. 666); 143-342, 345 (85 S. E. 105)

68 MOTOR CARRIERS

504 CERTIFICATE OF PUBLIC CONVENIENCE AND NECESSITY; TERMS AND CONDITIONS; TRANSFER; REVOCATION; TERM; RENEWAL. - (a) No motor carrier shall operate without first obtaining from the Georgia Public Service Commission, after hearing under the provisions of this Chapter, a certificate of public convenience and necessity, pursuant to findings to the effect that the public requires such operation ....

509 BONDS OF HOLDERS OF CERTIFICATES; INDEMNITY INSURANCE IN LIEU OF BONDS; SELF INSURANCE. - No certificate shall be issued or continued in operation unless the holder thereof shall give bond with adequate security for the protection, in case of passenger vehicles, of the passengers and baggage carried, and of the public against injury proximately caused by the negligence of such motor carrier, its servants or agents .... The Commission shall approve, determine, and fix the amount of such bonds, and shall prescribe the provisions and limitations thereof, and such bonds shall be for the benefit of, and subject to suit or action thereon by, any person who shall sustain actionable injury or loss protected thereby.

513 CARRIAGE OF COLORED PASSENGERS. - Motor carriers may confine themselves to carrying either white or colored passengers; or they may provide different motor vehicles for carrying white and colored passengers; and they may carry white and colored passengers in the same vehicle, but only under such conditions of separation of the races as the Commission may prescribe. (Acts, 1931)

II

THE MUNICIPAL CODE OF ATLANTA

13 AIRPORTS

101 AUTHORITY TO PURCHASE, OWN, AND OPERATE AIRPORTS WITHIN OR WITHOUT CITY LIMITS: POLICE JURISDICTION. - The City of Atlanta is hereby authorized and empowered to purchase, own and operate municipal landing fields for the reception, storage, and operation of airplanes; also for the use of the government in the air mail service; and such fields may be located either within or without the limits of said city, and when so purchased and defined, the City of Atlanta is given police jurisdiction over the land so acquired, except as to any part thereof which may be located in some municipality. (Acts 1929, pp. 779, 780).

Cross-reference. - Aviation ordinance, see Chapter 36, 36-101 et seq.

Editorial note. - The sections of this Chapter are taken from an amendment to the city's charter. After the charter was so amended, the General Assembly passed the Uniform Airports Law. For this law see Acts 1933, p. 102; Code of Georgia of 1933, Chapter 11-2. See also Thrasher v. Atlanta, 178 Georgia 514 (173 S. E. 817), construing the charter amendment.

The seeming conflict of the exception of this section with the provisions of other sections of the Chapter appears also in the Act as officially published.

31 ALIENS

101 REGISTRATION BY ALIEN OF FIREARMS IN HIS POSSESSION. - Every foreign born alien living within or coming into the City of Atlanta, having or gaining possession of any firearms, such as pistols, rifles, shotguns, machine guns, or any other such instruments of any kind and character, shall register same with the Chief of Police, giving such information as may be required by said officer and those working under his orders. Aliens living in the city shall register same with the Chief of Police, giving such information as may be required by said officer or those working under his orders. Aliens living in the city shall register such weapons at once. Aliens coming into Atlanta and bearing or possessing any of the firearms described herein shall register same within 24 hours after arrival within the city. (June 18, 1940).

102 DISPOSITION OF FIREARMS BY ALIEN. - After any such firearms as are described herein have been registered with the Chief of Police, no person shall dispose of same without a permit from the Chief of Police. Application for such a permit shall give such information as may be required by the Chief of Police. No one shall purchase or come into possession of such firearms from any alien without notifying the Chief of Police of his intention a reasonable time in advance and securing permission from said officer to obtain possession of same. (June 18, 1940).

104 PENALTIES. - Any person violating or failing to comply with any of the foregoing provisions respecting firearms, making any false statements, refusing to answer any questions or withholding any such information as may be required by the Chief of Police shall be deemed guilty of an offense and upon conviction thereof in the Recorder's Court, shall be fined $500 and sentenced to 60 days in the city stockade, either or both penalties to be inflicted at the discretion of the Recorder. In case of conviction, it shall be mandatory on the Recorder to impose the maximum fine or other punishment provided herein. (June 18, 1940).

32 ANIMALS

122 NO DOGS ALLOWED IN GRANT PARK. - It shall not be lawful for any person to permit his dog within the limits of Grant Park. Any person violating this provision shall, upon conviction thereof by the Recorder, pay a fine

not exceeding $10 and costs, or be imprisoned for not more than 30 days, in the discretion of the Recorder.

37 BARBERS AND BEAUTICIANS

129 BARBER SHOPS MUST SHOW ON SIGNS WHETHER WHITE OR COLORED PERSONS ARE SERVED THEREIN. - It shall be the duty of all persons conducting barber shops to show on their barber shop signs whether white persons only, colored persons only, or both races are served in such shops, excepting in such buildings where no signs are displayed. A violation of this ordinance shall be punished upon conviction in the Recorder's Court by a fine not exceeding $100, or imprisonment not exceeding 30 days, in the discretion of the court.

130 COLORED BARBERS FORBIDDEN TO SERVE WHITE WOMEN OR GIRLS. - No colored barber shall serve as a barber white women or white girls; meaning by this the doing of any of the work barbers ordinarily perform and as defined by the law of the State of Georgia. Any barber or the manager of any barber shop, violating this section, shall be deemed guilty of an offense and on conviction thereof in the Recorder's Court shall be punished by a fine not exceeding $200, or sentenced to work on the public works of the city for not exceeding 30 days, either or both penalties to be inflicted in the discretion of the Recorder. (February 16, 1926).

Editorial note. - The ordinance from which this section is codified also forbade colored barbers to work for white children under the age of 14 years. That part of the ordinance was held unconstitutional in Chaires v. Atlanta, 164 Ga. 755 (139 S. E. 559). The part of the ordinance here codified was not attacked in the Chaires case, and the court made no ruling on its constitutionality.

40 BOXING AND WRESTLING

102 SECRETARY. RULES AND REGULATIONS. Said Committee (Municipal buildings and Athletic Committee) is empowered to elect a Secretary to assist it in the discharge of its duties respecting boxing and wrestling contests. The term of office of the Secretary shall be one year. The Committee shall make rules and regulations governing the administration of their office as a boxing commission and shall formulate rules and regulations for the holding and governing of boxing and sparring and wrestling contests in the City of Atlanta, which it may change or alter from time to time as may be deemed expedient. (February 22, 1927; May 4, 1932).

104 JURISDICTION OVER BOXING AND SPARRING AND WRESTLING MATCHES OR EXHIBITIONS.- Said Committee shall have the sole direction, management, control, and jurisdiction over all boxing and sparring and wrestling matches or exhibitions to be conducted, held, or given within the city; and said matches or exhibitions shall not be held or given except in accordance with the provisions of this chapter, and the rules and regulations which may be established or promulgated from time to time by the Committee. (February 22, 1927).

42 CEMETERIES

302 BURIAL OF COLORED PERSONS ON GROUND SET APART FOR WHITE PERSONS PROHIBITED.- The officer in charge shall not bury, or allow to be buried, any colored persons upon ground set apart for or used for the burial of white persons.

53 HEALTH DEPARTMENT AND HEALTH REGULATIONS

134 SEPARATE TOILETS FOR MEN AND WOMEN IN MANUFACTURING ESTABLISHMENTS. - The owner, manager, or agent in charge of any factory, workshop or manufacturing establishment in the City of Atlanta shall supply separate toilets and washrooms for girls and women, apart from toilets and washrooms used by men and boys in such places. At least one toilet shall be installed for every 20 people, or fraction of said number, of either sex. Said toilets shall be placed in separate parts of the building for the use of the different sexes, and shall be cleaned at least once a day and kept free from foul odors or accumulations of filth of any kind therein.

137 PENALTIES. - Violations of any provision of this Article, for which no other penalty is specifically provided, shall be punishable by fine not to exceed $100 and costs, or imprisonment for not more than 30 days, or both, in the discretion of the Recorder.

603 SEPARATE RESTAURANTS FOR WHITE AND COLORED PEOPLE. - All persons licensed to conduct a restaurant, shall serve either white people exclusively or colored people exclusively and shall not sell to the two races within the same room or serve the two races anywhere under the same license: the purpose of this section being that each licensee shall serve either one race or the other and that no license shall authorize sale to the two races at or near the same place.

604 LICENSE SHALL DESIGNATE RACE TO BE SERVED. - The Clerk of Council in issuing licenses for restaurants shall designate therein the character of trade authorized to be served under each license, as "for white people only" or "for colored people only."

605 RESTAURANTS TO DISPLAY SIGNS SHOWING WHICH RACE SERVED. - Each license shall display prominently in front of his place of business a notice as follows: "Licensed to serve white people only" or "Licensed to serve colored people only," so that the public may be informed of the character of trade served at each such place.

606 PENALTIES. - Maximum $100 fine or 30 days on public works for violation of preceding sections.

55 INTOXICATING LIQUORS

217 SALE OF WINE AND BEER TO WHITE AND COLORED PEOPLE IN SAME ROOM FORBIDDEN.- All persons licensed to conduct the business of selling wine and beer or either of them shall serve either white people exclusively or colored people exclusively and shall not sell to the two races within the same room at any time: it being the purpose of this section that each dealer in wine and beer or either of them shall serve only one race and that if the two races are served there must be two separate and distinct rooms for that purpose and the licensee must procure separate licenses therefor. Each dealer in wine and beer or either of them shall display prominently in front of his place of business a notice as follows: "Licensed to serve white people only"; or "Licensed to serve colored people only"; so that the public may be informed of the character of trade served in such place. When an application for license is filed, the applicant shall state in the application the class or character of people to be served, namely, whether or not he proposes to sell white people only or colored people only. Any person selling wine or beer or either of them in violation of any of the terms of this section shall be deemed guilty of an offense against the City of Atlanta and on conviction thereof in the Recorder's Court shall be fined not exceeding $100, or sentenced to work on the public works not exceeding 30 days, either or both penalties to be inflicted in the discretion of the Recorder. It is further provided that a violation of the provisions of this section by any dealer in wine or beer or either of them, either personally or through agents or employees, shall ipso facto work a forfeiture of the license; it being the purpose of this provision that a conviction of any such dealer in the Recorder's Court shall immediately work a forfeiture of the license. Any person continuing to sell beer or wine or either of them after the forfeiture of the license, as hereinabove provided, shall be deemed guilty of an offense against the City of Atlanta and upon conviction thereof shall be fined not exceeding $100 or sentenced to work on the public works for not exceeding 30 days, either or both penalities to be inflicted in the discretion of the Recorder. (November 16, 1937).

58 LIBRARY

101 MANAGEMENT OF CARNEGIE LIBRARY IN BOARD OF TRUSTEES; POWER OF BOARD. - The management of Carnegie Library is hereby invested in the Board of Trustees of said Library, who shall have power to prescribe rules for the government of said Library, and to change the same from time to time, if they so desire.

Cross-reference. - Charter provision requiring appropriation for Library, see 19-507.

107 CENSORSHIP OF MOTION PICTURES BY BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF CARNEGIE LIBRARY. - No person shall exhibit, or cause to be exhibited in any motion picture theatre any motion picture, unless it shall have been first approved by the Board of Trustees of Carnegie Library or the Committee on Censorship appointed by said Board: Provided, however, that this section shall not apply to any exhibition of motion pictures given for purely educational, charitable, paternal or religious purposes, by any religious association, fraternal society, library, museum, public or private school or any institution of learning, where no admission is charged.

Cross-reference. - Charter authorization for Board of Censorship, see 5-305. Unlawful to exhibit indecent motion pictures, see 66-504.

108 DUTY OF BOARD OF TRUSTEES TO ENFORCE CENSORSHIP OF MOTION PICTURES. - It is especially the duty of the Board of Trustees of Carnegie Library, or the Board of Censorship appointed by said Board, to see that the provisions of section 58-107 and of sections 66-504 to 66-507 inclusive, are observed and to provide some method by which any violation of same may be properly prosecuted and conviction insisted upon in all cases where the evidence shows that the defendants are guilty.

59 HOTELS

323 BELL BOYS AND HOUSE DETECTIVES TO OBTAIN PERMITS. - All employees of hotels performing the duty of bell boys or house detectives shall obtain the permit herein required before entering upon such employment. Each of said employees shall file a statement with the Clerk of Council to the effect that he is, or expects to be, employed in one of the employments named, stating his correct name and giving his address, together with his age and former employment. When this statement is filed with the Clerk, said Clerk shall thereupon issue a permit to such employee to follow the employment set out in said statement: Provided, that before said Clerk shall issue said permit, the statement or application shall have endorsed thereon a statement, or be accompanied by a letter, signed by three reputable citizens, none of whom has any interest in the hotel where said employee is to work or serve, showing the good character of applicant. The managers or persons in charge of the hotel where said employees operate shall keep a book or list of said employees, which book or list shall show the correct name of said employees and their addresses, and which shall be subject to inspection by any member of the Police Department of the City of Atlanta. It shall be unlawful for any bellboy or house detective to continue in, or to enter upon, said employment, or either of them, in violation of the terms of this section; and it shall furthermore be unlawful for any of them in filing said statement to give a fictitious address. It shall be unlawful for the manager or person in charge of any hotel to fail to keep a book or list showing the name and correct address of said employees or to refuse to exhibit same to any member of the Police Department. The Clerk of Council shall enter, or cause to be entered, in a book prepared by him for that purpose, in alphabetical order, the names of such employees to whom permits are granted under this section, and said Clerk shall keep said statements or records open for inspection by any persons desiring to see same, especially to members of the Police Department. Any bellboy or house detective, or manager, or person in charge of any hotel, who shall violate the provisions hereof, and any employer or his agent aiding or abetting said employee or employees in the violation of this section, shall each be deemed guilty of an offense and on conviction thereof in the Recorder's Court shall be punished by a fine not exceeding $500, or sentenced to work on the public works of the City for not exceeding 30 days, either or both penalties to be inflicted in the discretion of the Recorder. (August 17, 1926).

Cross-reference. - Special permits required for special policemen, see 73-305.

62 MOTOR CARRIERS

121 RACES TO BE SEPARATED IN CABS AND HIRED AUTOMOBILES. - It shall be the duty of all owners and operators of taxicabs or autos for hire within the City of Atlanta to indicate on the sides of such vehicles whether the taxicab or auto for hire is to be used by and shall serve white or negro passengers. The sign so indicating shall be painted under the owner's name and shall be in letters not less than one inch in height. The sign shall read, "For White Passengers Only," or "For Colored Passengers Only," as the case may be. This sign, as well as the "auto for hire" or "taxi" sign, shall be painted on both sides of the vehicle, and in paint that cannot be rubbed or washed off. Such sign shall remain on said car so long as the operator holds a permit and license to operate that machine. No such taxicab or auto for hire owner or operator shall carry both white and negro passengers in the same vehicle, but shall serve one or the other of said races to the exclusion of the other. There shall be white drivers for carrying white passengers and colored drivers for carrying colored passengers. Applicants in filing their petitions for permits shall state on their applications whether the taxicab or auto for hire is to be used for hauling white or colored passengers. (May 7, 1940).

122 PENALTIES. - Any person violating any of the provisions of this Article shall, at the option of the Mayor and General Council, have his permit or license, or both, revoked and shall be fined not less than $50 nor more than $200 for each offense and imprisoned not less than 30 nor more than 60 days, or both, within the discretion of the Recorder. (April 20, 1939; May 7, 1940).

201 DEFINITIONS. - A motor bus, as the term is used in this Article, is any motor vehicle operated over the streets and public places of the city for the purpose of carrying passengers for hire, which vehicle receives and discharges passengers along the route traversed. The term includes vehicles called jitneys or jitney busses. It does not include street or interurban railway cars, hotel busses, taxicabs or other motor vehicles rented from fixed stands in streets or from public or private garages, whose destination is under the direction of passengers transported therein, or motor vehicles operated over the streets from points without the city to fixed terminal points within the city. A driver, as the term is used in the Article, is a person driving any motor bus as herein defined.

Cross-reference. - Taxicabs, see Article I of this Chapter, 62-101 et seq. Vehicles operating from without the city, see Article 3 of this Chapter, 62-301 et seq. Street cars, see Chapter 85, 85-101 et seq.

213 CAPACITY OF MOTOR BUSSES. - It shall be unlawful to operate, and no permit or license shall be granted for the operation of, any motor bus having a seating capacity of less than 17 passengers.

217 MOTOR BUSSES NOT PERMITTED ON STREET USED BY STREET RAILWAYS. - No license shall be granted or issued for the operation of any motor bus upon any street or public place or part thereof, the proposed route of which shall include in whole or in part any street upon which the tracks of any street railway are laid and street cars are operated, or upon which motor busses are operated by any street car company as a part of its street railway system. And it shall be unlawful to operate such vehicle over such routes.

Cross-reference. - Street railways, see Chapter 85, 85-101 et seq.

218 MOTOR BUSSES NOT PERMITTED ON PARALLEL STREETS WITHIN TWO BLOCKS OF THOSE USED BY STREET RAILWAYS. - No license shall be granted or issued for the operation of any motor bus upon any street or public place or part thereof, the proposed route of which shall include in whole or in part any street for a distance of more than five blocks in its round trip parallel to and within two blocks of any street upon which the tracks of any street railway are laid and street cars are operated, or upon which motor busses are operated by any street car company as a part of its street railway system. And it shall be unlawful to operate such vehicles over such routes.

Cross-reference. - Street railways, see Chapter 85, 85-101 et seq.

219 MOTOR BUSSES TO OPERATE ONLY ON ROUTE GRANTED. - It shall be unlawful to operate any motor bus on or over any street or part thereof not included in the permit therefor, and no change, except temporarily for the purpose of avoiding obstructions, shall be made in the route designated in the permit.

224 CHARGES FOR PASSENGERS AND BAGGAGE. - It shall be unlawful for the driver or other person in control of any motor bus to charge or demand a greater fare from each passenger than 10 cents for each trip, or to make any charge or demand any compensation for the transportation of hand baggage of passengers, unless such baggage is of sufficient size to occupy space which otherwise might be occupied by a passenger, or unless such baggage would inconvenience other passengers using said bus or tend to make operation thereof unsafe.

Cross-reference. - Charter authority to prescribe reasonable charges, see 5-315.

226 BUSSES TO BE WELL BUILT, KEPT CLEAN, AND IN REPAIR AND TO BE SUBJECT TO INSPECTION BY SUPERINTENDENT OF GARAGES. - Every motor bus operated under this Article must be well-built, kept in good repair and in clean and sanitary condition and must be capable of safely and comfortably transporting passengers. Every such bus shall, at all times, be subject to inspection by the Superintendent of Garages, and it shall be unlawful for any person to operate any motor bus which has been disapproved by said Superintendent for failure to comply with the requirements of this Article.

Cross-reference. - Superintendent of Garages, see 63-102.

66 OFFENSES AGAINST THE PUBLIC ORDER, PEACE, AND MORALS.

1005 AMATEUR BASEBALL PROHIBITED ON GROUNDS WITHIN TWO BLOCKS OF PLAYGROUND DEVOTED TO OTHER RACE. - It shall be unlawful for any amateur white baseball team to play baseball on any vacant lot or baseball diamond within two blocks of a playground devoted to the Negro race, and it shall also be unlawful for any amateur colored baseball team to play baseball in any vacant lot or baseball diamond within two blocks of a playground devoted to the white race. The playgrounds referred to in this section are the playgrounds set apart by the city surrounding public schools and given over to athletic purposes during the summer. (June 21, 1932).

68 PARKS

126 SEPARATION OF RACES IN PARKS. - It shall be unlawful for colored people to frequent any park owned or maintained by the city for the benefit, use, and enjoyment of white persons, excepting so much of Grant Park as is occupied by the zoo, and unlawful for any white person to frequent any park owned or maintained by the city for the use and benefit of colored persons. (June 4, 1940).

Penalties - $100 and costs or imprisonment for not more than 30 days, or both, in the discretion of the Recorder.

73 POLICE DEPARTMENT

121 POLICE MATRONS: OFFICE CREATED, APPOINTMENT, NUMBER, TERM. - The office of Police Matron is hereby created. There shall be three white matrons and three colored matrons, each of whom shall be appointed and shall serve for Civil service laws. (November 20, 1925; January 20, 1933).

Cross-reference. - Matron for female prisoners at stockade, 74-112.

77 RAILROADS

119 PENAL ORDINANCE EXTENDED OVER TRANSPORTATION LINES BEYOND CITY LIMITS. - All the penal ordinances of the City of Atlanta are hereby extended beyond the city limits over the transportation lines and areas referred to and described in section 3-109. All such ordinances shall apply and be enforced in said territory in the same way they apply and are enforced within the boundaries of the city, and any person violating any of them in said territory shall, on conviction thereof by the Recorder, be punished as though the offense had been committed within said boundaries.

85 STREET RAILROADS

138 PASSENGERS TO OBSERVE STATE LAWS RESPECTING SEPARATE SEATING OF RACES. - Passengers on street cars operated in the limits of the City of Atlanta, and in territory outside the city limits which has been incorporated as a part of said city for police purposes, must observe and obey the requirements of the penal laws of the State as to the separate seating of the races in such cars; and any passenger failing to obey the directions of the conductor or person in charge of the car in this respect, in so far as it is practicable to do so, shall be guilty of an offense and punishable as hereinafter provided.

Cross-reference. - Extension of police jurisdiction over street car lines beyond city limits - Chapter 3, 109 (15).

3-109 (15) Jurisdiction Over Railways Leading Into City. The limits of the City of Atlanta for police purposes only are extended over the different lines of transportation, steam and electric, passenger and freight, leading into said city, either on public roads or private rights of way, for the full extent of the several lines, without the limits of said city, up to and ending at the county line of Fulton County, except where said lines pass through other and different municipal corporations, in which event said corporations shall retain their police power and, further, except on Peachtree Road where the limits of said city shall be extended beyond the said county line and to the end of the transportation lines aforesaid, except as to railroads, and the police power shall extend not only over said lines, but for a distance of 50 feet outside the track or tracks thereof, both on said road and private rights of way. In case of steam railroads, police power shall extend over same, as above provided for, up to and including what is known as the cantonment. Police power of said city, hereby extended, shall cover the portion of said several lines of transportation, above described, and over the areas thereto, as above set out.

Cross-reference. - Exercise of police power beyond city limits, see 77-119.

139 DUTY OF POLICE TO SEE THAT CONDUCTORS ENFORCE STATE LAWS REQUIRING SEPARATION OF RACES. - It shall be the duty of the police to give special attention to ascertain whether conductors or other employees in charge of street cars and other railroad cars, require passengers in their trains or cars to comply with the provisions of the laws of Georgia respecting separate seating of races in such cars; and in case of the violation of the said laws by conductors or other employees of railroad or street railroad companies, to arrest such persons so violating said laws, and prosecute them in the proper state court for such offenses.

Editorial note. - State law requiring separation of races in railroad cars, see 18-205, 18-210, 18-606, and 18-9901 to 18-9906 of the Code of Georgia of 1933.

142 PENALTIES. - Violation of any provision of this chapter, for which no specific penalty is otherwise provided, shall be punishable by fine not to exceed $100 and costs, or by imprisonment for not more than 30 days, either or both penalties to be inflicted in the discretion of the Recorder.

140 PERSONS WITH OFFENSIVE ODORS NOT ALLOWED ON STREET CARS. - It shall be unlawful for anyone who has on or about his person any disgusting or offensive smell or odor to board or attempt to board any street car in the City of Atlanta for the purpose of becoming a passenger thereon, or for any purpose whatsoever, or to ride upon any such street car, or to remain thereon, when requested to quit said car by the conductor.

SOUTHERN RAILWAY SYSTEM

OFFICE OF ASSISTANT VICE PRESIDENT

Washington, D. C., June 29, 1950

TRANSPORTATION DEPARTMENT CIRCULAR NO. 147.
(Cancelling All Prior Instructions On
This Subject.)

SUBJECT: Seating Passengers in Dining Cars.

TO: PASSENGER CONDUCTORS AND
DINING CAR STEWARDS.

(1) Passengers seeking dining car service shall be seated at vacant seats in the Diner in the order of their entrance into the Diner. Waiting passengers must not unduly block the aisles of the Dining Car.

(2) The steward shall seat Diners so as to promote efficient service with comfort and satisfaction to the Diners. For example, when practicable parties of two, three or four, will be seated together. When entering singly, women will be seated with women, men with men, young people with young people, elderly persons with elderly persons, white persons with white persons, and Negroes with Negroes. In following the above illustrations, Stewards will bear in mind (occupied space permitting), white passengers should be seated from the Buffet or Kitchen end of the Dining car and Negroes from the opposite end. (From the ends toward the Middle). No passenger seeking Dining car service during the meal hour shall be refused such service when there is a vacant seat in the Diner.

(3) It is the immediate duty of the Dining car steward to seat passengers in the Diner and under the General Jurisdiction of the Passenger Conductor to maintain good order among the passengers and afford prompt service to them.

(4) THESE RULES BECOME EFFECTIVE JULY 1, 1950.

R.K. McCLAIN,

ASSISTANT VICE PRESIDENT.

General Appropriations Act of Georgia, 1951
No. 278 (House Bill No. 263)
(Passed at the 1951 session of the legislature. For fiscal year July 1, 1951 to June 30, 1952 and each year thereafter until repealed or modified.)

Education

Section 8 (Including grants to aid the common schools)

"...Provided, however, that the State Board of Education shall not be authorized or empowered to apportion any funds herein to any school system that does not provide separate schools for t he white and colored races, as required by the provisions of Article VIII, Section I, Paragraph I of the Constitution of the State of Georgia, and so operate and maintain all schools within its jurisdiction. After said apportionment is approved, any and all obligations and commitments made which are violative of the foregoing provision or in excess of the funds apportioned shall be null and void. ... Provided, further, that should any such system violate the foregoing provisions of this paragraph after said appropriation has been made and approved, then and in such event the unexpended portion of the apportionment to such system shall cease to be available and the State Board of Education shall in writing notify the state budget authority of the cancellation of the allotment previously approved.

"Provided further, that should any part or portion of this section be held unconstitutional by a final judgement of any court of competent jurisdiction, then this entire section shall thereafter be void, invalid and unenforceable, and the remaining balance of the funds appropriated in this section in whole or in part shall not be paid. ..."

Section 9 (Including appropriations for the state university)

"...Provided that the State Board of Regents shall within the first thirty days of each fiscal period determine which of its various units located in Georgia are being operated in compliance with Article VIII, Section I, Paragraph I, of the Constitution of the State of Georgia, providing for separate schools for the white and colored races and shall enter the names of such units so complying upon its records. Thereafter it shall make an apportionment of the various complying units of the university system from all funds available, including the above appropriations, and immediately report the same to the state budget authorities for approval, whose approval shall be evidenced in writing.

General Appropriations Act of Georgia, 1951
Section 9, con't

"Provided, however, that if after the State Board of Regents has with the approval of the budget authorities apportioned available funds to any unit of the university system located in Georgia, such unit ceases to be operated as a separate school for either the white or the colored race, as required by Article VIII, Section I, Paragraph I of the Constitution of the State of Georgia, then and in such event the unexpended portion of the apportionment to such unit shall cease to be available and the State Board of Regents shall in writing notify the state budget authorities of the cancellation of the allotment previously approved.

"Any and all obligations and commitments made which are not approved on budget, which are in excess of the funds apportioned, inclusive of the units' other income, or are made to non-complying units, shall be null and void ...

"Provided further, that should any part or portion of this section be held unconstitutional by a final judgement of any court of competent jurisdiction, then this entire section shall thereafter be void, invalid and unenforceable, and the remaining balance of the funds appropriated in this section in whole or in part shall not be paid."

SOURCE: Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, 1951 Session, p. 421-422 and p. 425-426

In Law Enforcement

LAWS RELATING TO SEGREGATION IN EFFECT IN ATLANTA

Definition of Negro and White (State law)

Persons of color, who are - All Negroes, mulattoes, mestizos and their descentants, having any ascertainable trace of either Negro or African, West Indian, or Asiatic Indian blood in their veins, and all descentants of any person having either Negro or African, West Indian, or Asiatic Indian blood in his or her veins shall be known in this State as persons of color. (Acts 1865-6; 1927)

"White person" defined - The term "white person" shall include only persons of the white or Caucasian race, who have no ascertainable trace of either Negro, African, West Indian, Asiatic Indian, Mongolian, Japanese, or Chinese blood in their veins. No person, any of whose ancestors has been duly registered with the State Bureau of Vital Statistics as a colored person or person of color, shall be deemed to be a white person. (Acts 1927)

BARBER SHOPS - (City ordinance)

Barber shops must show on sign whether white or colored persons are served. Penalty for violation - Fine not exceeding $100. or imprisonment up to 30 days.

No colored barber shall serve white women or white girls. Penalty, fine not exceeding $200. or sentence to work on public works up to 30 days. (Feb. 1926)

BILLIARD AND POOLROOMS - (State law)

No person of the white race shall be licensed to operate a billiard room to be used or frequented by persons of the Negro race, nor shall any person of the Negro race be licensed to operate a billiard room to be used by persons of the white race. (Acts 1925)

CEMETERIES - (City ordinance)

Burial of colored persons on grounds set apart for white persons is prohibited.

EDUCATION - (State laws)

The Constitution of Georgia provides that separate schools shall be provided for the white and colored races.

It shall be the duty of the board of education to make arrangements for the instruction of the children of the white and colored races in separate schools. They shall, as far as practicable, provide the same facilities for both races in respect to attainments and abilities of teachers but white and colored children shall not be taught together in any common or public school, and no teacher receiving or teaching white and colored pupils in the same school shall be allowed any compensation out of the common school fund.

The 1951 and 1953 State Appropriations Bills provide that the State Board of Education and the State Board of Regents are not authorized to apportion funds to any school system allowing persons of the white and colored races to be taught in the same school: provided further that should any system violate the above provisions, the expended portion of its appropriation shall be cut off; provided further that should any part of this section be held unconstitutional, then this entire section shall be invalid and unenforceable and the remaining balance of funds appropriated shall not be paid.

EDUCATION - (Cont'd)

In providing tax exemptions for endowed institutions of charity, worship and learning open to the general public, the constitution requires that all endowments to institutions established for white people shall be limited to white people, and all endowments to institutions established for colored people shall be limited to colored people. (Constitution of Ga.)

HOSPITALS -(State law)
Milledgeville State Hospital for Mental Patients shall be divided into separate and distinct apartments so that in no case shall Negroes and white persons be together.

INTOXICATING BEVERAGES - (City ordinance)
All persons li censed to sell beer and wine or either, to be consumed on premises, shall serve either whites or Negroes exclusively, and may not serve both races in the same room at any time. Penalty - Fine up to $100. or 30 days at public works. Dealer must display sign indicating race served. (1937)

JUVENILE DELINQUENTS - (State law)
Georgia law provides that there shall be two institutions for deliquent girls - one for white girls and one for Negroes. It provides for one Training School for Boys - with white and colored inmates to be kept separate in all work and study.

MISCEGENATION - (State law)
It shall be unlawful for a white person to marry anyone except a white person. Any marriage in violation of this section shall be void. (1927)

Any person, white or colored, who shall marry or go through a marriage ceremony in violation of this provision shall be guilty of a felony and shall be punished by imprisonment of not less than two or more than five years. (1927)

All marriages solemnized in another state by parties intending at the time to reside in this state, shall have the same legal consequences and effect as if solemnized in this state. Parties residing in this state may not evade any provisions of this law as to marriage by going into another state for the marriage ceremony.

Marriage liscenses must show race and color of each applicant. (1927)

Ordained colored ministers may perform ceremonies for persons of African descent only. (1866)

Officers issuing li cense or officer or minister performing ceremony for persons, one of whom is of African descent and the other white, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor. (1927)

Any person who shall make or cause to be made a registration certificate false as to color or race, shall be guilty of a felony and upon conviction, shall be punished by imprisonment of one to two years.

REGISTRATION - (State law)
Voters' registration list shall show race of each voter, whether white or colored. (1894 & 1913)

PARKS AND PLAYGROUNDS - (City ordinance)

Parks - It shall be unlawful for Colored persons to frequent any park maintained by the city for white persons (excepting so much of Grant Park as is occupied by the zoo) and unlawful for any white person to frequent any park maintained by the city for colored persons. Penalty - $100. or imprisonment up to 30 days or both. (1940)

Playgrounds - It shall be unlawful for any white or Negro amateur baseball team to play on any vacant lot or baseball diamond within two blocks of any school playground devoted to the opposite race. (1932)

PRISONS - (State law)

An 1897 act provided that white and colored convicts be kept "separate and apart .. when not at work, and when actually engaged in work to be kept separate as far as practicable".

The 1908 Act provided that the Prison Commission, where practicable, employ whites and Negroes in separate institutions and locations, and they shall be provided with separate eating and sleeping compartments.

White and colored convicts may not be chained together at any time. (1890)

PUBLIC ASSEMBLIES (City ordinance)

In places of public assembly, separate seats shall be allotted for white and colored persons. It shall be the duty of the proprietor or person in charge to allot different sections for the races and to be responsible for seating white and colored persons in their respective sections. (1945)

It shall be unlawful for any patron of a theater or other public assembly, whether admission is for a consideration or free, to sit in any seat alloted to the opposite race. Penalties - Up to $25.00 or imprisonment up to 30 days or both. (1945)

RESTAURANTS - (City ordinance)

All persons licensed to conduct a restaurant, shall serve either white people exclusively or colored people exclusively and shall not sell to the two races within the same room or serve the two races anywhere under the same license.

The license is issued to serve one race only and the owner must display in a prominent place a notice showing the race served.

Penalty - Up to $100. or 30 days on public works.

TAX LISTS - (State law)

Names of colored and white taxpayers must be entered separately on the tax digest. (1894)

Tax collectors must report to Comptroller General the character and amount of taxes paid by colored taxpayers. (1874)

TRANSPORTATION

State Laws

Railroad companies doing business in this State shall furnish equal accommodations, in separate cars or compartments of cars, for white and colored passengers, and when a car is divided into compartments, the space set apart for white and colored passengers respectively may be proportioned according to the proportion of usual and ordinary travel by each on the railroad or line on which the cars are used. Such companies shall furnish to the passengers comfortable seats and shall have the cars well and sufficiently lighted and ventilated. Officers or employees having charge of railroad cars shall not allow white and colored passengers to occupy the same car or comparment. (1890)

Conductors or other employees of railroads and streetcars are responsible for separation of white and colores races as much as is practicable, and are given police powers to carry out such provisions. (1890)

Passenger must remain in seat assigned to him and conductor has power to eject any one refusing to do so. (1890)

Above sections not applicable to colored nurses or servants with their employees. (1890)

Conductors may not permit white and colored passengers to occupy same compartment on sleeping cars; railroads not compelled to carry persons of color in sleeping cars or parlor cars; section not applicable to nurses or servants. (1899)

Failure to furnish equal accommodations by any common carrier shall be punished as misdemeanor. (1870)

Any officer allowing white and colored passengers to occupy same car or compartment is guilty of misdemeanor. (1890)

Motor vehicles may confine themselves to carrying either white or colored passengers, may provide separate vehicles for the races or may carry both in the same vehicle but only under conditions of separation as the Georgia Public Service Commission may prescribe. (1931)

City Ordinances

Passengers on street cars in city of Atlanta must observe state laws as to separate seating of races. Psasengers failing to observe law liable for punishment. Police have duty to see that conductors enforce law and that passengers obey. Penalty - up to $100. fine or imprisonment of 30 days or both.

Taxicabs and autos for hire shall serve white or Negro passengers exclusively. Owners must: Indicate race on applications for permit
Show race served on each side of vehicle
Provide white drivers for white passengers and colored drivers for colored passengers
Never carry both white and colored passengers in same vehicle. (1940)

Penalty for violations of any of above -Fine $50. - $200.
Imprisonment - 30 - 60 days
or both
Revocation of liscense and permit at option of Mayor and Council
(1939 40)

SUMMARIES OF

LEGAL ASPECTS OF "SEPARATE-BUT-EQUAL" EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH

I

CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS

1. Alabama: "No child of either race shall be permitted to attend a school of the other race."

2. Arkansas: "All persons in the State between the ages of six and twenty-one years may receive gratuitous instruction."

3. Florida: Impartial provision shall be made for both white and colored children in different schools.

4. Georgia: Education shall be as nearly uniform as practicable in separate schools provided for white and colored races.

5. Kentucky: Each race to share fund equally. No distinction shall be made in the separate schools on account of race or color.

6. Louisiana: "Separate free public schools shall be maintained for the education of white and colored children between the ages of six and eighteen years."

7. Mississippi: "Separate schools shall be maintained for children of the white and colored races."

8. North Carolina: "The children of the white race and the children of the colored race shall be taught in separate public schools; but there shall be no discrimination in favor of, or to the prejudice of, either race."

9. Oklahoma: Separate schools for white and colored children, with like accommodations, shall be provided and impartially maintained.

10. South Carolina: "No child of either race shall ever be permitted to attend a school provided for children of the other race."

11. Tennessee: No school shall allow white and Negro children to be received as scholars together in the same school.

12. Texas: "Separate schools shall be provided for the white and colored children, and impartial provision shall be made for both."

13. Virginia: "White and colored children shall not be taught in the same school."

In addition to the thirteen States listed above, which are usually called the Southern Region, there are four other States - Delaware, Maryland, Missouri, and West Virginia - in which Negro and white students are required by law to attend separate schools. In all of these seventeen States equal educational opportunities in the public schools are supposedly guaranteed to all citizens.

II

U. S. SUPREME COURT CASES

Public education on a "separate and equal" basis for Negroes and whites in States maintaining separate facilities for the races is one of the many "race issues" to come to the attention of the United States Supreme Court. One of the most important cases - Cumming vs. County Board of Education - arose in Richmond County, Georgia, when the County School Board discontinued a Negro high school on the ground that there were not sufficient funds to support both an elementary and a high school. The Supreme Court decision in this case, in 1889, upheld the right of the school board to manage its own affairs and, presumably, the right to maintain separate schools for the white and Negro races.

Seven years later the case of Plessy vs. Ferguson went to the Supreme Court from Louisiana. Although Plessy vs. Ferguson was a railroad case in which the Supreme Court upheld the right of the State to require separation of the races in railway travel, it served to emphasize the trend of judicial decisions in favor of States' rights. In the decision on this case, reference was made to Cumming vs. County Board of Education on the assumption that the latter case had established a precedent on the right of the States to maintain separate facilities.

The case of Gong Lum vs. Rice involved the right of the State of Mississippi to exclude a Chinese child from a white public school under a Mississippi constitutional provision requiring separate schools for white and "colored" children. The Supreme Court, in 1927, upheld the right of the State to exclude the Chinese child from the white schools.

Another significant case involved the right of a State to require separation of the races in colleges. A Kentucky statute made it unlawful "for any person, corporation or association of persons to maintain or operate any college, school, or institution where persons of the white and Negro races are both received as pupils for instruction." Berea College, which had since its origin in 1855 admitted both Negro and white students, was indicted, convicted, and fined $1000 under this statute. This case was appealed to the Supreme Court, and its decision, in 1908,

upheld the constitutionality of the State law.

The most important recent case involving higher education is that of Gaines vs. Canada, Registrar, Etc. Lloyd Gaines, a Negro, wanted training in law and he sought admission to the Law School of the University of Missouri on the ground that the State did not maintain a law school for Negroes. When he was denied admission he sought a writ of mandamus to require his admission. This case, which originated in 1935, eventually reached the United States Supreme Court. The court's decision (1938) held that if a State separates the races in its schools it is obligated to provide for Negro students, within its borders, the same educational opportunities that it provides for white students.

It is clear that the United States Supreme Court, in its majority opinions, has been inclined to impute all management of schools to the States. Even Justice Harlan, who consistently demonstrated a liberal attitude upon constitutional questions involving the rights of Negroes, did not dissent in the historic case of Cumming vs. County Board of Education. He said in part: "While all admit that the benefits and burdens of public taxation must be shared by citizens without discrimination against any class on account of their race, the education of people in schools maintained by state taxation is a matter belonging to the respective states, and any interference on the part of Federal authority with the management of such schools cannot be justified except in the case of a clear and unmistakable disregard of the rights secured by the supreme law of the land."

Some authorities hold that the direct issue of the right of a State to require separation of the races in public schools has never been met squarely by the Supreme Court. Whether this is true or not, it is certain that the whole question of "separate and equal" educational facilities is going to be one of the live legal issues in the Southern States during the present generation.

III

GRADUATE AND PROFESSIONAL TRAINING FOR NEGROES.

The famous Gaines case mentioned above turned the spotlight on the unequal opportunities of Negro students for graduate and professional training in the South. The Supreme Court held in this case (1938) that a State which separates the races in its schools is obligated to offer to Negro students whatever courses it offers to white students.

One result of the Gaines case has been the establishment of certain graduate and professional courses in most of the State colleges for Negroes in the Southern States. None of these courses goes beyond the master's degree. The courses are largely in the fields of education and social science, with a scattering of offerings in other fields. A few so-called law schools have been set up, but they have been of such a make-shift nature that few students have cared to enroll. A recent Texas case, in which a Negro sought admission to the School of Law of the University of Texas, has resulted in a movement in the State Legislature looking toward the establishment of a "real university" for Negroes. Similar cases may be anticipated in other Southern States.

A second result of the Gaines case has been the subsidizing of Negro students who wish to attend certain private Negro institutions in the South. Georgia, for example, assists Negro residents who want to pursue graduate courses available at Atlanta University; and Virginia has entered into an agreement with Meharry Medical College of Nashville, Tennessee, to train Virginia Negro students who want medical training.

A third arrangement growing out of the Gaines case is the system of subsidies for out-of-state graduate and professional training of Negro students. Under this arrangement, which is used by nearly all of the Southern States at present, a Negro student attends an accredited graduate or professional school in the North or West and receives financial assistance from his State. The amount of this assistance differs a great deal from State to State, but in general it is based upon the difference between what he would pay for tuition in his home State and what he has to pay in the school outside the region which he attends. While this arrangement obviously

provides better training for many Negro students than they can hope to get in their home States, it is extra-legal in the sense that it does not fullfil the judicial decision in the Gaines case - namely, that equal facilities should be provided within each State.

The whole question of equality of opportunity in higher education is one which is going to demand more and more attention in the near future. Southern States may expect a series of test cases designed to force them to make separate facilities equal in fact or admit Negro students to the existing universities and professional schools.

This memorandum prepared by:
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

$200 REWARD!

Ran away from his owner [a Lady residing nea
ɔper Marlboro, Prince George's County, Md.] o
about the 12th inst. of this month. a bright Mulla
man named Frank, a carpenter by trade, he i
out five feet 9 or 10 inches high, light grey eyes
w in speech. and very good personal appearance
ɔut twenty-five years of age, his clothing good.

One Hundred dollars will be paid if apprehende
thin thirty miles of home, if more than thirty, th
ɔve reward, provided he be secured in Jail so tha
owner gets him again.

W. D. BOWIE,

I do hereby make over all my Right and Title in my Negro Woman Esther to William Taylor of Baltimore Town and do moreover engage to defend the same against all Persons who may claim the said Esther, from the Date hereof untill April the first one Thousand seven Hundred and ninety seven at which Time she will be Thirty five Years of Age and consequently become free by the Will of the late Revd Dr William West to whom she belonged. In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and Seal this Fourteenth Day of August one Thousand seven Hundred and Ninety three.

Witness

Wm Young Lewis

G. W. West

PUBLIC SALE OF NEGROES

By RICHARD CLAGETT

On Tuesday, March 5th, 1833 at 1:00 P.M. the following Slaves will be sold at Potters Mart, in Charleston, S. C.

Miscellaneous Lots of Negroes, mostly house servants, some for field work.

Conditions: ½ cash, balance by bond, bearing interest from date of sale. Payable in one to two years to be secured by a mortgage of the Negroes, and appraised personal security. *Auctioneer will pay for the papers.*

A valuable Negro woman, accustomed to all kinds of house work. Is a good plain cook, and excellent dairy maid, washes and irons. She has four children, one a girl about 13 years of age, another 7, a boy about 5, and an infant 11 months old. 2 of the children will be sold with mother, the others separately, if it best suits the purchaser.

A very valuable Blacksmith, wife and daughters; the Smith is in the prime of life, and a perfect master at his trade. His wife about 27 years old, and his daughters 12 and 10 years old have been brought up as house servants, and as such are very valuable. Also for sale 2 likely young negro wenches, one of whom is 16 the other 13, both of whom have been taught and accustomed to the duties of house servants. The 16 year old wench has one eye.

A likely yellow girl about 17 or 18 years old, has been accustomed to all kinds of house and garden work. She is sold for no fault. Sound as a dollar.

House servants: The owner of a family described herein, would sell them for a good price only, they are offered for no fault whatever, but because they can be done without, and money is needed. He has been offered $1250. They consist of a man 30 to 33 years old, who has been raised in a genteel Virginia family as house servant, Carriage driver, etc., in

GEORGIA, Bibb COUNTY.

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS, That we Mary Moore principal & W S Bragal & C G Sparks

are held and firmly bound to William B Parker ~~Sheriff~~ of said county, in the just and full sum of Six thousand & fifty seven dollars Dollars, to the true performance of which we bind ourselves, our heirs, executors, and administrators, jointly and severally, firmly by these presents, sealed with our seals, and dated this this 7 day of January eighteen hundred and ~~forty~~ fifty five.

The condition of the above Bond or Obligation is such, That whereas ~~the said~~ Cicero A Sharp Sheriff of said County ~~Sheriff~~ aforesaid, hath lately levied a fi. fa. William B Parker vs Henry E Moore, which fieri facias, issued from the Superior Court of said County, in favor of said Parker plaintiff against Said H E Moore the defendant on three certain men Slaves, viz - Peter (known as big Peter) dark complexion & about 30 years of age, & Joel (called Joe) of yellow complexion & about 32 years of age, & David also of complexion & about 27 years of age, as the property of said Henry E. Moore which said negroes have been claimed by said Mary Moore as the Executrix of the late George W. Moore deceased ~~which has been claimed by the said Mary Moore as Executrix~~ of

NOW, should the said Mary Moore deliver the said three negro Slaves so levied on, at the time and place of sale, or the said Sureties shall do so for her ~~for him~~, (provided the said property so claimed should be found subject to such execution,) then the above bond or obligation to be void; else to remain in full force and virtue.

Mary Moore

Archer, J. B.

1855 Bill of sale of $1357.00 ~~from J. B. Archer~~ to
Nov. J. O. Morton for the purchase of three Negro slaves
Lowndes County, Georgia, November 14, 1855.
1l. A\ L. S.

I. Morton, J. O.

1855

State of Georgia Lowndes County Nov. 14

Received of James O. Morton Thirteen hundred and Seventy five dollars in full for the purchase of three negro Slaves (to wit) Matilda and her two Children Amanda a girl between four & five years of age, and Columbus her infant Child, the right and title of said negroes I warrant and defend against the Claims of all persons whatever, and lifa cira warrant them Sound & healthy, As witness my hand and Seal

J. B. Archer (Seal)

3

Georgia

Bibb County } Received Macon January 3d 1860 from I. P & W. F Smith partners using firm name of W. F. & I. P Smith the sum of Six Hundred and five dollars ($605) payment in full for Negro man Jacob about sixty five years old - Sold by me this day at public outcry by virtue of an order of the Honorable Court of Ordinary of said County agreeable to law.

Also Fanny the wife of said Jacob for the sum of Four Hundred dollars Sold as aforesaid.

M. E. Rylander
Exr of W. R. Gamble decd

Rylander, M. E.
A bill of sale to the W.F. and I.P. Smith firm for a 65 years old Negro man, Jacob and his wife Fannie. Bibb County, Georgia, January 3, 1860.
1l ms.
M.E. Rylander, executor of W. R. Gamble's decd.

I. Smith, I. P. & W. F. Firm. II. Gamble, W. R.

$825.00 Rec'd macon
June 5th 1860 of B McW
Campbell by W R Phillips Eight
hundred and twenty five Dollars
for the purchase money of
a certain negro boy name
Sloza. age about twelve years
old, said boy being returned
to said Phillips. by orders of
Mrs Campbell

H. B. Davis

of Cleveland Ga

$850.00 January 1st 1856

Received of William Lee Jr. Eight hundred and fifty Dollars, being in full for the purchase of Negro Slave named Malinda & her child Almedia the right and title of said Slave I warrant and defend against the claims of all persons whatsoever; and likewise warrant them sound and healthy.

As witness my hand and seal.

W. R. Rives [SEAL]

SAVAGE DEUPREE & CO.

$1110. Richmond, Sep 3 1860

Received of A R Homsley Esq

Eleven hundred & ten Dollars, being in full for the purchase of one Negro Slave named Sam

the right and title of said Slave I warrant and defend against the claims of all persons whatsoever, and likewise warrant him sound and healthy.

As witness my hand and seal

[illegible] [SEAL]

[redacted]

Petersburg, Va., January 2, 186[illegible]

We Promise to Pay to J. M. B. Stewart & Co.

the sum of Four Hundred Dollars to be paid

in two equal instalments, as follows: Two Hundred dollars

on the 1st day of July, 1866, and Two Hundred dollars

on the 1st day of January, 1866, for the hire of a NEGRO SLAVE, named

Albert for the year 1866;

said Slave is to be comfortably clothed and humanely treated—during the year to be furnished

with two pair of shoes, and to be returned at Christmas next, well clad, and furnished with

Blanket or other Cover; and it is further understood that the said

Slave is not to be carried out of the State of Virginia.

Witness our hands and seals the day and year above.

Witness

Martha P. Adkins for

Posey & Mah

Posey & Bouffman

[redacted]

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Owner of the following named and valuable Slaves, being on the eve of departure for Europe, will cause the same to be offered for sale, at the NEW EXCHANGE, corner of St. Louis and Chartres streets, on *Saturday*, May 16, at Twelve o'Clock, *viz.*

1. **SARAH, a mulatress, aged 45 years, a good cook and accustomed to** house work in general, is an excellent and faithful nurse for sick persons, and in every respect a first rate character.

2. **DENNIS, her son, a mulatto, aged 24 years, a first rate cook and stew-** ard for a vessel, having been in that capacity for many years on board one of the Mobile packets; is strictly honest, temperate, and a first rate subject.

3. **CHOLE, a mulatress, aged 36 years, she is, without execption, one of** the most competent servants in the country, a first rate washer and ironer, does up lace, a good cook, and for a bachelor who wishes a house-keeper she would be invaluable: she is also a good ladies' maid, having travelled to the North in that capacity.

4. **FANNY, her daughter, a mulatress, aged 16 years, speaks French and** English, is a superior hair-dresser, (pupil of Guilliac,) a good seamstress and ladies' maid, is smart, intelligent, and a first rate character.

5. **DANDRIDGE, a mulatoo, aged 26 years, a first rate dining-room ser-** vant, a good painter and rough carpenter, and has but few equals for honesty and sobriety.

6. **NANCY, his wife, aged about 24 years, a confidential house servant,** good seamstress, mantuamaker and tailoress, a good cook, washer and ironer, etc.

7. **MARY ANN, her child, a creole, aged 7 years, speaks French and** English, is smart, active and intelligent.

8. **FANNY or FRANCES, a mulatress, aged 22 years, is a first rate** washer and ironer, good cook and house servant, and has an excellent character.

9. **EMMA, an orphan, aged 10 or 11 years, speaks French and English,** has been in the country 7 years, has been accustomed to waiting on table, sewing etc.: is intelligent and active.

10. **FRANK, a mulatto, aged about 32 years speaks French and English,** is a first rate hostler and coachman, understands perfectly well the management of horses, and is, in every respect, a first rate character, with the exception that he will occasionally drink, though not an habitual drunkard.

☞ All the above named Slaves are acclimated and excellent subjects; they were purchased by their present vendor many years ago, and will, therefore, be severally warranted against all vices and maladies prescribed by law, save and except FRANK, who is fully guaranteed in every other respect but the one above mentioned.

TERMS:—One-half Cash, and the other half in notes at Six months, drawn and endorsed to the satisfaction of the

PRETTY POLLY ANN

I'SE gwineter marry, if I can.
I'se gwineter marry pretty Polly Ann.

I axed Polly Ann, fer to marry me.
She say she's a-lookin' fer a Nigger dat's
free.

Pretty Polly Ann's jes dressed so fine!
I'll bet five dollars she hain't got a dime.

Pretty Polly Ann's jes a-puttin' on airs,
She won't notice me, but nobody cares.

I'll drop Polly Ann, a-lookin' lak a crane;
I 'spec's I'll marry Miss Lize Jane.

Marriage Rhyme Section

SLAVE MARRIAGE CEREMONY SUPPLEMENT

Dark an' stormy may come de wedder;
I jines dis he-male an' dis she-male to-
gedder.
Let none, but Him dat makes de thunder,
Put dis he-male an' dis she-male asunder.
I darfore 'nounce you bofe de same.
Be good, go 'long, an' keep up yō' name.
De broomstick's jumped, de worl's not
wide.
She's now yō' own. Salute yō' bride!

ROSES RED

Rose's red, vi'lets blue.
Sugar is sweet but not lak you.
De vi'lets fade, de roses fall;
But you gits sweeter, all in all.

As shore as de grass grows 'round de stump,
You is my darlin' Sugar Lump.
W'en de sun don't shine de day is cold,
But my love fer you do not git old.

De ocean's deep, de sky is blue;
Sugar is sweet, an' so is you;
De ocean waves an' de sky gits pale,
But my love are true, an' it never fail.

YOU HAVE MADE ME WEEP

You'se made me weep, you'se made me mourn,
You'se made me tears an' sorrow.
So far' you well, my pretty liddle gal,
I'se gwine away to-morrow.

MOURNING SLAVE FIANCEES

LOOK down dat lonesome road! Look down!
De way are dark an' cōl'.
Dey makes me weep, dey makes me mourn;
All 'cause my love are sōl'.

O don't you see dat turkle dove,
What mourns from vine to vine?
She mourns lak I moans fer my love,
Lef' many a mile behin'.

DO I LOVE YOU?

DOES I love you wid all my heart?—
I loves you wid my liver;
An' if I had you in my mouf,
I'd spit you in de river.

LOVERS' GOOD-NIGHT

COTTON fields white in de bright moonlight,
Now kiss yō' gal' an' say "Good-night."
If she don't kiss you, jes go on 'way;
Hain't no need a-stayin' ontel nex' day.

Among the servants who worked on a distant part of the plantation, was a young man named Abram Williams. Sally was now thirteen years old, and her mistress decided that she should be married, and that the young man should be her husband. Both were her property, therefore the only part they had to play was to acquiesce in the arrangement. It happened very well in this case, but the same power could have been employed, had they disliked each other. What think you of a system which gives such unlimited control, not only over the time and labor of men and women, but over their most sacred affections? Sally had never seen him and knew nothing about the matter, till one day, when she was in the house, her mistress said—

"Well, Sally, you 're thirteen years old, and I want you to be married. There 's a young man over on the plantation who 'll make you a good husband. He 'll come here soon, and you 'll see him," and then followed an enumeration of his good qualities.

"Laws, Missis!" was the only reply Sally could make. After that she missed no opportunity to speak of him to the simple-

hearted girl, till Sally said, "'Pears like I loved him 'fore ever I saw him." True to her word, the mistress sent for him. They were pleased with each other, as she had predicted, and as there was no reason for delaying their union, it was agreed that they should be married as soon as the hurry of the planting time was over. He was a kind, good-hearted man, and Sally was happier than she had been for a long time, in feeling that she had some one to love who would love her.

One pleasant Saturday afternoon, a few weeks after this, was fixed upon for the wedding. Work was closed early, so that the servants might participate in the festivities. Sally's scanty wardrobe had been growing less in her careful mother's absence, and now she had no decent dress for the occasion. Her mistress produced from her own stores an old white muslin frock, and added to it a bright ribbon for her waist, and a gauze handkerchief to tie around her head. Abram was equally destitute, and his coarse field dress was exchanged for the time for some cast off clothes of his master's, which made him look, so Sally thought, quite like a gentleman. As

a special mark of favor, the ceremony was to be performed in the house. The hour came, and with their bridemaid and groomsman they stood up before the colored Methodist preacher who was in waiting. He opened the Bible and read the account of the marriage at Cana. Sally had never heard it before, and the thought that Jesus had been present at an earthly wedding, impressed her, more than anything had ever done, with the importance of what she was about to do. No one had ever taught her the sacredness of the marriage tie. She had heard it jested about, and had seen it lightly broken, and so it was to her rather an incident of life than one of its solemnities. But now an awe crept over her; she felt as if God were there, and resolved, in heart, to do all in her power for her new-found friend. The reading was followed by a prayer, and then they were pronounced husband and wife. There was a momentary hush in the room. All seemed touched by the services save the master, who had condescended to grace them with his presence, and stood leaning in the door-way, with a satirical smile upon his face. What were to him the words, "whom God hath joined together let

no man put asunder?" Did he not know that if for any reason he wished to raise a sum of money, he should separate them, and sell them, with as little feeling as he would a horse or a bushel of rice? No wonder he smiled and thought it folly! The mistress rose, and going up to the young couple, wished them much of happiness and prosperity. She was followed by all the servants in their turn, and when the congratulations were over, she led the way to the open air, where a table was set upon the lawn. It was ornamented with a handsome cake, which she herself had made, and adorned with flowers. Sally, as lady of the day, was made to sit down and pour coffee for the company. When the repast was ended, the lawn was quickly cleared for a dance, in which the mistress insisted that the newly married pair should take the lead. Sally had never danced since the camp-meeting, but they all insisted that she would not be properly married unless she did so, and she was forced to comply. "Dat was de last time I danced," said she, in relating it; "'pears like 't want right, noway."

It was a gay party, and as evening came on, Sally's light-heartedness returned, and she

Georgia
Bibb County

Whereas a marriage is about to be celebrated between Edmund Wheelis of said County and Martha Allen also of said County, now in consideration of said expected Marriage, the said Edmund on his part agrees upon the celebration thereof by some sufficient deed or conveyance, to ~~bestow~~ John Allman as trustee of the said Martha Allen for her trust for her, or to such other person as by her may be appointed, to settle on the said Martha Allen a negro woman named Phillis now the property of the said Martha Allen, and all her Stock consisting of horses, cattle, sheep, & her household & kitchen furniture, subject to the management of the said Edmund, but for the sole benefit maintenance and support of the said Martha & the avails of said property to be added to the said Martha at her discretion in the acquisition of such other property as she may be disposed to purchase, and in the event the said Edmund should survive the said Martha then the said property to go to & be vested in him to be disposed of at his discretion, & the said settlement when made to be cancelled at the pleasure of the said Martha whenever the said Edmund shall be discharged from his embarrassments

for her, or to such other person as by her may be
appointed, to settle on the said Martha Allen a
negro woman named Phillis now the property
of the said Martha Allen, and all her Stock
consisting of horses, cattle, & hogs, & her household
& kitchen furniture, subject to the management
of the said Edmund, but for the sole benefit
maintenance and support of the said Martha
& the avails of said property to be used & the
said Martha at her discretion in the acquisi-
tion of such other property as she may be disposed
to purchase, and in the event the said Edmund
should survive the said Martha then the said
property to go to & be vested in him to be disposed
of at his discretion, & the said settlement
when made to be cancelled at the pleasure
of the said Martha whereupon the said Edmund
shall be discharged from his embarrassments
In Witness Whereof the said Edmund & Martha
have hereunto set their hands & seals this 28th
Nov 1833

Martha Allen

Edmund Wheeler

Br.

Wheler, Edmound
A marriage consideration with Martha Allen. Bibbs County, Georgia, Nov. 28, 1833.
1 ms.

Regarding the management of her property.

~~I. Marriage~~. I. Allen, Martha.

Mr Manning,

Scipio has permission to take a wife at your house if you have no objection

Yrs,

C. D. Sanders

Sanders, C. D.
Mr. Manning
1p (ALS)

A brief letter asking permission for the slave Scipio to take a wife from the house of Manning

$100.00 By the twenty fifth day of December eighteen hundred and sixty-we or either of us promise to pay the Estate of Daniel Lye deceased or bearer one hundred dollars for the hire of a negro man Sam and further promise to furnish said negro with suitable clothing Dec 30th 1859

James M. his X mark Hammack Moses Strifling

$100.00 By the twenty fifth day of December eighteen hundred and sixty we or either of us promise to pay ~~the Estate of~~ Daniel Lye deceased or bearer one hundred dollars for the hire of negro man Sam and further promise to furnish said negro with suitable clothing

Dec 30th 1859

James his X mark M. Hammack

Moses Strifling

Int. to 1/2 10 m 8 days.
$25.87

Hammack, James M.
A promissary note signed by James M. Hammack and Moses Strifling to pay to the Estate of Daniel Lye one hundred dollars for the hire of a Negro man, by the twenty-fifth of December, eighteen hundred sixty. ~~n.p.~~ December 30, 1859.
1q. ms.

~~1. Promissory note.~~ I. Strifling, Moses. II. Lye, Daniel.

On or before the First day of January next, we promise and oblige ourselves and our heirs to pay Mrs. Susan Rawlings the sum of Fifty Dollars, for the hire of one Negro slave named Angelina

110
107

PAYABLE QUARTERLY,

for the present year. Said Slave to be returned at Christmas next, well clothed with the customary clothing, and furnished with a and Blanket. As witness our hands and seals, this 1st day of Jany 1859.

John Moffler [SEAL.]

Charles Howell [SEAL.]

[SEAL.]

Wm. H. Clemmitt, Printer, 173 Main St.

$280 By the first day of January 1862 I promise to pay H. M. Nixon or bearer Two hundred & Eighty Dollars, for the hire of a Negro boy Felix,

W. H. Sutton

Jan 1st 1861
Perry Ga

Talton, William H.,
1861 Jan. A promissory note for $280.00 to be paid to H. M. Nixon by W. H. Sutton by January 1, 1862, for the hire of a Negro boy. Perry, Georgia, 1861.
1l. A. L. S.

I. Nixon, H. M.

This Indenture, made this 19th day of August, in the year Eighteen hundred & Sixty five between 1st Lieut. Ab L. Dial A.A.A.G. Sent F.B. 7th Dist. Va of the one part, and John F. Hawkins of the County of Bedford of the other part, **Witnesseth,** That the said Lieut. Ab L. Dial &c. &c. by virtue of the authority in him vested as Military (~~Commandant~~ agent) aforesaid, hath put and bound, and doth by **These Presents,** put and bind Henry a free Boy of color, of the said County, and being of the age of Four years, to be **Apprenticed** to the said John F. Hawkins to learn the Business of a Farmhand, and with him to dwell and remain and serve until he, the said Henry, shall obtain the age of Twenty one years; during all which time, he, the said Henry, faithfully shall serve and obey, all secrets keep, and all lawful commands willingly do and perform; and shall not absent himself from the service of his Master day or night, without his leave; but shall, in all things, as a faithful Apprentice, behave himself towards his master, and all his family, during the said term: and the said John F. Hawkins doth hereby covenant, promise and agree to, and with the said Lieut Ab L. Dial and his succesors in office, that he the said John F. Hawkins will instruct ~~said~~ Apprentice in the business of a Farmhand (~~which~~ one ~~now useth~~) shall and will teach and instruct, or cause to be taught and instructed in the best manner that he can, and shall and will provide and allow unto the said Apprentice, during all the said term, competent and sufficient meat, drink, washing lodging, apparel, and all other things necessary for the said Apprentice to have, and that he will well and truly pay to the said Henry at the end of his term of apprenticeship aforesaid, the sum of Fifty dollars, lawful money of Virginia; and that during the term aforesaid he will instruct, or cause to be instructed, the said Henry, in reading, writing and arithmetic, as far as the Rule of Three.

Witness, the following signatures and seals of the parties.

M. B. Chase
Asst. Clerk.

Ab L. Dial SEAL
1st Lieut & A.A.A.G. Sent F.B. 7th Dist. Va.

John F. Hawkins SEAL

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after the month of June, and was not again out on the plantation before the following October; when he one day came out on a little Indian pony that he had used as his hackney, before he was so far reduced as to decline the practice of riding. I suffered very much this summer for want of good and substantial provisions, my master being no longer able to supply me, with his usual liberality, from his own meat house. I was obliged to lay out nearly all my other earnings, in the course of the summer, for bacon, to enable me to bear the hardship and toil to which I was exposed. My master often sent for me to come to the house, and talked to me in a very kind manner; and I believe that no hired overseer could have carried on the business more industriously than I did, until the crop was secured the next winter.

Soon after my master was in the field, in October, he sent for me to come to him one day, and gave me, on parting, a pretty good great coat of strong drab cloth, almost new, which he said would be of service to me in the coming winter. He also gave me at the same time a pair of boots which he had worn half out, but the legs of which were quite good. This great coat and these boots were afterwards of great service to me.

As the winter came on my master grew worse, and though he still continued to walk about the house in

good weather, it was manifest that he was approaching the close of his earthly existence. I worked very hard this winter. The crop of cotton was heavy, and we did not get it all out of the field until some time after Christmas, which compelled me to work hard myself, and cause my fellow-slaves to work hard too, in clearing the land that my master was bound to clear every year on this place. He desired me to get as much of the land cleared in time for cotton as I could, and to plant the rest with corn when cleared off.

As I was now entrusted with the entire superintendence of the plantation by my master, who never left his house, it became necessary for me to assume the authority of an overseer of my fellow-slaves, and I not unfrequently found it proper to punish them with stripes to compel them to perform their work. At first I felt much repugnance against the use of the hickory, the only instrument with which I punished offenders, but the longer I was accustomed to this practice, the more familiar and less offensive it became to me; and I believe that a few years of perseverance and experience would have made me as inveterate a negro-driver as any in Georgia, though I feel conscious that I never should have become so hardened as to strip a person for the purpose of whipping, nor should I ever have consented to compel people to work with-

that they were of Scotch descent. There were four children, Emma, Willie, Johnnie and Jimmie. All looked at me, and thought I was "a spry little fellow." I was very shy and did not say much, as everything was strange to me. I was put to sleep that night on a pallet on the floor in the dining room, using an old quilt as a covering. The next morning was Christmas, and it seemed to be a custom to have egg-nog before breakfast. The process of making this was new and interesting to me. I saw them whip the whites of eggs, on a platter, to a stiff froth; the yolks were thoroughly beaten in a large bowl, sugar and plenty of good brandy were added, and the whites of the eggs and cream were then stirred in, a little nutmeg grated on top of each glass when filled for serving. This was a delicious drink, and the best of all was, there was plenty of it. I served this to all the family, and, as there were also visiting relatives present, many glasses were required, and I found the tray so heavy I could hardly carry it. I helped myself, after the service was finished, and I was delighted, for I had never tasted anything so fine before.

My boss told me I was to wait on the madam, do any errand necessary, attend to the dining room—in

fact I was installed as general utility boy. It was different from the quiet manner of life I had seen before coming here—it kept my spirits up for some time. I thought of my mother often, but I was gradually growing to the idea that it was useless to cry, and I tried hard to overcome my feelings.

PLANTATION LIFE.

As already stated, it was Christmas morning, and, after breakfast, I saw the cook hurrying, and when I went out into the yard, everywhere I looked slaves met my view. I never saw so many slaves at one time before. In Virginia we did not have such large farms. There were no extensive cotton plantations, as in Mississippi. I shall never forget the dinner that day—it was a feast fit for a king, so varied and lavish was the bill of fare. The next attraction for me was the farm hands getting their Christmas rations. Each was given a pint of flour of which they made biscuit, which were called "Billy Seldom," because biscuit were very rare with them. Their daily food was corn bread, which they called "Johnny Constant," as they had it constantly. In addition to the flour each received a piece of bacon or fat meat, from which they got the shortening for their biscuit.

living. I was known no longer as errand boy, but installed as butler and body-servant to my master. I had the same routine of morning work, only it was more extensive. There was a great deal to be done in so spacious a mansion. Looking after the parlors, halls and dining rooms, arranging flowers in the rooms, waiting on the table, and going after the mail was my regular morning work, the year round. Then there were my duties to perform, night and morning, for my master; these were to brush his clothes, black his shoes, assist him to arrange his toilet, and do any little thing that he wanted me to. Aside from these regular duties, there were windows to wash, silver to polish and steps to stone on certain days in the week. I was called to do any errand neccessary, and sometimes to assist in the garden. A new staff of house servants was installed, as follows: Aunt Delia, cook; Louisa, chambermaid; Puss, lady's maid to wait on the madam; Celia, nurse; Lethia, wet nurse; Sarah, dairy maid; Julia, laundress; Uncle Gooden, gardener; Thomas, coachman.

THE NEW STYLE OF LIVING.

The servants, at first, were dazed with the splendor of the new house, and laughed and chuckled to

themselves a good deal about mars' fine house, and really seemed pleased; for, strange to say, the slaves of rich people always rejoiced in that fact. A servant owned by a man in moderate circumstances was hooted at by rich men's slaves. It was common for them to say: "Oh! don't mind that darkey, he belongs to po'r white trash." So, as I said, our slaves rejoiced in master's good luck. Each of the women servants wore a new, gay colored turban, which was tied differently from that of the ordinary servant, in some fancy knot. Their frocks and aprons were new, and really the servants themselves looked new. My outfit was a new cloth suit, and my aprons for wearing when waiting on the table were of snowy white linen, the style being copied from that of the New York waiters. I felt big, for I never knew what a white bosom shirt was before; and even though the grief at the separation from my dear mother was almost unbearable at times, and my sense of loneliness in having no relative near me often made me sad, there was consolation, if not compensation, in this little change. I had known no comforts, and had been so cowed and broken in spirits, by cruel lashings, that I really felt light-hearted at this improvement in my

were indebted to her for many more important services.

Such were the unusually fortunate circumstances of my early childhood. When I was six years old, my mother died; and then, for the first time, I learned, by the talk around me, that I was a slave. My mother's mistress was the daughter of my grandmother's mistress. She was the foster sister of my mother; they were both nourished at my grandmother's breast. In fact, my mother had been weaned at three months old, that the babe of the mistress might obtain sufficient food. They played together as children; and, when they became women, my mother was a most faithful servant to her whiter foster sister. On her death-bed her mistress promised that her children should never suffer for any thing; and during her lifetime she kept her word. They all spoke kindly of my dead mother, who had been a slave merely in name, but in nature was noble and womanly. I grieved for her, and my young mind was troubled with the thought who would now take care of me and my little brother. I was told that my home was now to be with her mistress; and I found it a happy one. No toilsome or disagreeable duties were imposed upon me. My mistress was so kind to me that I was always glad to do her bidding, and proud to labor for her as much as my young years would permit. I would sit by her side for hours, sewing diligently, with a heart as free from care as that of any free-born white child. When she thought I was tired, she would send me out to run and jump; and away I bounded, to gather berries or flowers to decorate her room. Those were

happy days — too happy to last. The slave child had no thought for the morrow; but there came that blight, which too surely waits on every human being born to be a chattel.

When I was nearly twelve years old, my kind mistress sickened and died. As I saw the cheek grow paler, and the eye more glassy, how earnestly I prayed in my heart that she might live! I loved her; for she had been almost like a mother to me. My prayers were not answered. She died, and they buried her in the little churchyard, where, day after day, my tears fell upon her grave.

I was sent to spend a week with my grandmother. I was now old enough to begin to think of the future; and again and again I asked myself what they would do with me. I felt sure I should never find another mistress so kind as the one who was gone. She had promised my dying mother that her children should never suffer for any thing; and when I remembered that, and recalled her many proofs of attachment to me, I could not help having some hopes that she had left me free. My friends were almost certain it would be so. They thought she would be sure to do it, on account of my mother's love and faithful service. But, alas! we all know that the memory of a faithful slave does not avail much to save her children from the auction block.

After a brief period of suspense, the will of my mistress was read, and we learned that she had bequeathed me to her sister's daughter, a child of five years old. So vanished our hopes. My mistress had taught me the precepts of God's Word: "Thou shalt

love thy neighbor as thyself." "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them." But I was her slave, and I suppose she did not recognize me as her neighbor. I would give much to blot out from my memory that one great wrong. As a child, I loved my mistress; and, looking back on the happy days I spent with her, I try to think with less bitterness of this act of injustice. While I was with her, she taught me to read and spell; and for this privilege, which so rarely falls to the lot of a slave, I bless her memory.

She possessed but few slaves; and at her death those were all distributed among her relatives. Five of them were my grandmother's children, and had shared the same milk that nourished her mother's children. Notwithstanding my grandmother's long and faithful service to her owners, not one of her children escaped the auction block. These God-breathing machines are no more, in the sight of their masters, than the cotton they plant, or the horses they tend.

II.

THE NEW MASTER AND MISTRESS.

Dr. Flint, a physician in the neighborhood, had married the sister of my mistress, and I was now the property of their little daughter. It was not without murmuring that I prepared for my new home; and what added to my unhappiness, was the fact that my brother William was purchased by the same family. My father, by his nature, as well as by the habit of transacting business as a skilful mechanic, had more of the feelings of a freeman than is common among slaves. My brother was a spirited boy; and being brought up under such influences, he early detested the name of master and mistress. One day, when his father and his mistress both happened to call him at the same time, he hesitated between the two; being perplexed to know which had the strongest claim upon his obedience. He finally concluded to go to his mistress. When my father reproved him for it, he said, "You both called me, and I didn't know which I ought to go to first."

"You are *my* child," replied our father, "and when I call you, you should come immediately, if you have to pass through fire and water."

Poor Willie! He was now to learn his first lesson of obedience to a master. Grandmother tried to cheer us with hopeful words, and they found an echo in the credulous hearts of youth.

When we entered our new home we encountered

V.

THE TRIALS OF GIRLHOOD.

During the first years of my service in Dr. Flint's family, I was accustomed to share some indulgences with the children of my mistress. Though this seemed to me no more than right, I was grateful for it, and tried to merit the kindness by the faithful discharge of my duties. But I now entered on my fifteenth year — a sad epoch in the life of a slave girl. My master began to whisper foul words in my ear. Young as I was, I could not remain ignorant of their import. I tried to treat them with indifference or contempt. The master's age, my extreme youth, and the fear that his conduct would be reported to my grandmother, made him bear this treatment for many months. He was a crafty man, and resorted to many means to accomplish his purposes. Sometimes he had stormy, terrific ways, that made his victims tremble; sometimes he assumed a gentleness that he thought must surely subdue. Of the two, I preferred his stormy moods, although they left me trembling. He tried his utmost to corrupt the pure principles my grandmother had instilled. He peopled my young mind with unclean images, such as only a vile monster could think of. I turned from him with disgust and hatred. But he was my master. I was compelled to live under the same roof with him — where I saw a man forty years my senior daily violating the most sacred command-

ments of nature. He told me I was his property; that I must be subject to his will in all things. My soul revolted against the mean tyranny. But where could I turn for protection? No matter whether the slave girl be as black as ebony or as fair as her mistress. In either case, there is no shadow of law to protect her from insult, from violence, or even from death; all these are inflicted by fiends who bear the shape of men. The mistress, who ought to protect the helpless victim, has no other feelings towards her but those of jealousy and rage. The degradation, the wrongs, the vices, that grow out of slavery, are more than I can describe. They are greater than you would willingly believe. Surely, if you credited one half the truths that are told you concerning the helpless millions suffering in this cruel bondage, you at the north would not help to tighten the yoke. You surely would refuse to do for the master, on your own soil, the mean and cruel work which trained bloodhounds and the lowest class of whites do for him at the south.

Every where the years bring to all enough of sin and sorrow; but in slavery the very dawn of life is darkened by these shadows. Even the little child, who is accustomed to wait on her mistress and her children, will learn, before she is twelve years old, why it is that her mistress hates such and such a one among the slaves. Perhaps the child's own mother is among those hated ones. She listens to violent outbreaks of jealous passion, and cannot help understanding what is the cause. She will become prematurely knowing in evil things. Soon she will learn to tremble when she hears her master's footfall. She

will be compelled to realize that she is no longer a child. If God has bestowed beauty upon her, it will prove her greatest curse. That which commands admiration in the white woman only hastens the degradation of the female slave. I know that some are too much brutalized by slavery to feel the humiliation of their position; but many slaves feel it most acutely, and shrink from the memory of it. I cannot tell how much I suffered in the presence of these wrongs, nor how I am still pained by the retrospect. My master met me at every turn, reminding me that I belonged to him, and swearing by heaven and earth that he would compel me to submit to him. If I went out for a breath of fresh air, after a day of unwearied toil, his footsteps dogged me. If I knelt by my mother's grave, his dark shadow fell on me even there. The light heart which nature had given me became heavy with sad forebodings. The other slaves in my master's house noticed the change. Many of them pitied me; but none dared to ask the cause. They had no need to inquire. They knew too well the guilty practices under that roof; and they were aware that to speak of them was an offence that never went unpunished.

I longed for some one to confide in. I would have given the world to have laid my head on my grandmother's faithful bosom, and told her all my troubles. But Dr. Flint swore he would kill me, if I was not as silent as the grave. Then, although my grandmother was all in all to me, I feared her as well as loved her. I had been accustomed to look up to her with a respect bordering upon awe. I was very young, and felt shamefaced about telling her such impure things,

especially as I knew her to be very strict on such subjects. Moreover, she was a woman of a high spirit. She was usually very quiet in her demeanor; but if her indignation was once roused, it was not very easily quelled. I had been told that she once chased a white gentleman with a loaded pistol, because he insulted one of her daughters. I dreaded the consequences of a violent outbreak; and both pride and fear kept me silent. But though I did not confide in my grandmother, and even evaded her vigilant watchfulness and inquiry, her presence in the neighborhood was some protection to me. Though she had been a slave, Dr. Flint was afraid of her. He dreaded her scorching rebukes. Moreover, she was known and patronized by many people; and he did not wish to have his villany made public. It was lucky for me that I did not live on a distant plantation, but in a town not so large that the inhabitants were ignorant of each other's affairs. Bad as are the laws and customs in a slaveholding community, the doctor, as a professional man, deemed it prudent to keep up some outward show of decency.

O, what days and nights of fear and sorrow that man caused me! Reader, it is not to awaken sympathy for myself that I am telling you truthfully what I suffered in slavery. I do it to kindle a flame of compassion in your hearts for my sisters who are still in bondage, suffering as I once suffered.

I once saw two beautiful children playing together. One was a fair white child; the other was her slave, and also her sister. When I saw them embracing each other, and heard their joyous laughter, I turned

sadly away from the lovely sight. I foresaw the inevitable blight that would fall on the little slave's heart. I knew how soon her laughter would be changed to sighs. The fair child grew up to be a still fairer woman. From childhood to womanhood her pathway was blooming with flowers, and overarched by a sunny sky. Scarcely one day of her life had been clouded when the sun rose on her happy bridal morning.

How had those years dealt with her slave sister, the little playmate of her childhood? She, also, was very beautiful; but the flowers and sunshine of love were not for her. She drank the cup of sin, and shame, and misery, whereof her persecuted race are compelled to drink.

In view of these things, why are ye silent, ye free men and women of the north? Why do your tongues falter in maintenance of the right? Would that I had more ability! But my heart is so full, and my pen is so weak! There are noble men and women who plead for us, striving to help those who cannot help themselves. God bless them! God give them strength and courage to go on! God bless those, every where, who are laboring to advance the cause of humanity!

VI.

THE JEALOUS MISTRESS.

I WOULD ten thousand times rather that my children should be the half-starved paupers of Ireland than to be the most pampered among the slaves of America. I would rather drudge out my life on a cotton plantation, till the grave opened to give me rest, than to live with an unprincipled master and a jealous mistress. The felon's home in a penitentiary is preferable. He may repent, and turn from the error of his ways, and so find peace; but it is not so with a favorite slave. She is not allowed to have any pride of character. It is deemed a crime in her to wish to be virtuous.

Mrs. Flint possessed the key to her husband's character before I was born. She might have used this knowledge to counsel and to screen the young and the innocent among her slaves; but for them she had no sympathy. They were the objects of her constant suspicion and malevolence. She watched her husband with unceasing vigilance; but he was well practised in means to evade it. What he could not find opportunity to say in words he manifested in signs. He invented more than were ever thought of in a deaf and dumb asylum. I let them pass, as if I did not understand what he meant; and many were the curses and threats bestowed on me for my stupidity. One day he caught me teaching myself to write. He frowned, as if he was not well pleased; but I suppose he came to

Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl.

the conclusion that such an accomplishment might help to advance his favorite scheme. Before long, notes were often slipped into my hand. I would return them, saying, "I can't read them, sir." "Can't you?" he replied; "then I must read them to you." He always finished the reading by asking, "Do you understand?" Sometimes he would complain of the heat of the tea-room, and order his supper to be placed on a small table in the piazza. He would lean back there with a well satisfied smile, and tell me to fetch a fan and brush away the flies. He would eat very slowly, pausing between the mouthfuls. These intervals were employed in describing the happiness I was so foolishly throwing away, and in threatening me with the penalty that finally invested my rebellion. He had lost much of the fascination he had over myself towards me, and realized that there was a limit to his patience. When I succeeded in avoiding opportunities for him to talk to me at home, I was ordered to come to his office, in the same house. When there, I was told to stand, and then he would language as he saw fit to address to me. Sometimes he so openly expressed his contempt for him that he would become violently enraged, and I wonder why he did not strike me. Perhaps he probably thought it was better policy to be patient. But the state of things grew worse and worse. In desperation I told him that I would rather resort to my grandmother's protection, even at the risk of death, and worse than death, if I made any complaint to her. Strange to say, I did not despair of my grandmother, of a buoyant disposition, and always

had a hope of somehow getting out of his clutches. Like many a poor, simple slave before me, I trusted that some threads of joy would yet be woven into my dark destiny.

I had entered my sixteenth year, and every day it became more apparent that my presence was intolerable to Mrs. Flint. Angry words frequently passed between her and my husband. He had never punished me himself, and he would not allow any body else to punish me. In that respect she was never satisfied; and so the angry words grew more and more bitter. She had long been jealous of me, and I whom she detested so strongly had grown very fair in her sight, whose soul was as black as the bottom of the bottomless pit. I never wronged her in word or deed, and one word of kindness would have brought me to her feet.

All the evil passions between the doctor and his wife were now aroused to make his youngest victim feel their power. She was there to take his youngest child, and to deem my boy's worst misfortune should sleep in the same room with the child slumbered. I [illegible] for what [illegible] had been made. He made [illegible] to keep certain right of peoples as much as possible [illegible] had [illegible] succeeded in [illegible] though a reason was given, held to [illegible] change this line of policy. [illegible] the room of my great aunt, where I [illegible] to some new for room. [illegible] had been in the family [illegible] room, and a pro[illegible] necessary to save appear-

ances in some degree. But he resolved to remove the obstacle in the way of his scheme; and he thought he had planned it so that he should evade suspicion. He was well aware how much I prized my refuge by the side of my old aunt, and he determined to dispossess me of it. The first night the doctor had the little child in his room alone. The next morning, I was ordered to take my station as nurse the following night. A kind Providence interposed in my favor. During the day Mrs. Flint heard of this new arrangement, and a storm followed. I rejoiced to hear it rage.

After a while my mistress sent for me to come to her room. Her first question was, "Did you know you were to sleep in the doctor's room?"

"Yes, ma'am."

"Who told you?"

"My master."

"Will you answer truly all the questions I ask?"

"Yes, ma'am."

"Tell me, then, as you hope to be forgiven, did you consent of what I have accused you?"

"I am."

She handed me a Bible, and said, "Lay your hand on your heart, kiss this holy book, and swear before God that you will tell me the truth."

I took the oath she required, and I did it with a clear conscience.

"You have taken God's holy word to testify your innocence," said she. "If you have deceived me, be aware." Now take this scroll, sit down, look me steadily in the face, and tell me all that has passed between your master and you."

I did as she ordered. As I went on with my account her color changed frequently, she wept, and sometimes groaned. She spoke in tones so sad, that I was touched by her grief. The tears came to my eyes; but I was soon convinced that her emotions arose from anger and wounded pride. She felt that her marriage vows were desecrated, her dignity insulted; but she had no compassion for the poor victim of her husband's perfidy. She pitied herself as a martyr; but she was incapable of feeling for the condition of shame and misery in which her unfortunate, helpless slave was placed.

Yet perhaps she had some touch of feeling for me; for when the conference was ended, she spoke kindly, and promised to protect me. I should have been much comforted by this assurance if I could have had confidence in it; but my experiences in slavery had filled me with distrust. She was not a very refined woman, and had not much control over her passions. I was an object of her jealousy, and, consequently, of her hatred; and I knew I could not expect kindness or confidence from her under the circumstances in which I was placed. I could not blame her. Slaveholders' wives feel as other women would under similar circumstances. The fire of her temper kindled from small sparks, and now the flame became so intense that the doctor was obliged to give up his intended arrangement.

I knew I had ignited the torch, and I expected to suffer for it afterwards; but I felt too thankful to my mistress for the timely aid she rendered me to care much about that. She now took me to sleep in a

room adjoining her own. There I was an object of her especial care, though not of her especial comfort, for she spent many a sleepless night to watch over me. Sometimes I woke up, and found her bending over me. At other times she whispered in my ear, as though it was her husband who was speaking to me, and listened to hear what I would answer. If she startled me, on such occasions, she would glide stealthily away; and the next morning she would tell me I had been talking in my sleep, and ask who I was talking to. At last, I began to be fearful for my life. It had been often threatened; and you can imagine, better than I can describe, what an unpleasant sensation it must produce to wake up in the dead of night and find a jealous woman bending over you. Terrible as this experience was, I had fears that it would give place to one more terrible.

My mistress grew weary of her vigils; they did not prove satisfactory. She changed her tactics. She now tried the trick of accusing my master of crime, in my presence, and gave my name as the author of the accusation. To my utter astonishment, he replied, "I don't believe it; but if she did acknowledge it, you tortured her into exposing me." Tortured into exposing him! Truly, Satan had no difficulty in distinguishing the color of his soul! I understood his object in making this false representation. It was to show me that I gained nothing by seeking the protection of my mistress; that the power was still all in his own hands. I pitied Mrs. Flint. She was a second wife, many years the junior of her husband; and the hoary-headed [illegible] was enough to try the patience

of a wiser and better woman. She was completely foiled, and knew not how to proceed. She would gladly have had me flogged for my supposed false oath; but, as I have already stated, the doctor never allowed any one to whip me. The old sinner was politic. The application of the lash might have led to remarks that would have exposed him in the eyes of his children and grandchildren. How often did I rejoice that I lived in a town where all the inhabitants knew each other! If I had been on a remote plantation, or lost among the multitude of a crowded city, I should not be a living woman at this day.

The secrets of slavery are concealed like those of the Inquisition. My master was, to my knowledge, the father of eleven slaves. But did the mothers dare to tell who was the father of their children? Did the other slaves dare to allude to it, except in whispers among themselves? No, indeed! They knew too well the terrible consequences.

My grandmother could not avoid seeing things which excited her suspicions. She was uneasy about me, and tried various ways to buy me; but the never-changing answer was always repeated: "Linda does not belong to *me*. She is my daughter's property, and I have no legal right to sell her." The conscientious man! He was too scrupulous to *sell* me; but he had no scruples whatever about committing a much greater wrong against the helpless young girl placed under his guardianship, as his daughter's property. Sometimes my persecutor would ask me whether I would like to be sold. I told him I would rather be sold to any body than to lead such a life as I did. On such occa-

sions he would assume the air of a very injured individual, and reproach me for my ingratitude. "Did I not take you into the house, and make you the companion of my own children?" he would say. "Have I ever treated you like a negro? I have never allowed you to be punished, not even to please your mistress. And this is the recompense I get, you ungrateful girl!" I answered that he had reasons of his own for screening me from punishment, and that the course he pursued made my mistress hate me and persecute me. If I wept, he would say, "Poor child! Don't cry! don't cry! I will make peace for you with your mistress. Only let me arrange matters in my own way. Poor, foolish girl! you don't know what is for your own good. I would cherish you. I would make a lady of you. Now go, and think of all I have promised you."

I did think of it.

Reader, I draw no imaginary pictures of southern homes. I am telling you the plain truth. Yet when victims make their escape from this wild beast of Slavery, northerners consent to act the part of bloodhounds, and hunt the poor fugitive back into his den, "full of dead men's bones, and all uncleanness." Nay, more, they are not only willing, but proud, to give their daughters in marriage to slaveholders. The poor girls have romantic notions of a sunny clime, and of the flowering vines that all the year round shade a happy home. To what disappointments are they destined! The young wife soon learns that the husband in whose hands she has placed her happiness pays no regard to his marriage vows. Children of every shade

of complexion play with her own fair babies, and too well she knows that they are born unto him of his own household. Jealousy and hatred enter the flowery home, and it is ravaged of its loveliness.

Southern women often marry a man knowing that he is the father of many little slaves. They do not trouble themselves about it. They regard such children as property, as marketable as the pigs on the plantation; and it is seldom that they do not make them aware of this by passing them into the slave-trader's hands as soon as possible, and thus getting them out of their sight. I am glad to say there are some honorable exceptions.

I have myself known two southern wives who exhorted their husbands to free those slaves towards whom they stood in a "parental relation;" and their request was granted. These husbands blushed before the superior nobleness of their wives' natures. Though they had only counselled them to do that which it was their duty to do, it commanded their respect, and rendered their conduct more exemplary. Concealment was at an end, and confidence took the place of distrust.

Though this bad institution deadens the moral sense, even in white women, to a fearful extent, it is not altogether extinct. I have heard southern ladies say of Mr. Such a one, "He not only thinks it no disgrace to be the father of those little niggers, but he is not ashamed to call himself their master. I declare, such things ought not to be tolerated in any decent society!"

This love-dream had been my support through many trials; and I could not bear to run the risk of having it suddenly dissipated. There was a lady in the neighborhood, a particular friend of Dr. Flint's, who often visited the house. I had a great respect for her, and she had always manifested a friendly interest in me. Grandmother thought she would have great influence with the doctor. I went to this lady, and told her my story. I told her I was aware that my lover's being a free-born man would prove a great objection; but he wanted to buy me; and if Dr. Flint would consent to that arrangement, I felt sure he would be willing to pay any reasonable price. She knew that Mrs. Flint disliked me; therefore, I ventured to suggest that perhaps my mistress would approve of my being sold, as that would rid her of me. The lady listened with kindly sympathy, and promised to do her utmost to promote my wishes. She had an interview with the doctor, and I believe she pleaded my cause earnestly; but it was all to no purpose.

How I dreaded my master now! Every minute I expected to be summoned to his presence; but the day passed, and I heard nothing from him. The next morning, a message was brought to me: "Master wants you in his study." I found the door ajar, and I stood a moment gazing at the hateful man who claimed a right to rule me, body and soul. I entered, and tried to appear calm. I did not want him to know how my heart was bleeding. He looked fixedly at me, with an expression which seemed to say, "I [illegible] half a mind to kill you on the spot." At last he broke the silence, and that was a relief to both of us.

"So you want to be married, do you?" said he, "and to a free nigger."

"Yes, sir."

"Well, I'll soon convince you whether I am your master, or the nigger fellow you honor so highly. If you *must* have a husband, you may take up with one of my slaves."

What a situation I should be in, as the wife of one of *his* slaves, even if my heart had been interested!

I replied, "Don't you suppose, sir, that a slave can have some preference about marrying? Do you suppose that all men are alike to her?"

"Do you love this nigger?" said he, abruptly.

"Yes, sir."

"How dare you tell me so!" he exclaimed, in great wrath. After a slight pause, he added, "I supposed you thought more of yourself; that you felt above the insults of such puppies."

"I replied, "If he is a puppy I am a puppy, for we are both of the negro race. It is right and honorable for us to love each other. The man you call a puppy never insulted me, sir; and he would not love me if he did not believe me to be a virtuous woman."

He sprang upon me like a tiger, and gave me a stunning blow. It was the first time he had ever struck me; and fear did not enable me to control my anger. When I had recovered a little from the effects, I exclaimed, "You have struck me for answering you honestly. How I despise you!"

There was silence for some minutes. Perhaps he was deciding what should be my punishment; or, perhaps, he wanted to give me time to reflect on what I

had said, and to whom I had said it. Finally, he asked, "Do you know what you have said?"

"Yes, sir; but your treatment drove me to it."

"Do you know that I have a right to do as I like with you,—that I can kill you, if I please?"

"You have tried to kill me, and I wish you had; but you have no right to do as you like with me."

"Silence!" he exclaimed, in a thundering voice. "By heavens, girl, you forget yourself too far! Are you mad? If you are, I will soon bring you to your senses. Do you think any other master would bear what I have borne from you this morning? Many masters would have killed you on the spot. How would you like to be sent to jail for your insolence?"

"I know I have been disrespectful, sir," I replied; "but you drove me to it; I couldn't help it. As for the jail, there would be more peace for me there than there is here."

"You deserve to go there," said he, "and to be under such treatment, that you would forget the meaning of the word *peace*. It would do you good. It would take some of your high notions out of you. But I am not ready to send you there yet, notwithstanding your ingratitude for all my kindness and forbearance. You have been the plague of my life. I have wanted to make you happy, and I have been repaid with the basest ingratitude; but though you have proved yourself incapable of appreciating my kindness, I will be lenient towards you, Linda. I will give you one more chance to redeem your character. If you behave yourself and do as I require, I will forgive you and treat you as I always have done; but if you

disobey me, I will punish you as I would the meanest slave on my plantation. Never let me hear that fellow's name mentioned again. If I ever know of your speaking to him, I will cowhide you both; and if I catch him lurking about my premises, I will shoot him as soon as I would a dog. Do you hear what I say? I'll teach you a lesson about marriage and free niggers! Now go, and let this be the last time I have occasion to speak to you on this subject."

Reader, did you ever hate? I hope not. I never did but once; and I trust I never shall again. Somebody has called it "the atmosphere of hell;" and I believe it is so.

For a fortnight the doctor did not speak to me. He thought to mortify me; to make me feel that I had disgraced myself by receiving the honorable addresses of a respectable colored man, in preference to the base proposals of a white man. But though his lips disdained to address me, his eyes were very loquacious. No animal ever watched its prey more narrowly than he watched me. He knew that I could write, though he had failed to make me read his letters; and he was now troubled lest I should exchange letters with another man. After a while he became weary of silence; and I was sorry for it. One morning, as he passed through the hall, to leave the house, he contrived to thrust a note into my hand. I thought I had better read it, and spare myself the vexation of having him read it to me. It expressed regret for the blow he had given me, and reminded me that I myself was wholly to blame for it. He hoped I had become convinced of the injury I was doing myself by incurring

his displeasure. He wrote that he had made up his mind to go to Louisiana; that he should take several slaves with him, and intended I should be one of the number. My mistress would remain where she was; therefore I should have nothing to fear from that quarter. If I merited kindness from him, he assured me that it would be lavishly bestowed. He begged me to think over the matter, and answer the following day.

The next morning I was called to carry a pair of scissors to his room. I laid them on the table, with the letter beside them. He thought it was my answer, and did not call me back. I went as usual to attend my young mistress to and from school. He met me in the street, and ordered me to stop at his office on my way back. When I entered, he showed me his letter, and asked me why I had not answered it. I replied, "I am your daughter's property, and it is in your power to send me, or take me, wherever you please." He said he was very glad to find me so willing to go, and that we should start early in the autumn. He had a large practice in the town, and I rather thought he had made up the story merely to frighten me. However that might be, I was determined that I would never go to Louisiana with him.

Summer passed away, and early in the autumn Dr. Flint's eldest son was sent to Louisiana to examine the country, with a view to emigrating. That news did not disturb me. I knew very well that I should not be sent with *him*. That I had not been taken to the plantation before this time, was owing to the fact that his son was there. He was jealous of his son; and jealousy of the overseer had kept him from punishing me by

sending me into the fields to work. Is it strange that I was not proud of these protectors? As for the overseer, he was a man for whom I had less respect than I had for a bloodhound.

Young Mr. Flint did not bring back a favorable report of Louisiana, and I heard no more of that scheme. Soon after this, my lover met me at the corner of the street, and I stopped to speak to him. Looking up, I saw my master watching us from his window. I hurried home, trembling with fear. I was sent for, immediately, to go to his room. He met me with a blow. "When is mistress to be married?" said he, in a sneering tone. A shower of oaths and imprecations followed. How thankful I was that my lover was a free man! that my tyrant had no power to flog him for speaking to me in the street!

Again and again I revolved in my mind how all this would end. There was no hope that the doctor would consent to sell me on any terms. He had an iron will, and was determined to keep me, and to conquer me. My lover was an intelligent and religious man. Even if he could have obtained permission to marry me while I was a slave, the marriage would give him no power to protect me from my master. It would have made him miserable to witness the insults I should have been subjected to. And then, if we had children, I knew they must "follow the condition of the mother." What a terrible blight that would be on the heart of a free, intelligent father! For *his* sake, I felt that I ought not to link his fate with my own unhappy destiny. He was going to Savannah to see about a little property left him by an uncle; and

it. I was too ill in mind and body to enjoy my friends as I had done. For some weeks I was unable to leave my bed. I could not have any doctor but my master, and I would not have him sent for. At last, alarmed by my increasing illness, they sent for him. I was very weak and nervous; and as soon as he entered the room, I began to scream. They told him my state was very critical. He had no wish to hasten me out of the world, and he withdrew.

When my babe was born, they said it was premature. It weighed only four pounds; but God let it live. I heard the doctor say I could not survive till morning. I had often prayed for death; but now I did not want to die, unless my child could die too. Many weeks passed before I was able to leave my bed. I was a mere wreck of my former self. For a year there was scarcely a day when I was free from chills and fever. My babe also was sickly. His little limbs were often racked with pain. Dr. Flint continued his visits, to look after my health; and he did not fail to remind me that my child was an addition to his stock of slaves.

I felt too feeble to dispute with him, and listened to his remarks in silence. His visits were less frequent; but his busy spirit could not remain quiet. He employed my brother in his office, and he was made the medium of frequent notes and messages to me. William was a bright lad, and of much use to the doctor. He had learned to put up medicines, to leech, cup, and blood. He had taught himself to read and spell. I was proud of my brother; and the old doctor suspected as much. One day, when I had not seen him for several weeks, I heard his steps approaching the

door. I dreaded the encounter, and hid myself. He inquired for me, of course; but I was nowhere to be found. He went to his office, and despatched William with a note. The color mounted to my brother's face when he gave it to me; and he said, "Don't you hate me, Linda, for bringing you these things?" I told him I could not blame him; he was a slave, and obliged to obey his master's will. The note ordered me to come to his office. I went. He demanded to know where I was when he called. I told him I was at home. He flew into a passion, and said he knew better. Then he launched out upon his usual themes, — my crimes against him, and my ingratitude for his forbearance. The laws were laid down to me anew, and I was dismissed. I felt humiliated that my brother should stand by, and listen to such language as would be addressed only to a slave. Poor boy! He was powerless to defend me; but I saw the tears, which he vainly strove to keep back. This manifestation of feeling irritated the doctor. William could do nothing to please him. One morning he did not arrive at the office so early as usual; and that circumstance afforded his master an opportunity to vent his spleen. He was put in jail. The next day my brother sent a trader to the doctor, with a request to be sold. His master was greatly incensed at what he called his insolence. He said he had put him there to reflect upon his bad conduct, and he certainly was not giving any evidence of repentance. For two days he harassed himself to find somebody to do his office work; but every thing went wrong without William. He was released, and ordered to take his old stand, with many

threats, if he was not careful about his future behavior.

As the months passed on, my boy improved in health. When he was a year old, they called him beautiful. The little vine was taking deep root in my existence, though its clinging fondness excited a mixture of love and pain. When I was most sorely oppressed I found a solace in his smiles. I loved to watch his infant slumbers; but always there was a dark cloud over my enjoyment. I could never forget that he was a slave. Sometimes I wished that he might die in infancy. God tried me. My darling became very ill. The bright eyes grew dull, and the little feet and hands were so icy cold that I thought death had already touched them. I had prayed for his death, but never so earnestly as I now prayed for his life; and my prayer was heard. Alas, what mockery it is for a slave mother to try to pray back her dying child to life! Death is better than slavery. It was a sad thought that I had no name to give my child. His father caressed him and treated him kindly, whenever he had a chance to see him. He was not unwilling that he should bear his name; but he had no legal claim to it; and if I had bestowed it upon him, my master would have regarded it as a new crime, a new piece of insolence, and would, perhaps, revenge it on the boy. O, the serpent of Slavery has many and poisonous fangs!

XII.

FEAR OF INSURRECTION.

Not far from this time Nat Turner's insurrection broke out; and the news threw our town into great commotion. Strange that they should be alarmed, when their slaves were so "contented and happy"! But so it was.

It was always the custom to have a muster every year. On that occasion every white man shouldered his musket. The citizens and the so-called country gentlemen wore military uniforms. The poor whites took their places in the ranks in every-day dress, some without shoes, some without hats. This grand occasion had already passed; and when the slaves were told there was to be another muster, they were surprised and rejoiced. Poor creatures! They thought it was going to be a holiday. I was informed of the true state of affairs, and imparted it to the few I could trust. Most gladly would I have proclaimed it to every slave; but I dared not. All could not be relied on. Mighty is the power of the torturing lash.

By sunrise, people were pouring in from every quarter within twenty miles of the town. I knew the houses were to be searched; and I expected it would be done by country bullies and the poor whites. I knew nothing annoyed them so much as to see colored people living in comfort and respectability; so I made arrangements for them with especial care. I arranged

hymns; and they do not trouble their heads much about the measure. They often sing the following verses:

"Old Satan is one busy ole man;
He rolls dem blocks all in my way;
But Jesus is my bosom friend;
He rolls dem blocks away.

"If I had died when I was young,
Den how my stam'ring tongue would have sung;
But I am ole, and now I stand
A narrow chance for to tread dat heavenly land."

I well remember one occasion when I attended a Methodist class meeting. I went with a burdened spirit, and happened to sit next a poor, bereaved mother, whose heart was still heavier than mine. The class leader was the town constable — a man who bought and sold slaves, who whipped his brethren and sisters of the church at the public whipping post, in jail or out of jail. He was ready to perform that Christian office any where for fifty cents. This white-faced, black-hearted brother came near us, and said to the stricken woman, "Sister, can't you tell us how the Lord deals with your soul? Do you love him as you did formerly?"

She rose to her feet, and said, in piteous tones, "My Lord and Master, help me! My load is more than I can bear. God has hid himself from me, and I am left in darkness and misery." Then, striking her breast, she continued, "I can't tell you what is in here! They've got all my children. Last week they took the last one. God only knows where they've sold her. They let me have her sixteen years, and then —— O! O! Pray for her brothers and sisters!

I've got nothing to live for now. God make my time short!"

She sat down, quivering in every limb. I saw that constable class leader become crimson in the face with suppressed laughter, while he held up his handkerchief, that those who were weeping for the poor woman's calamity might not see his merriment. Then, with assumed gravity, he said to the bereaved mother, "Sister, pray to the Lord that every dispensation of his divine will may be sanctified to the good of your poor needy soul!"

The congregation struck up a hymn, and sung as though they were as free as the birds that warbled round us, —

"Ole Satan thought he had a mighty aim;
He missed my soul, and caught my sins.
Cry Amen, cry Amen, cry Amen to God!

"He took my sins upon his back;
Went muttering and grumbling down to hell.
Cry Amen, cry Amen, cry Amen to God!

"Ole Satan's church is here below.
Up to God's free church I hope to go.
Cry Amen, cry Amen, cry Amen to God!"

Precious are such moments to the poor slaves. If you were to hear them at such times, you might think they were happy. But can that hour of singing and shouting sustain them through the dreary week, toiling without wages, under constant dread of the lash?

The Episcopal clergyman, who, ever since my earliest recollection, had been a sort of god among the slaveholders, concluded, as his family was large, that he must go where money was more abundant. A

cunning enough to enact that "the child shall follow the condition of the *mother*," not of the *father;* thus taking care that licentiousness shall not interfere with avarice. This reflection made me clasp my innocent babe all the more firmly to my heart. Horrid visions passed through my mind when I thought of his liability to fall into the slave trader's hands. I wept over him, and said, "O my child! perhaps they will leave you in some cold cabin to die, and then throw you into a hole, as if you were a dog."

When Dr. Flint learned that I was again to be a mother, he was exasperated beyond measure. He rushed from the house, and returned with a pair of shears. I had a fine head of hair; and he often railed about my pride of arranging it nicely. He cut every hair close to my head, storming and swearing all the time. I replied to some of his abuse, and he struck me. Some months before, he had pitched me down stairs in a fit of passion; and the injury I received was so serious that I was unable to turn myself in bed for many days. He then said, "Linda, I swear by God I will never raise my hand against you again;" but I knew that he would forget his promise.

After he discovered my situation, he was like a restless spirit from the pit. He came every day; and I was subjected to such insults as no pen can describe. I would not describe them if I could; they were too low, too revolting. I tried to keep them from my grandmother's knowledge as much as I could. I knew she had enough to sadden her life, without having my troubles to bear. When she saw the doctor treat me with violence, and heard him utter

oaths terrible enough to palsy a man's tongue, she could not always hold her peace. It was natural and motherlike that she should try to defend me; but it only made matters worse.

When they told me my new-born babe was a girl, my heart was heavier than it had ever been before. Slavery is terrible for men; but it is far more terrible for women. Superadded to the burden common to all, *they* have wrongs, and sufferings, and mortifications peculiarly their own.

Dr. Flint had sworn that he would make me suffer, to my last day, for this new crime against *him*, as he called it; and as long as he had me in his power he kept his word. On the fourth day after the birth of my babe, he entered my room suddenly, and commanded me to rise and bring my baby to him. The nurse who took care of me had gone out of the room to prepare some nourishment, and I was alone. There was no alternative. I rose, took up my babe, and crossed the room to where he sat. "Now stand there," said he, "till I tell you to go back!" My child bore a strong resemblance to her father, and to the deceased Mrs. Sands, her grandmother. He noticed this; and while I stood before him, trembling with weakness, he heaped upon me and my little one every vile epithet he could think of. Even the grandmother in her grave did not escape his curses. In the midst of his vituperations I fainted at his feet. This recalled him to his senses. He took the baby from my arms, laid it on the bed, dashed cold water in my face, took me up, and shook me violently, to restore my consciousness before any one entered the room. Just then my grandmother

came in, and he hurried out of the house. I suffered in consequence of this treatment; but I begged my friends to let me die, rather than send for the doctor. There was nothing I dreaded so much as his presence. My life was spared; and I was glad for the sake of my little ones. Had it not been for these ties to life, I should have been glad to be released by death, though I had lived only nineteen years.

Always it gave me a pang that my children had no lawful claim to a name. Their father offered his; but, if I had wished to accept the offer, I dared not while my master lived. Moreover, I knew it would not be accepted at their baptism. A Christian name they were at least entitled to; and we resolved to call my boy for our dear good Benjamin, who had gone far away from us.

My grandmother belonged to the church; and she was very desirous of having the children christened. I knew Dr. Flint would forbid it, and I did not venture to attempt it. But chance favored me. He was called to visit a patient out of town, and was obliged to be absent during Sunday. "Now is the time," said my grandmother; "we will take the children to church, and have them christened."

When I entered the church, recollections of my mother came over me, and I felt subdued in spirit. There she had presented me for baptism, without any reason to feel ashamed. She had been married, and had such legal rights as slavery allows to a slave. The vows had at least been sacred to *her*, and she had never violated them. I was glad she was not alive, to know under what different circumstances her grand-

children were presented for baptism. Why had my lot been so different from my mother's? *Her* master had died when she was a child; and she remained with her mistress till she married. She was never in the power of any master; and thus she escaped one class of the evils that generally fall upon slaves.

When my baby was about to be christened, the former mistress of my father stepped up to me, and proposed to give it her Christian name. To this I added the surname of my father, who had himself no legal right to it; for my grandfather on the paternal side was a white gentleman. What tangled skeins are the genealogies of slavery! I loved my father; but it mortified me to be obliged to bestow his name on my children.

When we left the church, my father's old mistress invited me to go home with her. She clasped a gold chain round my baby's neck. I thanked her for this kindness; but I did not like the emblem. I wanted no chain to be fastened on my daughter, not even if its links were of gold. How earnestly I prayed that she might never feel the weight of slavery's chain, whose iron entereth into the soul!

[illegible] On Monday, in court week, I went to him; he was playing at billiards, and would not go with me, but told me to come again the next day; the next day he did the same, and so on daily. I went to his sister, Mrs. Grice, and told her I feared that he did not mean to give them to me; she said she feared so too, and sent for him. He was a very wicked young man; he came, and cursed her, and went out of the house. Mr. Grice was from home; on his return, he went to my master, and told him he ought to give me my free papers; that I had paid for myself, and it was court week, so that there was no excuse. He promised he would; instead of which, he rode away, and kept away till court was over. Before the next court came, he sold me to Mr. Trewitt for $600.

The way in which Mr. Trewitt came to buy me was this: I had left the boats, and had gone with a schooner collecting lumber in Albemarle Sound for the merchants. Coming to Elizabeth City, I found a new store had been opened by Mr. Grice, which Mr. Sutton was keeping: the latter gentleman was glad to see me, and was desirous that I should return to my old employment with the canal boats, as lumber was in great demand at Norfolk. I did so, and sold some cargoes to Mr. Moses Myers, of Norfolk. As I was waiting at the door of his store for settlement, he came up with Mr. Trewitt, whom I did not then know. Mr. Myers said to Mr. Trewitt, 'Here is a captain doing business for you.' Mr. Trewitt then asked me who had chartered the boats, and to whom I belonged. I told him Mr. Sutton had chartered me, and that I had belonged to Mr. James Grandy, but had bought myself. He said he would buy me; on which Mr.

Myers told him he would not, [illegible] bought myself, and further said I was [illegible] old war captains, and had never lost a single [illegible] of the property intrusted to me. Mr. Trewitt said he would buy me, and would see about it as soon as he got to Elizabeth City. I thought no more about it. On my return voyage, I delivered a cargo at Elizabeth City, for Mr. Trewitt. I had been at Mr. Grice's, the owner of the boats; and, on my going away from him to meet Mr. Trewitt for settlement, he said he would go with me, as he wanted money. Opposite the custom house we met Mr. Trewitt, who said, 'Well, captain, I have bought you.' Mr. Grice said, 'Let us have no nonsense; go and settle with him.' Angry words passed between them, one saying he had bought me, and the other denying that he had or could, as I had bought myself already. We all went to Mr. Grice's dwelling house; there Mr. Trewitt settled with me about the freight, and then, jumping up, said, 'Now I will show you, Mr. Grice, whether I am a liar or not.' He fetched the bill of sale; on reading it, Mr. Grice's color changed, and he sent for Mrs. Grice. When she read it, she began to cry; seeing that, I began to cry too. She sent me to her brother, who was at Mr. Wood's boarding house. He was playing at billiards. I said to him, 'Master James, have you sold me?' He said, 'No.' I said he had; when he turned round and went into another room, crying; I followed him. All the gentlemen followed us, saying, 'Captain Grandy, what is the matter?' I told them Master James had sold me again. They asked him why he had done it; he said it was because people had jeered him by saying I had more sense than he

[illegible] They would not suffer him to remain in the boarding house, but turned him out, there and then, with all his trunks and boxes. Mrs. Grice, his sister, sued him in my name for my liberty, but he gained the cause. The court maintained that I, and all I could do, belonged to him, and that he had a right to do as he pleased with me and all my earnings, as his own property, until he had taken me to the court house, and given me my free papers, and until, besides that, I had been a year and a day in the Northern States to gain my residence.

So I was forced to go to Mr. Trewitt. He agreed that, if I would pay him the same wages as I paid my late master, and the $600 he gave for me, he would give me my free papers. He bought two canal boats, and, taking me out of Mr. Grice's employment, set me to work them on the same terms as I did for my former master. I was two years and a half in earning $600 to pay for myself the second time. Just when I had completed the payment, he failed. On Christmas eve he gave me a letter to take to Mr. Mews, at Newbegun Creek. I was rather unwilling to take it, wishing to go to my wife; I told him, too, I was going to his office to settle with him. He offered to give me two dollars to take the letter, and said he would settle when I came back: then Mr. Shaw came from another room, and said his vessel was ready loaded, but he had nobody he could trust with his goods; he offered me five dollars to take the vessel down, and deliver the goods to Mr. Knox, who also was at Newbegun Creek. The wind was fair, and the hands on board, so I agreed; it being Christmas eve, I was glad of something to carry to my wife. I ran the vessel down to the mouth of the creek,

[illegible] and [illegible] when the moon rose, I went [illegible] river. I reached the wharf, and commenced [illegible] out the goods that night, and delivered them all safely to Mr. Knox next morning. I then took the letter to Mr. Mews, who read it, and, looking up at me, said, 'Well, you belong to me.' I thought he was joking, and said, 'How? What way?' He said, 'Don't you recollect when Trewitt chartered Wilson Sawyer's brig to the West Indies?' I said, I did. He told me Trewitt then came to him to borrow $600, which he would not lend, except he had a mortgage on me: Trewitt was to take it up at a certain time, but never did. I asked him whether he really took the mortgage on me. He replied that he certainly thought Trewitt would have taken up the mortgage, but he had failed, and was not worth a cent, and he, Mews, must have his money. I asked him whether he had not helped me and my young mistress in the court house, when master James fooled me before. He said he did help me all he could, and that he should not have taken a mortgage on me, but that he thought Trewitt would take it up. Trewitt must have received some of the last payments from me, after he had given the mortgage, and knew he should fail; for the mortgage was given two months before this time.

My head seemed to turn round and round; I was quite out of my senses; I went away towards the woods; Mr. Mews sent his waiter after me to persuade me to go back. At first I refused, but afterwards went. He told me he would give me another chance to buy myself, and I certainly should have my freedom that time. He said Mr. Enoch Sawyer wanted to buy me, to be his overseer in the

CHAPTER II.

YOUTH.

[illegible] of [illegible] years of age my master died, and [illegible] were driven to the market, but I was kept on the [illegible] valued at 900 dollars. About this time a wager was [illegible] I could fetch a bucket of water from a spring in a given [illegible] appeared they had a good opinion of my activity and ability [illegible] this task, but I had not sufficient time allowed me to do it in. I did all I could to accomplish it, knowing that I should be [illegible] if my oppressor lost his wager, but I failed; he was greatly [illegible], and getting a switch from the hedge, laid it on my bare back till the blood ran down to my heels, and for this slight offence almost took my life—at least I thought so. About a year after my whipping my father (being, I think, about forty years of age,) came into the field in harvest time, and thinking the slaves had not worked hard enough, called for a "cradle"—a thing used for cutting corn—and took the lead; the slaves kept so well up with him that they almost got the head of him; but he was determined not to be beaten, so kept going at a furious rate till he was quite exhausted. He was almost immediately taken ill, as was supposed from over exertion, and died the next day, about four o'clock. I believe this was year 1836.

I have mentioned the death of my old master, Mr. Abraham Ensor, who died about this time, between 70 and 80 years of age. His son, Mr. Luke Ensor, succeeded to the estate, and not only took me at a valuation, but also my mother, with the rest of the children; a circumstance which pleased us much, as we dreaded to be separated—for we poor slaves, with all our degradations, have strong natural affections. Our new master was what is called a moderate one, though at times violent in his temper, and tyrannical in his conduct, but not more so than his abominable slave holding propensities would make him; he gave us plenty of work, and did not overfeed us, our food being Indian corn, red herrings, cabbage, and always something very cheap; you may be sure when we could catch anything better we were no way particular about taking it. I remember on one occasion we found about a dozen eggs, and were resolved to have a feast; so we took them to our quarters, and placed them in the ashes to roast. Whilst they were cooking, Mr. Ensor came to enquire about some business; being Sabbath day we were dreadfully afraid, thinking he had come to look after the eggs, and were all but scared to death lest he should discover them in our possession, when lo! as he stood at the door, a

[illegible] with a frightful noise, scattering the ashes in all directions, [illegible] where Mrs. Ensor stood. He immediately [illegible] the matter. We all declared we did not know [illegible] not satisfy him, so he came forward, and with his [illegible] in the ashes, where he found some which had not [illegible] demanded who brought them there, and I along with three others was obliged to confess. We all got a severe caning on the spot, with a promise that for the next offence we should be tied up and shot [illegible]

A circumstance which proves the violence of Mr. Ensor's temper occurs to me. I was sent out to harrow in a large field of corn, and had got pretty well on with my work, when my master rode up on horseback, and, unfortunately for me, in that state sometimes called "three sheets in the wind." He called me to him and complained that my work was badly done. I durst not answer, so he followed up his complaint by laying his cane about my head and shoulders; he then took the butt end of his whip and struck me some violent blows on my forehead, which felled me to the ground, bleeding most dreadfully. I was in an unconscious state for some time; my master got alarmed, and thought he had killed me. Having dismounted from his horse, and called some slaves, he bade them remove me under the shade of a large tree; he then commanded them to rub me, in order to bring me round again. I was then carried to the kitchen at the "big house," where I was cared for by Mrs. Ensor, who quite believed her husband had beaten the senses out of me, and scolded him severely for having done so. I remained in this state for some time, and, though badly hurt, was not so bad as I pretended, for I wished him to think that my senses were gone, in order to get a little sympathy from him and others —an ingredient which poor slaves do not often meet with. Though still keeping up the deception, I was set shelling corn, Mrs. Ensor frequently blaming my master for having "driven poor Sam crazy." However he came into the kitchen one day, evidently to try me, and called out "Sam, Sam, come here and saddle and bridle my horse." I looked up at him very stupidly, and followed him very slowly to the stable. I then took down the bridle, and moving gently to the horse's tail, began to lift up the bridle in that direction, when he cried out, "you black ghost don't you know the horse's head from its tail?" and taking it from me, put it on himself, and rode off. I returned to the kitchen, where Mrs. Ensor continued her care of me, plying me well with calomel and jalap, until I was completely tired out, and resumed my occupation again. This affair had a very salutary effect on Mr. Ensor, who never ventured to beat his slaves on their heads again.

[illegible] were to show the degrading character [illegible] on the moral as well as the physical [illegible] slavery. [illegible] a slave, and got on for a length of time [illegible] do in my situation, but, from the frequent [illegible] and ill treatment which I received, as well as witnessed, I [illegible] a longing desire for freedom. I felt as though I had [illegible] in being born black, and wished that I could by any [illegible] change my skin into a white one, feeling certain that I should [illegible] free. Seeing my poor mother frequently shedding tears, I used [illegible] to press her to tell me why she did so, and would often say, "Mother, why do you weep?" "Oh!" she would say, "I am sick at heart to think that I am a poor wretched slave for life, and you and your brothers and sisters are in the same condition." I, of course, sympathised very deeply with my poor mother, particularly as at this time two sisters and a brother of mine were sold by Mr. Ensor; also a cousin, a girl nearly white, and a daughter of my Aunt Comfort. This was a sore trial to my poor mother and aunt, and I thought they would never see through their grief at parting with their children, which proved to be for ever, as they never saw them more. I shall never forget going down to Baltimore to take a last farewell of my relatives. I had to intercede with Mr. Ensor for a length of time before he would consent to let me go on such an errand. At last, after ridiculing the idea of black people having any feelings, he consented, and to Baltimore I went, along with my poor mother. We found our relatives in a large prison, in Pratt-street, together with eight or nine hundred other slaves, who belonged to two slave dealers named Slater and Woodfork, who had bought them for the southern market, and although they do all they can to keep up the spirits of the poor wretches, by supplying them with plenty of whisky and amusements of various kinds, yet the grief and anguish that prevailed amongst them is beyond description. My mother and I were only allowed about half an hour to take leave of those whom we were about to lose for ever. I shall never forget the parting as long as I live; I really thought it would have killed my mother, and have no doubt that her health and spirits then received such a shock as she will never recover from.

These separations made me sigh for freedom with an intensity of feeling such as I had hitherto been a stranger to, and I resolved on making an attempt to escape the very first opportunity that should present itself. I set about obtaining every information in my power on the subject, and for that purpose frequently made stolen visits to some limekilns, about two or three miles from our quarters, ostensibly

to give Gee one a chance at their work, but really to hear something about freedom. I didn't long to hear the poor fellows on their supper, my office being always paid in the evening, where I frequently remained till three o'clock in the morning. I often met persons there who would say something encouraging to me as my mind longed. I well remember meeting with two Irishmen at this place, who listened to my tale of woe with manifest feelings of interest; they told me there was a country where I should be free if I could get there; but I could not conceive where this country could be, or how I was to get to it, nor, in fact, how I was keep myself anywhere, for Mr. Enoch had always tried to make us believe that we could not take care of ourselves if we had the liberty, so that my poor mind was in such a dark state that I was far off being in a condition to seek for freedom in right good earnest.

Oh! when I heard of this sweet land,
  Where Freedom bravely thrives,
And sure protection guards each class,
  And treasures human lives,
Oh! then like flashing lightning, quick
  Came HOPE unto my mind;
Why! should not I like others strive
  That blessed land to find?

CHAPTER III.

MANHOOD.

And now, behold me a man! strong, active, energetic, but not owned by myself! the chattel of a man like myself, who dared, in the sight of High Heaven, to deprive me of my birthright—the right to act, and think, and speak--behold me! body, soul, and spirit, valued at 900 dollars, and a slave!—but to my narrative.

My master seemed to gain confidence in me, and being as he called "a fine young man," and a "valuable slave," he made me into his market-man, and frequently sent me to Baltimore market, with a wagon and two horses, laden with the produce of the plantation. The distance was about 20 or 30 miles, which took us a long day to travel. We generally arrived there in the evening, and put up at the Bull's Head, kept by Mr. George Manley. When we got there in good time we had an hour or two to spare, previous to going to bed. This time was generally spent in visiting friends with whom we had become acquainted

me that she had been a slave all her life, that all my brothers and sisters were slaves, that I had better be satisfied and remain with them; besides she would say, "You will surely be retaken." Poor woman! she could not bear the thought of parting with me: however I resolved to try. This conversation took place on a Friday night, I think in June, 1841.

On that night following I made a start direct north, taking the north star for my guide, having been told that Canada lay in that direction. I travelled through woods and swamps, being afraid to take the high road, even during the night. I had made a little provision for my journey in the shape of corn bread, sufficient to last me probably for three days; fearing to take what would make too large a bundle, which would be sure to create suspicion if met by any on the road. In addition I was armed with a walking stick and an old dirk; though I felt in no humour for fighting, being alarmed at the slightest noise I heard. The first night I walked about fifteen miles, and lay up for the day on John Merryman's, Pine-hill; this was on a Sunday. In the evening I proceeded on my journey, and had, on the third, taken up my lodgings at Deer Creek, in the woods, when I was overtaken by John Nelson and Bill Foster, two negro-catchers, who resided a few miles from Mr. Ensor. These men had a number of bloodhounds with them, who soon scented me out, when I got upon my feet, and had a most desperate struggle with them, but they succeeded in tearing my clothes to rags. They endeavoured to seize me by the throat, and bit me severely on the breast, the marks of which are plainly visible to this day. The fellows now came up and made them loose their hold, at the same time exultingly shouting, "well, Ensor Sam, we've got you at last!" They then handcuffed me, and dragging me along some distance, mounted their horses, while I trudged along on foot, weak, wretched, and miserable, for two whole days. When we arrived at Mr. Ensor's the whole family turned out to upbraid me for my ingratitude, reminding me of Mr. Ensor's *great* kindness in having paid 950 dollars for me rather than send me to Georgia, which would have been my fate had he not purchased me with the estate; but upbraidings were not all. I must be severely punished; and Eli Stephenson, the overseer, got orders to give me a severe lashing upon my bare back, the effects of which I feel to this day. In addition to this a yoke was made for me to wear on my head. This was a band of iron, to which was affixed two upright pieces hooked to the top, from which were suspended two bells, the whole fitting closely to my head; and this disgraceful badge I wore day and night for three months. So much again for slave-holding tyranny.

My spirits this time seemed so broken and subdued, that life appeared not worth the having. My master often tauntingly asked me how I liked the "yoke;" and, while pretending to pity me, always threatened that if I attempted to escape again, I should wear it for life. About this time two gentlemen came on a visit to Mr. Ensor, and frequently asked me if I would like to be free and go with them to the north; but my constant answer was, "No, I would rather stop with my master and be a slave." I durst not trust them—I had no confidence in them—slavery destroys confidence between man and man. I was conscious that I was uttering falsehoods, and doing what I ought not to do. And let me ask my kind readers who is the party answerable at the judgment seat of God for such wickedness; is it myself, or my cruel persecutors? Oh! I could have told them of big thoughts swelling in my bosom—thoughts of Liberty, Liberty. I felt that slavery was a burden too heavy to be borne. My poor degraded fellow slaves laughed at my sorrows, and exultingly exhibited their *freedom* in contrast to my disgrace. The neighbouring planters forbade me association with their slaves, lest I should contaminate them. I was shunned and dreaded in the neighbourhood, and treated as an outcast by all around. However, time works wonders, and so it did for me. I began to feel I was again regaining the confidence of those around. I became much attached to a number of slaves on the late Mr. Gorsuch's plantation, which joined Mr. Ensor's, and often went to their quarters in the evening, and remained with them till morning. This came to Mr. Gorsuch's ears, who watched his opportunity for forbidding it. One summer's evening I paid one of my usual visits, and as at that time of the year the slaves slept in the hayloft over the horses, of course I did the same. We were all fast asleep, when about three o'clock in the morning we were all startled by Mr. Gorsuch's voice calling the slaves' names over; he then inquired if there were any stray niggers there? Some said "No;" while others said there was a "darkey" there, meaning a stranger. He soon found me out, and with a thick stick laid on me most unmercifully. I jumped from the loft into the stable, he after me in quick pursuit; I then attempted to scale a boarded fence, but it was too high for me, so I put my head through a hole in the boarding, hoping to drag my poor body after, but whilst struggling there, neither able to get backward or forward, Mr. Gorsuch came up and renewed the attack in the most savage manner: at last the boards gave way. I took to my heels, but my unmerciful punisher was not satisfied; he followed me home, related the affair to Mr. Ensor, who encouraged him to give me a second beating before his face, which he did, leaving

her shoulder, to get a better view of me. With a very uneasy feeling I seated myself upon the broken stool, to which Aunt Polly pointed. One of the boldest of the children came up to me, and, slyly touching my dress, said, "tag," then darted off to her hiding-place, with quite the air of a victress. Amy made queer grimaces at me. Every now and then placing her thumb to her nose, and gyrating her finger towards me, she would drawl out, "you ka-n-t kum it." All this was perfect jargon to me; for at home, though we had been but imperfectly protected by clothing from the vicissitudes of seasons, and though our fare was simple, coarse, and frugal, had we been kindly treated, and our manners trained into something like the softness of humanity. There, as regularly as the Sunday dawned, were we summoned to the house to hear the Bible read, and join (though at a respectful distance) with the family in prayer. But this I subsequently learned was an unusual practice in the neighborhood, and was attributed to the fact, that my master's wife had been born in the State of Massachusetts, where the people were crazy and fanatical enough to believe that "niggers" had souls, and were by God held to be responsible beings.

The loud blast of the horn was the signal for the "hands" to suspend their labor and come to breakfast. Two negro men and three women rushed in at the door, ravenous for their rations. I looked about for the table, but, seeing none, concluded it had yet to be arranged; for at home we always took our meals on a table. I was much surprised to see each one here take a slice of fat bacon and a pone of bread in his or her hand, and eat it standing.

"Well," said one man, "I'd like to git a bit more bread."

"You's had your sher," replied Aunt Polly. "Mister Jones ses one slice o' meat and a pone o' bread is to be the 'lowance."

"I knows it, but if thar's any scraps left from the house table, you wimmin folks always gits it."

"Who's got de bes' right? Sure, and arn't de one who cooks it got de bes' right to it?" asked Polly, with a triumphant voice.

"Ha, ha!" cried Nace, "here comes de breakfust leavin's, now who's smartest shall have 'em;" whereupon Nace, his comrade, and the three women, seized a waiter of fragments of biscuit, broiled ham, coffee, &c., the remains of the breakfast prepared for the white family.

"By gar," cried Nace, "I've got de coffee-pot, and I'll drink dis;" so, without further ceremony, he applied the spout to his mouth, and, sans cream or sugar, he quaffed off the grounds. Jake possessed himself of the ham, whilst the two women held a considerable contest over a biscuit. Blow and lie passed frequently between them. Aunt Polly brandished her skimmer-spoon, as though it were Neptune's trident of authority; still she could not allay the confusion which these excited cormorants raised. The children yelled out and clamored for a bit; the sight and scent of ham and biscuits so tantalized their palates, that they forgot even the terror of the whip. I stood all agape, looking on with amazement.

The two belligerent women stood with eyes blazing like comets, their arms twisted around each other in a very decided and furious rencontre. One of them, losing her balance, fell upon the floor, and, dragging the other after her, they rolled and wallowed in a cloud of dust, whilst the disputed biscuit, in the heat of the affray, had been dropped on the hearth, where, unperceived by the combatants, Nace had possessed himself of it, and was happily masticating it.

Melinda, the girl from whom the waiter had been snatched, doubtless much disappointed by the loss of the debris, returned to the house and made a report of the fracas.

Instantly and unexpectedly, Jones, flaming with rage, stood in the midst of the riotous group. Seizing hold of the women, he knocked them on their heads with his clenched fists.

"Hold, black wretches, come, I will give you a leetle fun; off now to the post."

Then such appeals for mercy, promises of amendment, entreaties, excuses, &c., as the two women made, would have touched a heart of stone; but Jones had power to resist even

the prayers of an angel. To him the cries of human suffering and the agony of distress were music. My heart bled when I saw the two victims led away, and I put my hands to my ears to shut out the screams of distress which rang with a strange terror on the morning air. Poor, oppressed African! thorny and rugged is your path of life! Many a secret sigh and bleeding tear attest your cruel martyrdom! Surely He, who careth alike for the high and the low, looks not unmoved upon you, wearing and groaning beneath the pressing burden and galling yoke of a most inhuman bondage. For you there is no broad rock of Hope or Peace to cast its shadow of rest in this "weary land." You must sow in tears and reap in sorrow. But He, who led the children of Israel from the house of bondage and the fetters of captivity, will, in His own inscrutable way, lead you from the condition of despair, even by the pillar of fire and the cloud. Great changes are occurring daily, old constitutions are tottering, old systems, fraught with the cruelty of darker ages, are shaking to their centres. Master minds are everywhere actively engaged. Keen eyes and vigilant hearts are open to the wrongs of the poor, the lowly and the outcast. An avenging angel sits concealed 'mid the drapery of the wasting cloud, ready to pour the vials of God's wrath upon a haughty and oppressive race. In the threatened famine, see we nothing but an accidental failure of the crops? In the exhausted coffers and empty public treasury, is there nothing taught but the lesson of national extravagance? In the virulence of disease, the increasing prevalence of fatal epidemics, what do we read? Send for the seers, the wise men of the nation, and bid them translate the "mysterious writing on the wall." Ah, well may ye shake, Kings of Mammon, shake upon your tottering throne of human bones! Give o'er your sports, suspend your orgies, dash down the jewelled cup of unhallowed joy, sparkling as it is to the very brim. You must pay, like him of old, the fearful price of sin. God hath not heard, unmoved, the anguished cries of a down-trodden and enslaved nation! And it needs no Daniel to tell, that "God hath numbered your Kingdom and it is finished."

As may be supposed, I had little appetite for my breakfast, but I managed to deceive others into the belief that I had made a hearty meal. But those screams from half-famished wretches had a fatal and terrifying fascination; never once could I forget it.

A look of fright was on the face of all. "They be gettin' awful beatin' at the post," muttered Nace, whilst a sardonic smile flitted over his hard features. Was it not sad to behold the depths of degradation into which this creature had fallen? He could smile at the anguish of a fellow-creature. Originally, his nature may have been kind and gentle; but a continuous system of brutality had so deadened his sensibilities, that he had no humanity left. *For this*, the white man is accountable.

After the breakfast was over, I received a summons to the house. Following Melinda, I passed the door-sill, and stood in the presence of the assembled household. A very strange group I thought them. Two girls were seated beside the uncleared breakfast table, "trying their fortune" (as the phrase goes) with a cup of coffee-grounds and a spoon. The elder of the two was a tall, thin girl, with sharp features, small gray eyes, and red-hair done up in frizettes; the other was a prim, dark-skinned girl, with a set of nondescript features, and hair of no particular hue, or "just any color;" but with the same harsh expression of face that characterized the elder. As she received the magic cup from her sister, she exclaimed, "La, Jane, it will only be two years until you are married," and made a significant grimace at her father (Mr. Peterkin), who sat near the window, indulging in the luxury of a cob-pipe. The taller girl turned toward me, and asked,

"Father, is that the new girl you bought at old Nelson's sale?"

"Yes, that's the gal. Does she suit you?"

"Yes, but dear me! how very light she is—almost white! I know she will be impudent."

"She has come to the wrong place for the practice of that article," suggested the other.

CHAPTER IV

CONVERSATION WITH MISS BRADLY—A LIGHT BREAKS THROUGH THE DARKNESS.

I HAD been living with Mr. Peterkin about three years, during which time I had frequently seen Miss Bradly. One evening when she called (as was her custom after the adjournment of school), she found, upon inquiry, that the young ladies had gone out, and would not probably be back for several hours. She looked a little disconcerted, and seemed doubtful whether she would go home or remain. I had often observed her attentively watching me, yet I could not interpret the look; sometimes I thought it was of deep, earnest pity. Then it appeared only an anxious curiosity; and as commiseration was a thing which I seldom met with, I tried to guard my heart against anything like hope or trust; but on this afternoon I was particularly struck by her strange and irresolute manner. She turned several times as if to leave, then suddenly stopped, and, looking very earnestly at me, asked, "Did you say the girls would not return for several hours?"

Upon receiving an answer in the affirmative, she hesitated a moment, and then inquired for Mr. Peterkin. He was also from home, and would probably be absent for a day or two. "Is there no white person about the place?" she asked, with some trepidation.

"No one is here but the slaves," I replied, perhaps in a sorrowful tone, for the word "slave" always grated upon my ear, yet I frequently used it, in obedience to a severe and imperative conventionality.

"Well then, Anna, come and sit down near me; I want to talk with you awhile."

This surprised me a great deal. I scarcely knew what to do. The very idea of sitting down to a conversation with a white lady seemed to me the wildest improbability. A vacant stare was the only answer I could make. Certainly, I did not dream of her being in earnest.

"Come on, Ann," she said, coaxingly; but, seeing that my amazement increased, she added, in a more persuasive tone, "Don't be afraid, I am a friend to the colored race."

This seemed to me the strangest fiction. A white lady, and yet a friend to the colored race! Oh, impossible! such condescension was unheard of! What! she a refined woman, with a snowy complexion, to stoop from her proud elevation to befriend the lowly Ethiopian! Why, she could not, she dare not! Almost stupefied with amazement, I stood, with my eyes intently fixed upon her.

"Come, child," she said, in a kind tone, and placing her hand upon my shoulder, she endeavored to seat me beside her, "look up,—be not ashamed, for I am truly your friend. Your downcast look and melancholy manner have often struck me with sorrow."

To this I could make no reply. Utterance was denied me. My tongue clove to the roof of my mouth; a thick, filmy veil gathered before my sight; and there I stood like one turned to stone. But upon being frequently reassured by her gentle manner and kind words, I at length controlled my emotions, and, seating myself at her feet, awaited her communication.

"Ann, you are not happy here?"

I said nothing, but she understood my look.

"Were you happy at home?"

"I was;" and the words were scarcely audible.

"Did they treat you kindly there?"

"Indeed they did; and there I had a mother, and was not lonely."

"They did not beat you?"

"No, no, they did not," and large tears gushed from my burning eyes;—for I remembered with anguish, how many a

smarting blow had been given to me by Mr. Jones, how many a cuff by Mr. Peterkin, and ten thousand knocks, pinches, and tortures, by the young ladies.

"Don't weep, child," said Miss Bradly, in a soothing tone, and she laid her arm caressingly around my neck. This kindness was too much for my fortitude, and bursting through all restraints I gave vent to my feelings in a violent shower of tears. She very wisely allowed me some time for the gratification of this luxury. I at length composed myself, and begged her pardon for this seeming disrespect.

"But ah, my dear lady, you have spoken so kindly to me that I forgot myself."

"No apology, my child, I tell you again that I am your friend, and with me you can be perfectly free. Look upon me as a sister; but now that your excited feelings have become allayed, let me ask you why your master sold you?"

I explained to her that it was necessary to the equal division of the estate that some of the slaves should be sold, and that I was among the number.

"A bad institution is this one of slavery. What fearful entailments of anguish! Manage it as the most humane will, or can, still it has horrible results. Witness your separation from your mother. Did these thoughts never occur to you?"

I looked surprised, but dared not tell her that often had vague doubts of the justice of slavery crossed my mind. Ah, too much I feared the lash, and I answered only by a mournful look of assent.

"Ann, did you never hear of the Abolition Society?"

I shook my head. She paused, as if doubtful of the propriety of making a disclosure; but at length the better principle triumphed, and she said, "There is in the Northern States an organization which devotes its energies and very life to the cause of the slave. They wish to abolish the shameful system, and make you and all your persecuted race as free and happy as the whites."

"Does there really exist such a society; or is it only a wild

fable that you tell me, for the purpose of allaying my present agony?"

"No, child; I do not deceive you. This noble and beneficent society really lives; but it does not, I regret to say, flourish as it should."

"And why?" I asked, whilst a new wonder was fastening on my mind.

"Because," she answered, "the larger portion of the whites are mean and avaricious enough to desire, for the sake of pecuniary aggrandizement, the enslavement of a race, whom the force of education and hereditary prejudice have taught them to regard as their own property."

I did but dimly conceive her meaning. A slow light was breaking through my cloudy brain, kindling and inflaming hopes that now shine like beacons over the far waste of memory. Should I, could I, ever be *free*? Oh, bright and glorious dream! how it did sparkle in my soul, and cheer me through the lonely hours of bondage! This hope, this shadow of a hope, shone like a mirage far away upon the horizon of a clouded future.

Miss Bradly looked thoughtfully at me, as if watching the effect of her words; but she could not see that the seed which she had planted, perhaps carelessly, was destined to fructify and flourish through the coming seasons. I longed to pour out my heart to her; for she had, by this ready "sesame," unlocked its deepest chambers. I dared not unfold even to her the wild dreams and strange hopes which I was indulging.

I spied Melinda coming up, and signified to Miss Bradly that it would be unsafe to prolong the conversation, and quickly she departed; not, however, without reassuring me of the interest which she felt in my fate.

"What was Miss Emily Bradly talking wid you 'bout?" demanded Melinda, in a surly tone.

"Nothing that concerns you," I answered.

"Well, but you'll see that it consarns yerself, when I goes and tells Masser on you."

"What can you tell him on me?"

complacently to myself, I proceeded to Miss Jane's room, to request her to come and look at it, and express her opinion.

On reaching her apartment, I found her dressed with great care, in a pink silk, with a rich lace berthé, and pearl ornaments. Her red hair was oiled until its fiery hue had darkened into a becoming auburn, and the metallic polish of the French powder had effectually concealed the huge freckles which spotted her cheeks.

Dropping a low courtesy, I requested her to come with me to the dining-room and inspect my work. With a smile, she followed, and upon examination, seemed well pleased.

"Now, Ann, if you do well in officiating, it will be well for you; but if you fail, if you make one mistake, you had better never been born, for," and she grasped me strongly by the shoulder, "I will flay you alive; you shall ache and smart in every limb and nerve."

Terror-stricken at this threat, I made the most earnest promises to exert my very best energies. Yet her angry manner and threatening words so unnerved me, that I was not able to go on with the work in the same spirit in which I had begun, for we all know what a paralysis fear is to exertion.

I stepped out on the balcony for some purpose, and there, standing at the end of the gallery, but partially concealed by the clematis blossoms, stood Miss Jane, and a tall gentleman was leaning over the railing talking very earnestly to her. In that uncertain light I could see the flash of her eye and the crimson glow of her cheek. She was twirling and tearing to pieces, petal by petal, a beautiful rose which she held in her hand. Here, I thought here is happiness; this woman lóves and is beloved. She has tasted of that one drop which sweetens the whole cup of existence. Oh, what a thing it is to be *free*—free and independent, with power and privilege to go whithersoever you choose, with no cowardly fear, no dread of espionage, with the right to hold your head proudly aloft, and return glance for glance, not shrink and cower before the white man's look, as we poor slaves *must* do. But not many moments could

I thus spend in thought, and well, perhaps, it was for me that duty broke short all such unavailing regrets.

Hastening back to the dining-room, I gave another inquiring look at the table, fearful that some article had been omitted. Satisfying myself on this point, I moved on to the kitchen, where Aunt Polly was busy frying a chicken.

"Here, child," she exclaimed, "look in thar at them biscuits. See is they done. Oh, that's prime, browning beautiful-like," she said, as I drew from the stove a pan of nice biscuits, "and this ar' chicken is mighty nice. Oh, but it will make the young gemman smack his lips," and wiping the perspiration from her sooty brow, she drew a long breath, and seated herself upon a broken stool.

"Wal, this ar' nigger is tired. I's bin cooking now this twelve years, and never has I had 'mission' to let my old man come to see me, or I to go see him."

The children, with eyes wide open, gathered round Aunt Polly to hear a recital of her wrongs. "Laws-a-marcy, sights I's seen in my times, and often it 'pears like I's lost my senses. I tells you, yous only got to look at this ar' back to know what I's went through." Hereupon she exposed her back and arms, which were frightfully scarred.

"This ar' scar," and she pointed to a very deep one on her left shoulder, "Masser gib me kase I cried when he sold my oldest son; poor Jim, he was sent down the river, and I've never hearn from him since." She wiped a stray tear from her old eyes.

"Oh me! 'tis long time since my eyes hab watered, and now these tears do feel so quare. Poor Jim is down the river, Johnny is dead, and Lucy is sold somewhar, so I have neither chick nor child. What's I got to live fur?"

This brought fresh to my mind recollections of my own mother's grief, when she was forced to give me up, and I could not restrain my tears.

"What fur you crying, child?" she asked. "It puts me in mind ov my poor little Luce, she used to cry this way whenever

anything happened to me. Oh, many is the time she screamed if master struck me."

"Poor Aunt Polly," I said, as I walked up to her side, "I do pity you. I will be kind to you; I'll be your daughter."

She looked up with a wild stare, and with a deep earnestness seized hold of my out-stretched hand; then dropping it suddenly, she murmured,

"No, no, you ain't my darter, you comes to me with saft words, but you is jest like Lindy and all the rest of 'em; you'll go to the house and tell tales to the white folks on me. No, I'll not trust any of you."

Springing suddenly into the room, with his eyes flaming, came Jones, and, cracking his whip right, and left, he struck each of the listening group. I retreated hastily to an extreme corner of the kitchen, where, unobserved by him, I could watch the affray.

"You devilish old wretch, Polly, what are you gabbling and snubbling here about? Up with your old hide, and git yer supper ready. Don't you know thar is company in the house?" and here he gave another sharp cut of the whip, which descended upon that poor old scarred back with a cruel force, and tore open old cicatriced wounds. The victim did not scream, nor shrink, nor murmur; but her features resumed their wonted hard, encrusted expression, and, rising up from her seat, she went on with her usual work.

"Now, cut like the wind," he added, as he flourished his whip in the direction of the young blacks, who had been the interested auditors of Aunt Polly's hair-breadth escapes, and quick as lightning they were off to their respective quarters, whilst I proceeded to assist Aunt Polly in dishing up the supper.

"This chicken," said I, in a tone of encouragement, "is beautifully cooked. How brown it is, and oh, what a delightful savory odor."

"I'll be bound the white folks will find fault wid it. Nobody ever did please Miss Jane. Her is got some of the most perkuler notions 'bout cookin'. I knows she'll be kommin' out

here, makin' a fuss 'long wid me 'bout dis same supper," and the old woman shook her head knowingly.

I made no reply, for I feared the re-appearance of Mr. Jones, and too often and too painfully had I felt the sting of his lash, to be guilty of any wanton provocation of its severity.

Silently, but with bitter thoughts curdling my life-blood, did I arrange the steaming cookies upon the luxurious board, and then, with a deferential air, sought the parlor, and bade them walk out to tea.

I found Miss Jane seated near a fine rosewood piano, and standing beside her was a gentleman, the same whom I had observed with her upon the verandah. Miss Matilda was at the window, looking out upon the western heaven. I spoke in a soft tone, asking them, "Please walk out to tea." The young gentleman rose, and offered his arm to Miss Jane, which was graciously accepted, and Miss Matilda followed. I swung the dining-room door open with great pomp and ceremony, for I knew that anything showy or grand, either in the furniture of a house or the deportment of a servant, would be acceptable to Miss Jane. Fashion, or style, was the god of her worship, and she often declared that her principal objection to the negro, was his great want of style in thought and action. She was not deep enough to see, that, fathoms down below the surface, in all the crudity of ignorance, lay a stratum of this same style, so much worshipped by herself. Does not the African, in his love of gaud, show, and tinsel, his odd and grotesque decorations of his person, exhibit a love of style? But she was not philosopher enough to see that this was a symptom of the same taste, though ungarnished and semi-barbarous.

The supper passed off very handsomely, so far as my part was concerned. I carried the cups round on a silver salver to each one; served them with chicken, plied them with cakes, confections, &c., and interspersed my performance with innumerable courtesies, bows and scrapes.

"Ah," said Miss Jane to the gentleman, "ah, Mr. Somerville, you have visited us at the wrong season; you should be here

takin' on in the way they does? Jist look at the sight o' money that has bin laid out in that ar' tom-foolery."

This was a sort of soliloquy spoken in a tone audible enough to be distinct to us.

He drew his cob-pipe from his mouth, and a huge volume of smoke curled round his head, and filled the room with the aroma of tobacco.

"Now," he continued, "they does not treat me wid any perliteness. They thinks they knows a power more than I does; but if they don't cut their cards square, I'll cut them short of a nigger or two, and make John all the richer by it."

Lindy cut her eye knowingly at this, and gave me rather a strong nudge with her elbow.

"Keep still thar, gals, and don't rattle them cups and sassers so powerful hard."

By this time Lindy had finished the assortment of the silver, and had carefully stowed it away in a willow-basket, ready to be delivered to Miss Jane, and thence consigned to the drawer, where it would remain in *statu quo* until the timely advent of another guest.

"Now," she said, "I am ready to wipe the dishes, while you wash."

Thereupon I handed her a saucer, which, in her carelessness, she let slip from her hand, and it fell upon the floor, and there, with great consternation, I beheld it lying, shattered to fragments. Mr. Peterkin sprang to his feet, glad of an excuse to vent his temper upon some one.

"Which of you cussed wretches did this?"

"'Twas Ann, master! She let it fall afore I got my hand on it.

Ere I had time to vindicate myself from the charge, his iron arm felled me to the floor, and his boot-like foot was placed upon my shrinking chest.

"You d—n yallow hussy, does you think I buys such expensive chany-ware for you to break up in this ar' way? No, you 'bominable wench, I'll have revenge out of your saffer'n hide. Here, Lindy, fetch me that cowhide."

"Mercy, master, mercy," I cried, when he had removed his foot from my breast, and my breath seemed to come again. "Oh, listen to me; it was not I who broke the saucer, it was only an accident; but oh, in God's name, have mercy on me and Lindy."

"Yes, I'll tache you what marcy is. Here, quick, some of you darkies, bring me a rope and light. I'm goin' to take this gal to the whippin'-post."

This overcame me, for, though I had often been cruelly beaten, yet had I escaped the odium of the "post;" and now for what I had not done, and for a thing which, at the worst, was but an accident, to bear the disgrace and the pain of a public whipping, seemed to me beyond endurance. I fell on my knees before him:

"Oh, master, please pardon me; spare me this time. I have got a half-dollar that Master Edward gave me when you bought me, I will give you that to pay for the saucer, but please do not beat me."

With a wild, fiendish grin, he caught me by the hair and swung me round until I half fainted with pain.

"No, you wretch, I'll git my satisfaction out of yer body yit, and I'll be bound, afore this night's work is done, yer yallow hide will be well marked."

A deadly, cold sensation crept over me, and a feeling as of crawling adders seemed possessing my nerves. With all my soul pleading in my eyes I looked at Mr. Peterkin; but one glance of his fiendish face made my soul quail with even a newer horror. I turned my gaze from him to Jones, but the red glare of a demon lighted up his frantic eye, and the words of a profane bravo were on his lips. From him I turned to poor, hardened, obdurate old Nace, but he seemed to be linked and leagued with my torturers.

"Oh, Lindy," I cried, as she came up with a bunch of cord in her hand, "be kind, tell the truth, maybe master will forgive you. You are an older servant, better known and valued in the family. Oh, let your heart triumph. Speak the truth, and free me from the torture that awaits me. Oh, think of me, away off

here, separated from my mother, with no friend. Oh, pity me, and do acknowledge that you broke it."

"Well, you is crazy, you knows dat I never touched de sacer," and she laughed heartily.

"Come along wid you all. Now fur fun," cried Nace.

"Hold your old jaw," said Jones, and he raised his whip. Nace cowered like a criminal, and made some polite speech to "Massa Jones," and Mr. Peterkin possessed himself of the rope which Lindy had brought.

"Now hold yer hands here," he said to me.

For one moment I hesitated. I could not summon courage to offer my hands. It was the only resistance that I had ever dared to make. A severe blow from the overseer's riding-whip reminded me that I was still a slave, and dared have no will save that of my master. This blow, which struck the back of my head, laid me half-lifeless upon the floor. Whilst in this condition old Nace, at the command of his master, bound the rope tightly around my crossed arms and dragged me to the place of torment.

The motion or exertion of being pulled along over the ground, restored me to full consciousness. With a haggard eye I looked up to the still blue heaven, where the holy stars yet held their silent vigil; and the serene moon moved on in her starry track, never once heeding the dire cruelty, over which her pale beam shed its friendly light. "Oh," thought I, "is there no mercy throned on high? Are there no spirits in earth, air, or sky, to lend me their gracious influence? Does God look down with kindness upon injustice like this? Or, does He, too, curse me in my sorrow, and in His wrath turn away His glorious face from my supplication, and say 'a servant of servants shalt thou be?'" These wild, rebellious thoughts only crossed my mind; they did not linger there. No, like the breath-stain upon the polished surface of the mirror, they only soiled for a moment the shining faith which in my soul reflected the perfect goodness of that God who never forgets the humblest of His children, and who makes no distinction of color or of race. The consoling promise, "He

chasteneth whom He loveth," flashed through my brain with its blessed assurance, and reconciled me to a heroic endurance. Far away I strained my gaze to the starry heaven, and I could almost fancy the sky breaking asunder and disclosing the wondrous splendors which were beheld by the rapt Apostle on the isle of Patmos! Oh, transfiguring power of faith! Thou hast a wand more potent than that of fancy, and a vision brighter than the dreams of enchantment! What was it that reconciled me to the horrible tortures which were awaiting me? Surely, 'twas faith alone that sustained me. The present scene faded away from my vision, and, in fancy, I stood in the lonely garden of Gethsemane. I saw the darkness and gloom that overshadowed the earth, when, deserted by His disciples, our blessed Lord prayed alone. I heard the sighs and groans that burst from His tortured breast. I saw the bloody sweat, as prostrate on the earth he lay in the tribulation of mortal agony. I saw the inhuman captors, headed by one of His chosen twelve, come to seize his sacred person. I saw his face uplifted to the mournful heavens, as He prayed to His Father to remove the cup of sorrow. I saw Him bound and led away to death, without a friend to solace Him. Through the various stages of His awful passion, even to the Mount of Crucifixion, to the bloody and sacred Calvary, I followed my Master. I saw Him nailed to the cross, spit upon, vilified and abused, with the thorny crown pressed upon His brow. I heard the rabble shout; then I saw the solemn mystery of Nature, that did attestation to the awful fact that a fiendish work had been done and the prophecy fulfilled. The vail of the great temple was rent, the sun overcast, and the moon turned to blood; and in my ecstasy of passion, I could have shouted, Great is Jesus of Nazareth!! Then I beheld Him triumphing over the powers of darkness and death, when, robed in the white garments of the grave, He broke through the rocky sepulchre, and stood before the affrighted guards. His work was done, the propitiation had been made, and He went to His Father. This same Jesus, whom the civilized world now worship as their Lord, was once lowly, outcast,

and despised; born of the most hated people of the world, belonging to a race despised alike by Jew and Gentile; laid in the manger of a stable at Bethlehem, with no earthly possessions, having not whereon to lay His weary head; buffetted, spit upon; condemned by the high priests and the doctors of law; branded as an impostor, and put to an ignominious death, with every demonstration of public contempt; crucified between two thieves; this Jesus is worshipped now by those who wear purple and fine linen. The class which once scorned Him, now offer at His shrine frankincense and myrrh; but, in their adoration of the despised Nazarene, they never remember that He has declared, not once, but many times, that the poor and the lowly are His people. "Forasmuch as you did it unto one of these you did it unto me." Then let the African trust and hope on—let him still weep and pray in Gethsemane, for a cloud hangs round about him, and when he prays for the removal of this cup of bondage, let him remember to ask, as his blessed Master did, "Thy will, oh Father, and not our own, be done;" still trust in Him who calmed the raging tempest; trust in Jesus of Nazareth! Look beyond the cross, to Christ.

These thoughts had power to cheer; and, fortified by faith and religion, the trial seemed to me easy to bear. One prayer I murmured, and my soul said to my body, "pass under the rod;" and the cup which my Father has given me to drink must be drained, even to the dregs.

In this state of mind, with a moveless eye I looked upon the whipping-post, which loomed up before me like an ogre.

This was a quadri-lateral post, about eight feet in height, having iron clasps on two opposing sides, in which the wrists and ankles were tightly secured.

"Now, Lindy," cried Jones, "jerk off that gal's rigging, I am anxious to put some marks on her yellow skin."

I knew that resistance was vain; so I submitted to have my clothes torn from my body; for modesty, so much commended in a white woman, is in a negro pronounced affectation.

Jones drew down a huge cow-hide, which he dipped in a barrel of brine that stood near the post.

"I guess this will sting," he said, as he flourished the whip toward me.

"Leave that thin slip on me, Lindy," I ventured to ask; for I dreaded the exposure of my person even more than the whipping.

"None of your cussed impedence; strip off naked. What is a nigger's hide more than a hog's?" cried Jones. Lindy and Nace tore the last article of clothing from my back. I felt my soul shiver and shudder at this; but what could I do? *I could pray*—thank God, I could pray!

I then submitted to have Nace clasp the iron cuffs around my hands and ankles, and there I stood, a revolting spectacle. With what misery I listened to obscene and ribald jests from my master and his overseer!

"Now, Jones," said Mr. Peterkin, "I want to give that gal the first lick, which will lay the flesh open to the bone."

"Well, Mr. Peterkin, here is the whip; now you can lay on."

"No, confound your whip; I wants that cow-hide, and here, let me dip it well into the brine. I want to give her a real good warmin'; one that she'll 'member for a long time."

During this time I had remained motionless. My heart was lifted to God in silent prayer. Oh, shall I, can I, ever forget that scene? There, in the saintly stillness of the summer night, where the deep, o'ershadowing heavens preached a sermon of peace, there I was loaded with contumely, bound hand and foot in irons, with jeering faces around, vulgar eyes glaring on my uncovered body, and two inhuman men about to lash me to the bone.

The first lick from Mr. Peterkin laid my back open. I writhed, I wrestled; but blow after blow descended, each harder than the preceding one. I shrieked, I screamed, I pleaded, I prayed, but there was no mercy shown me. Mr. Peterkin having fully gratified and quenched his spleen, turned to Mr. Jones, and said, "Now is yer turn; you can beat her as much as you

please, only jist leave a bit o' life in her, is all I cares for."

"Yes; I'll not spile her for the market; but I does want to take a little of the d——d pride out of her."

"Now, boys"—for by this time all the slaves on the place, save Aunt Polly, had assembled round the post—"you will see what a true stroke I ken make; but darn my buttons if I doesn't think Mr. Peterkin has drawn all the blood."

So saying, Jones drew back the cow-hide at arm's length, and, making a few evolutions with his body, took what he called "sure aim." I closed my eyes in terror. More from the terrible pain, than from the frantic shoutings of the crowd, I knew that Mr. Jones had given a lick that he called "true blue." The exultation of the negroes in Master Jones' triumph was scarcely audible to my ears; for a cold, clammy sensation was stealing over my frame; my breath was growing feebler and feebler, and a soft melody, as of lulling summer fountains, was gently sounding in my ears; and, as if gliding away on a moonbeam, I passed from all consciousness of pain. A sweet oblivion, like that sleep which announces to the wearied, fever-sick patient, that his hour of rest has come, fell upon me! It was not a dreamful sensibility, filled with the chaos of fragmentary visions, but a rest where the mind, nay, the very soul, seemed to sleep with the body.

How long this stupor lasted I am unable to say; but when I awoke, I was lying on a rough bed, a face dark, haggard, scarred and worn, was bending over me. Disfigured as was that visage, it was pleasant to me, for it was human. I opened my eyes, then closed them languidly, re-opened them, then closed them again.

"Now, chile, I thinks you is a leetle better," said the dark-faced woman, whom I recognized as Aunt Polly; but I was too weak, too wandering in mind, to talk, and I closed my eyes and slept again.

CHAPTER VI.

RESTORED CONSCIOUSNESS—AUNT POLLY'S ACCOUNT OF MY MIRACULOUS RETURN TO LIFE—THE MASTER'S AFFRAY WITH THE OVERSEER.

When I awoke (for I was afterwards told by my good nurse that I had slept four days), I was lying on the same rude bed; but a cool, clear sensation overspread my system. I had full and active possession of my mental faculties. I rose and sat upright in the bed, and looked around me. It was the deep hour of night. A little iron lamp was upon the hearth, and, for want of a supply of oil, the wick was burning low, flinging a red glare through the dismal room. Upon a broken stool sat Aunt Polly, her head resting upon her breast, in what nurses call a "stolen nap." Amy and three other children were sleeping in a bed opposite me.

In a few moments I was able to recall the whole of the scenes through which I had passed, while consciousness remained; and I raised my eyes to God in gratitude for my partial deliverance from pain and suffering. Very softly I stole from my bed, and, wrapping an old coverlet round my shoulders, opened the door, and looked out upon the clear, star-light night. Of the vague thoughts that passed through my mind I will not now speak, though they were far from pleasant or consolatory.

The fresh night air, which began to have a touch of the frost of the advancing autumn, blew cheerily in the room, and it fell with an awakening power upon the brow of Aunt Polly.

"Law, chile, is dat you stannin' in de dor? What for you git up out en yer warm bed, and go stand in the night-ar?

"Because I feel so well, and this pleasant air seems to brace my frame, and encourage my mind."

CHAPTER X.

THE CONVERSATION IN WHICH FEAR AND SUSPICION ARE AROUSED—THE YOUNG MASTER.

It must have been long after midnight when I awoke. I do not remember whether I had dreamed or not, but the slumber had brought refreshment to my body and peace to my heart.

I was aroused by the sound of voices, in a suppressed whisper, or rather in a tone slightly above a whisper. I thought I detected the voice of Lindy, and, as I rose from my recumbent posture, I caught sight of a figure flitting round the gable of the house. I followed, but there was nothing visible. The pale moonlight slept lovingly upon the dwelling and the roofs of the out-buildings. Whither could the figure have fled? There was no sign of any one having been there. Slowly and sadly I directed my steps toward Aunt Polly's cabin. I opened the door cautiously, not wishing to disturb her; but easy and noiseless as were my motions, they roused that faithful creature. She sprang from the bed, exclaiming:

"La, Ann, whar has yer bin? I has bin so oneasy 'bout yer."

With my native honesty I explained to her that I had been beguiled by the melody of a human voice, and had lingered long out in the autumn moonlight.

"Yes; but, chile, you'll be sick. Sleepin' out a doors is berry onwholesome like."

"Yes; but, Aunt Polly, there is an interior heat which no autumnal frost has power to chill."

"Yes, chile, you does talk so pretty, like dem ar' great white scholards. Many times I has wondered how a poor darkie could larn so much. Now it 'pears to me as if you knowed

much as any ob 'em. I don't tink Miss Bradly hersef talks any better dan you does."

"Oh, Aunt Polly, your praise is sweet to me; but then, you must remember not to do me more than justice. I am a poor, illiterate mulatto girl, who has indeed improved the modicum of time allowed her for self-culture; yet, when I hear such ladies as Miss Bradly talk, I feel how far inferior I am to the queens of the white tribe Often I ask myself why is this? Is it because my face is colored? But then there is a voice, deep down in my soul, that rejects such a conclusion as slanderous. Oh, give me but opportunity, and I will strive to equal them in learning."

"I don't see-no use in yer wanting to larn, when you is nothing but a poor slave. But I does think the gift of fine speech mighty valable."

And here is another thing upon which I would generalize. Does it not argue the possession of native mind—the immense value the African places upon words—the high-flown and broad-sounding words that he usually employs? The ludicrous attempts which the most untutored make at grandiloquence, should not so much provoke mirth as admiration in the more reflective of the white race. Through what barriers and obstacles do not their minds struggle to force a way up to the light. I have often been astonished at the quickness with which they seized upon expressions, and the accuracy with which they would apply them. Every crude attempt which they make toward self-culture is laughed at and scorned by the master, or treated as the most puerile folly. No encouragement is given them. If, by almost superhuman effort, they gain knowledge, why they may; but, unaided and alone, they must work, as I have done. Moreover, I have been wonder-stricken at the facility with which the negro-boy acquires learning. 'Tis as though the rudiments of the school came to him by flashes of intuition. He is allowed only a couple of hours on Sunday afternoons for recitations, and such odd moments during the week as he can catch to prepare his lessons; for, a servant-boy often caught with his book in hand,

on the whiteness of his cheek; the veins in his forehead lay like heavy cords, and his very hair seemed to sparkle. He looked as one inspired. This was unobserved by his parent, who hastily strode away to find more willing listeners. I tarried in a place where, unnoticed by others, I commanded a good out-look. I saw young master clasp his hands fervently, and heard him passionately exclaim — "How much longer, oh, how much longer shall this be?" Then slowly walking down his favorite path, he was lost to my vision. "Blessed youth, heaven-missioned, if thou wouldst only speak to me! One word of consolation from God-anointed lips like thine, would soothe even the sting of bondage; but no," I added, "that earnest look, that gentle tone, tell perhaps as much as it is necessary for me to know. This silence proceeds from some noble motive. Soon enough he will make himself known to us."

In a little while the news of Lindy's departure had spread through the neighborhood like a flame. Our yard and house were filled with men come to offer their services to their neighbor, who, from his wealth, was considered a sort of magnate among them.

Pretty soon they were mounted on horses, and armed to the teeth, each one with a horn fastened to his belt, galloping off in quest of the poor fugitive. And is this thing done beneath the influence of civilized laws, and by men calling themselves Christians? What has armed those twelve men with pistols, and sent them on an excusion like this? Is it to redeem a brother from a band of lawless robbers, who hold him in captivity? Is it to right some individual wrong? Is it to take part with the weak and oppressed against the strong and the overbearing? No, no, my friends, on no such noble mission as this have they gone. No purpose of high emprise has made them buckle on the sword and prime the pistol. A poor, lone female, who, through years, has been beaten, tyrannized over, and abused, has ventured out to seek what this constitution professes to secure to every one—liberty. Barefoot and alone, she has gone forth;

and 'tis to bring her back to a vile and brutal slavery that these men have sallied out, regardless of her sex, her destitution, and her misery. They have set out either to recapture her or to shoot her down in her tracks like a dog. And this is a system which Christian men speak of as heaven-ordained! This is a thing countenanced by freemen, whose highest national boast is, that theirs is the land of liberty, equality, and free-rights! These are the people who yearly send large sums to Ireland; who pray for the liberation of Hungary; who wish to transmit armed forces across the Atlantic to aid vassal States in securing their liberty! These are they who talk so largely of Cuba, expend so much sympathy upon the oppressed of other lands, and predict the downfall of England for her oppressive form of government! Oh, America! "first pluck the beam out of thine own eye, then shalt thou see more clearly the mote that is in thy brother's."

When I watched those armed men ride away, in such high courage and eagerness for the hunt, I thought of Lindy, poor, lone girl, fatigued, worn and jaded, suffering from thirst and hunger; her feet torn and bruised with toil, hiding away in bogs and marshes, with an ear painfully acute to every sound. I thought of this, and all the resentment I had ever felt toward her faded away as a vapor.

All that day the house was in a state of intense excitement. The servants could not work with their usual assiduity. Indeed, such was the excitement, even of the white family, that we were not strictly required to labor.

Miss Jane gave me some fancy-sewing to do for her. Taking it with me to Aunt Polly's cabin, intending to talk with her whilst time was allowed me, I was surprised and pleased to find the old woman still asleep. "It will do her good," I thought, "she needs rest, poor creature! And that blow was given to her on my account! How much I would rather have received it myself." I then examined her head, and was glad to find no mark or bruise; so I hoped that with a good sleep she would wake up quite well. I seated myself on an old stool,

originates and involves so many crimes! Now, here was a kind, honest-hearted woman, who felt assured of the criminality of slavery; yet, as it is recognized and approved by law, she could not, save at the risk of social position, pecuniary loss and private inconvenience, even express an opinion against it. I was the oppressed slave of one of her wealthy neighbors; she dared not offer me even a word of pity, but needs must outrage all my nature by telling me that I had a "good home, kind mistresses and a good master!" Oh, bitter mockery of torn and lacerated feelings! My blood curdled as I listened. How much I longed to fling aside the servility at which my whole soul revolted, and tell her, with a proud voice, how poorly I thought she supported the dignity of a true womanhood, when thus, for the poor reward of gold, she could smile at, and even encourage, a system which is at war with the best interest of human nature; which aims a deadly blow at the very machinery of society; aye, attacks the noble and venerable institution of marriage, and breaks asunder ties which God has commanded us to reverence! This is the policy of that institution, which Southern people swear they will support even with their life-blood! I have ransacked my brain to find out a clue to the wondrous infatuation. I have known, during the years of my servitude, men who had invested more than half of their wealth in slaves; and he is generally accounted the greatest gentleman, who owns the most negroes. Now, there is a reason for the Louisiana or Mississippi planter's investing largely in this sort of property; but why the Kentucky farmer should wish to own slaves, is a mystery: surely it cannot be for the petty ambition of holding human beings in bondage, lording it over immortal souls! Oh, perverse and strange human nature! Thoughts like these, with a lightning-like power, drove through my brain and influenced my mind against Mrs. Mandy, who, I doubt not, was, at heart, a kind, well-meaning woman. How can the slave be a philanthropist?

Without saying anything whereby my safety could be imperilled, I left Mrs. Mandy's residence. When I had walked

about a hundred yards from the house, I turned and looked back, and was surprised to see her looking after me. "Oh, white woman," I inwardly exclaimed, "nursed in luxury, reared in the lap of bounty, with friends, home and kindred, that mortal power cannot tear you from, how can *you* pity the poor, oppressed slave, who has no liberty, no right, no father, no brother, or friend, only as the white man chooses he shall have!" Who could expect these children of wealth, fostered by prosperity, and protected by the law, to feel for the ignorant negro, who through ages and generations has been crushed and kept in ignorance? We are told to love our masters! Why should we? Are we dogs to lick the hand that strikes us? Or are we men and women with never-dying souls—men and women unprotected in the very land they have toiled to beautify and adorn! Oh, little, little do ye know, my proud, free brothers and sisters in the North, of all the misery we endure, or of the throes of soul that we have! The humblest of us feel that we are deprived of something that we are entitled to by the law of God and nature.

I rambled on through the woods, wrapped in the shadows of gloom and misanthropy. "Why," I asked myself, "can't I be a hog or dog to come at the call of my owner? Would it not be better for me if I could repress all the lofty emotions and generous impulses of my soul, and become a spiritless thing? I would swap natures with the lowest insect, the basest serpent that crawls upon the earth. Oh, that I could quench this thirsty spirit, satisfy this hungry heart, that craveth so madly the food and drink of knowledge! Is it right to conquer the spirit, which God has given us? Is it best for a high-souled being to sit supinely down and bear the vile trammels of an unnatural and immoral bondage? Are these aspirings sent us from above? Are they wings lent the spirit from an angel? Or must they be clipped and crushed as belonging to the evil spirit?" As I walked on, in this state of mind, I neared the spot where I had beheld the interesting stranger.

To my surprise and joy I found him still there, occupied as

[illegible] SOLD IN CONNECTICUT.

[illegible] slavery was different in the North [illegible] the North than the North they were admitted to [illegible] of the human family. I was told when [illegible] that some of the people said that slaves [illegible] souls, and that they would never go to heaven, [illegible] do ever so well.

[illegible] mother was born in the State of New York, I [illegible] Columbia county. He had, I think, three [illegible] masters in that State, one by the name of [illegible], and he was Gen. Van Rensaeller's slave in the time of the Revolution, and was a soldier in that war; he was then owned by a man whose name was Rutser, and then was owned in Connecticut, in Salisbury, and then by the minister in North Canaan.

My mother was born in old Virginia, in Loudin county; I do not remember the name of the town. The minister of North Canaan, whose name was Thompson, went to Virginia for a wife, or she came to him; in some way they got together, so that they became man and wife. He removed her to Canaan, and she brought her slaves with her, and my mother was one of them. I think there were two of my mother's brothers also. The Rev. Mr. Thompson, as he was then called, bought my father, and he was married to my mother by him. Mr. Thompson ministered to the people of Canaan in holy things;

[illegible] as soon [illegible] full out; the South [illegible] that the North would not [illegible] The [illegible] who told my father if she only had him South, [illegible] she could have at her call a half dozen [illegible] would have him stripped and flogged until he [illegible] cut in strings, and see if he would do as she [illegible] him. She told him, You mind, boy, I will have [illegible] there yet, and you will get your pay for all [illegible] have done. My father was a man of consider[illegible] muscular strength, and was not easily frightened into obedience. I have heard my mother say [illegible] has often seen her mother tied up and whipped until the blood ran across the floor in the room where she was tied and whipped.

Well, as I said, the South and the North could not agree; the South seceded and left the North; the minister's wife would not live North, and she and her husband picked up and went South, and left my father and mother in Canaan to work the farm, and they lived on the farm until I was eight years old. My mother had one child when she came from the South; I was the first she had after she was married. They had five children born in Canaan,—three died in infancy. I was born March 3d, 1790.

Mr. Thompson used to come up from Virginia and talk about our going South. He would pat me on the head and tell me what a fine boy I was. Once when he was in Canaan, he asked me if I would not like to go with him and drive the carriage for my

[illegible] side you may [illegible] pickets they must [illegible] says he will kill the first man [illegible] them. They hesitated some; they [illegible] still, and stopped a short time, [illegible] against the door, it gave way, [illegible] went in. They found the landlady sit-[illegible] as composed as summer, with her knitting-[illegible] occasions of an arrest to go south as a slave! [illegible] found us not, although the room they last [illegible] into was the one we had occupied all the time [illegible] were in that house, sometimes one night, some-[illegible] a week, and then in the woods or elsewhere, [illegible] was thought best to keep out of the way.

The pic[illegible] returned to the land of Canaan to see what was to be the next move. The parson then proposed to give my father and mother and sister their freedom, if they would let him have the boys. That they would not do; but the boys he said he must have. As my brother was away, it was thought best that I should be away. I was sent to Mr. Pease, well-nigh Canaan, and kept rather dark. I was there for a time, and I went to stay with a man by the name of Camp, and was with him a time, and then I went to stay with a man by the name of Akins, and stayed with him a few days, and went to a man by the name of Foot, and was with him a few days. I went to another man by the name of Akins, and was there some time. The parson was not gone south yet, for he could not well give up his prey. He then proposed to sell the boys until they were twenty-five,

[illegible] that was as long as the law of Connecticut [illegible] hold slaves, and he would give the other members of the family their freedom. It was finally thought best to do that if the purchasers that were acceptable could be found. Some friends were on the look-out. Finally a man by the name of Bingham was found; it was a man that my father was once a slave to; he would take my brother,—then a man by the name of Munger would buy me if they could agree. Mr. Bingham lived in Salisbury, Mr. Munger lived in Norfolk; the two men lived about fifteen miles apart, both in Connecticut.

The trade was made, and we two boys were sold for one hundred pounds a head, lawful money,—yes, sold by a man, a minister of the gospel in Connecticut, the land of steady habits. It would seem that the parson was a worshiper with the Athenians, as Paul said unto them when he stood on Mars Hill, he saw an inscription on one of their altars; and it would seem that the parson forgot or passed over the instruction of the apostle that God made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth.

The parson was a tall man, standing six feet in his boots, and had no legitimate children to be heirs to his ill-gotten gains. The bargain was made on the 12th of September, 1798. Then I was informed that I was sold to Mr. Munger, and must go and live with him. The man I did not know, but the thought of being sold, not knowing whether I was

[illegible] or sister could [illegible]
[illegible] could endure; the thought that I
[illegible] not there knew for how long, it
[illegible] and where were my parents? I
[illegible] was not thought, but go I must. The
[illegible] (I was to go the morning of the 13th)
[illegible] morning to me. The morning was clear,
[illegible] a cloud. I was told where the man lived,
[illegible] go, for he had bought me. I thought of
[illegible] should I, oh! should I never see them
[illegible] As I was taught to obey my superiors, I set
[illegible] it was a little over a mile. The way was long.
[illegible] alone. Tears ran down my cheeks. I then
[illegible] for the first time that I was alone in the world,
[illegible] home, no friends, and none to care for me. Tears
[illegible], but it did no good; I must go, and on I went.
And now sixty-five years have passed away since that
[illegible]; those feelings are fresh in my memory. But
[illegible] my way to my new home I saw my father; I will
[illegible] attempt to describe my feelings when he told me
[illegible] had taken rooms in the same neighborhood, and
[illegible]ould be near me. That made the rough way
[illegible]ooth. I went on then cheerful and happy. I arrived at the place. I found a man with a small family; it consisted of himself and wife and three daughters. The oldest was near my age. The family appeared pleasant. I ate a bowl of bread and milk, and was told to mount a horse that was at the door with a bag of rye on his back, and ride to the field; that was about a mile off. The man went with me, and on the way we passed the house of Mrs.

Curtiss, where I met [illegible] this narrative of going for [illegible] son. We went to the field and [illegible] went home at night. The family [illegible] pleasant, and I felt pleased to think that the [illegible] had gone, for I was told that he went the same [illegible] that I went to my new home. In a short time [illegible] father and mother and sister came into the neighborhood to live. I was allowed to go and see them one evening in two weeks. They lived about sixty rods from where I lived. Things went on well. [illegible] very contented, and felt glad that the fear of [illegible] carried south was at an end. The person was out of town and out of mind. I soon became acquainted with Mrs. Curtiss' boys, for I passed the house where they lived every day, as Mr. Munger's farm was beyond where they lived. I soon was feeling contented and happy. There was one thing that was unfortunate for me; Mr. Munger was not a stout, strong man, and not very healthy, and had no other help but me, and of course I had many things to do beyond my strength. I do not complain of many things, yet there are two things more I will mention. One of them I feel to this day, and that I feel the most is that I did not have an opportunity to go to school as much as I should, for all the books I ever had in school were a spelling-book, a primer, a Testament, a reading-book called Third Part, and after that a Columbian Orator. My schooling was broken and unsteady after the first and second winters, as Mr. Munger had no help, and had to go something

Then, with prayer and heart-felt praise
To the God who crowned their days,
Laid them down to hours of slumber,
Such as angels love to number.

Pity not a home like this,
Lowly, yet so rich in bliss.
Pity those who ne'er can feel
They are one for woe or weal;
Who must toil from day to day,
'Neath a selfish master's sway;
And whose only joys arise
From the home beyond the skies!

THE Sabbath morning rose clear out of the starry night, and with it came the necessity of Abram's return to his plantation, in order to be ready for Monday's work. Sally was distressed at this immediate separation. He was much older than herself, and her young heart was happy to have something to cling to, and to call its own. She prepared him the best breakfast in her power from the remnants of the wedding table, and then, tying a handkerchief over her head, set out to accompany him as far as she was able, on his homeward way. Hand in hand they walked through the dewy fields, trying to encourage each other with the hope that there would come a time when they should

know no separation. The merry birds flew singing above them, the early flowers gave out their odor, the pines waved their branches in the breeze, clad in the fresh green of spring. Sally tried to restrain her tears, but when they reached the bounds of her master's plantation, beyond which she could not go without special permission, they burst forth anew.

"I know I 's wicked, Abram, but I jest wish Mas'r Harry had to go 'way an' leave Missis like you leave me; I do! De white folks ken do jest as dey please, why can 't we?"

"Don't cry, Sally," said kind-hearted Abram, "I 'll come back an' see you soon as dey 'll let me."

Sally had thrown herself down beneath the shadow of a pine, and sat for some minutes quietly. At length she exclaimed:

"I 's wonderin' if de Lord knows how bad I feels dis mornin'. He had such heaps o' trouble, I spécs He 's sorry for us. Come an' kneel down, Abram, an' I 'll pray to Him de bes' way I ken."

Together they knelt, and in simple, broken words she poured out her heart to Him who never slights the humblest cry. A strange peace filled her soul, and, rising, she bade her

husband a calm farewell. He was awed by the prayer, for he knew much less of religion than she, and promising to see her on Monday night, if possible, he turned away, and was soon lost to the gaze amid the somber pines.

It was high noon when Sally reached home. As she walked up the long avenue that led to the house, the first object which attracted her attention was the carriage of her old mistress before the door. Then her mother had come —her mother, whom she had not seen for months! She ran quickly to the house to see if it were so, and was told by one of the servants that "Ole Missis" had really returned. She had been prevented from reaching home the night before by finding one of the bridges gone on the road to Fayetteville, and had arrived about an hour previous. To Sally's eager inquiries for her mother, she answered, that, after helping her tired mistress to bed, she had left the house. "I specs she 's lookin' arter you, Sally; she took on powerful when she heard you 'd done got married."

Sally hastened to her mother's old cabin, which now was hers, and, sure enough, there she was sitting on the low bed. She looked so neat in her trim waiting-maid's dress, that

her daughter, who had approached unperceived, could not help stopping to regard her with admiration. A moment, and she was in her arms.

"Oh, mother, I 's so glad you 've come."

"Chile, chile," said the mother, while unwonted tears ran down her cheeks, "what have ye done? De Lord knows I 'd rather have seen ye in yer grave than married. S'pose ye thought ye 'd be better off, but chile, yer mistaken. Mebbe Abram Williams is a good man, an 'll be kind to ye; but de kinder he is, an de more ye loves him, de worse ye 'll feel by an' by. Do n't I know? Did n't I love your father better than all de world, an' wa'nt he allers kep' way on de big plantation, till now dey say he 's sold to a speculator? An' den, when I laid out to take some comfort in my chil'n, an' worked so hard to take care of 'em, wan't dey all scattered an' carried off, de Lord knows whar, an' you only left in de ole cabin when I come home? Oh, Sally, gettin' married 's de beginnin' o' sorrow; my heart aches to think what ye 've got to bar! De white folks ken get married an' live happy all der days, but 'pears like dere 's no peace for us no whar."

"Don't talk so, mother. Abram says he'll ask Mas'r to let him come an' live on de place, an' den we'll have good times."

"No, chile, it's no use. I knows. Dat's allers de way. Ole Missis goin' away to-morrow, an' I shall have to leave ye to suffer as I've done."

Poor mother! poor daughter! Silent they sat with their arms around each other, till the sycamore trees threw their evening shadows across the door. They had no plans to talk over, no hopes to impart; for what plans can they form who have no independent will? and what individual hopes can they cherish who exist solely for the benefit of others?

Sally's usual light-heartedness was not proof against her mother's despair. There was nothing in the past to which they cared to turn, and the anticipated future weighed them down with pain. At length, the gathering twilight warned the mother that her services would be required by her mistress, and she rose to go.

"Good night, chile; I must go now. Missis 'll want me, an' I shan't see ye again. Ye'll be gone to de field 'fore I ken come down here in de mornin'. *Do de bes' ye ken*, an' tell

Abram, yer mother says ye mus' be kind to each other while ye live togeder—de Lord knows how long dat 'll be! Try to please young Mas'r an' Missis, so 's to put off de evil day—but it 'll come, chile, it 'll come, an' ye mus' be spectin' on't. 'Bove all, do n't forget yer prars, 'cause if de Lord aint yer friend, whar 'll ye go?"

"Oh, mother, I 's allers a prayin'—'pears like it 's de greatest comfort I 's got."

"Well, chile, dat 's right. May de dear Lord bless ye! Far'well."

At daybreak the next morning, Sally was on her way to the rice-field. Her marriage had come and gone like any other incident in life, and now she must resume her daily toil. The hours went by slowly as she dropped the rice into the drills, and covered it lightly with her hoe. She had little disposition to talk with her companions, and had she desired it, it would not have been permitted. There was a new overseer on the plantation; a harsh, unfeeling man, who restricted the servants in every possible way. When the hot noon came on, they stopped to take their scanty dinner—a small piece of bread and meat, and some boiled rice. At a little distance was a

CHAPTER VII.

A HUSBAND SOLD.

SEE! the moon is over the hill;
Hark! the wind in the trees is still;
Only the stars shine out on high,
In the azure depths of the midnight sky.
The master sleeps in his downy bed,
And watch and care for a while have fled,
Wake, my children! and we 'll away,
Ere in the east is the dawn of day.
Whither? Alas! I know not whither
This side of the cold and fatal River!
The earth has many a pleasant dell
Where ye and I might be sheltered well,
But ne'er secure on the land or sea
Can the slave from his white pursuers be!
God of mercy, and truth, and right,
Guide our steps through the silent night!

THE master grew every day more reckless in his expenditures, and more unreasonable in his demands upon his servants. Among the household duties which Sally occasionally performed, was that of seeing that the milk was properly strained and taken care of. One morning her mistress was out of humor, and imagining that Sally had not taken pains with her work, she complained to her husband.

"Look here, Sally," said he, "do you put the milk in a pan that is n't washed?"

"Oh, no, mas'r, I takes partikler paine to have it clean."

"Do you mean to contradict your mistress?"

"I did n't, mas'r."

"You did n't, did you? I'll see!"

Seizing her by the arm, he whipped her severely, and at length desisting from very weariness, he called out, "Now see if you 'll tell the truth the next time."

Half crazed with pain and terror, she crept away to the field. She dared not neglect her tasks, and all through that wretched day she followed the plow, smarting from the blows. It was the crisis of her fate. Year after year she had suffered on, and now she felt that she could endure no longer. With her buoyant nature, she would not have despaired could she have seen one distant gleam of hope, but matters were daily getting worse on the plantation, and she knew not where to turn for light.

Revolving these things in her mind as she went her weary rounds, she came to the desperate resolution of running away, and with

keen sharp air which prevails during some days of the winter months would speedily have finished them.

Although certain that they had come to a country where they would be treated as slaves, and subjected to hard work and hard treatment, without the smallest chance of ever again seeing their native land, yet the negroes upon coming ashore, and being allowed to stretch their limbs, and walk about a little—to refresh themselves in the salt water, and breathe the pure air of heaven — and, above all, being furnished with fresh provisions, it was astonishing to observe how their spirits revived: a change for the better appeared in their countenances, and they expressed their delight, by capering and singing. But no wonder, after all, when we consider the difference between the hold of a ship, containing four or five hundred negroes, surrounded with filth, and suffering from suffocation, and the fresh and grateful free air of heaven.

I would here observe, that in the preceding portion of my narrative, and also in that which is to follow, I have never had recourse to falsehood, in expressing what I have seen or heard; the case does not require it; the plain and simple truth will do more for the cause of the black man, than ten volumes of varnished fables: yea, one simple fact, related as it actually happened, will do more for our cause, than fifty exaggerated fabrications. To do justice, then, to the white man, I observed, that in dividing the negroes into *lots* for sale, the captain and mates

were always consulted by the owners, and such of the slaves as it could be made out were related to one another, were put in the same lot. I remember one case, however, which created some sensation, even among the hardened slave-dealers.

By some oversight or mistake, a mother was put in one lot, and her only daughter, a fine girl of sixteen or seventeen in another, and when, after the sale, the purchasers were driving away their *lots*, (for, indeed, they were actually *driven* away, like four-footed beasts) the poor girl ran to her mother, and taking her by the hand, was proceeding up the wharf with her. But in a moment, this was discovered by the person who had purchased the girl—for a *particular* purpose, as it afterwards appeared. He instantly followed and seized the girl by the wrist, and although she could not speak a word of English, she manifested by her looks and voice, that she was not deficient in nature's eloquence. She threw her arms around the neck of her mother, who seemed equally moved; and it was not without much difficulty, and many hard blows of the cowskin, that they could be separated. Mr. Naylor here humanely interfered, and endeavoured to effect a compromise or bargain betwixt the planter who purchased the mother, and who resided 150 miles up the country, and the person who had purchased the daughter; but all to no effect. The latter, who resided within 20 miles of Charleston, would hearken to no terms; he had a *particular purpose*, as I have already said, for the girl, and would yield her up to no one.

sister, "really it is most annoying that I have no sooner got proper cooks than off you hurry them to auction." "Well, well, my dear! you know you are a very clever woman, and you would tire for want of employment if I did not oblige you in this way. I shall try and get you a fresh young girl or two next week, so say no more about it. You see it is always turning over a few hundred dollars."

I was also acquainted with a Mr. Dunnam, a boot and shoe maker, who made a regular traffic of breeding negroes, and had hardly ever less than fifteen or twenty negro children swarming in his back yard. He was a shrewd judge of the value of this peculiar kind of property. I remember his purchasing a negro girl, named Sally, about twenty years of age, with a child at her breast, in the year 1811, when prices were dull, for 350 dollars only. Sally soon found a husband among Mr. Dunnam's shoemakers; and by the year 1818, Sally had become the mother of five fine children; when as negroes were then selling at an extravagant price in consequence of the very high rates of cotton and rice, the knowing boot-maker brought the whole family to the Vendue table. I witnessed the sale personally, and can assure the reader that they brought 530 dollars a head, or, in all, 3180 dollars! Such enormous profits on the *raising* of negroes certainly offer a great temptation to men whose god is money.

It is still more to be deplored, that the love of money should operate so powerfully upon the mind of woman, as to destroy that natural delicacy of feel-

ing which is one of the brightest ornaments of the softer sex. I was standing one day at the door of a grocery, in East Bay Street, when two white ladies, finely dressed, walking on the pavement, came up while a young black woman was conversing with me; the elder of the ladies stopped, and, drawing my female friend aside, asked her to whom she belonged. "I belong to nobody, ma'am," said the young woman, dropping a courtesy; "I do be free woman, ma'am." "Oh! very well, my good girl—never mind; I only thought you looked as if you would *breed* well!" The white *ladies* then went on their way. Is any comment here necessary?

I will just give one or two more examples. "But how did you become acquainted with these private scenes, Mr. Zamba?" some reader may ask. "Some of them through the intervention of Zillah; who, like the rest of her sex, was fond of a bit of gossip with her sister waiting-maids." One of these told her that when waiting on her young mistress, a Miss Treuman, in her bed-chamber, where also one or two of the young lady's sisters were present, Miss Treuman would lean back in her chair and say, "Now Dinah, come hither and rub my legs." Dinah forthwith kneeled down on the floor; and having pulled off the young lady's stockings, commenced in as gentle a manner as possible to manipulate the limbs of this Carolinian beauty for she really *was* a beauty: at least in outward appearance. "Rub a little harder now, Dinah; ah! that's a good wench, just so: ah! that'll do. Now, you black devil, have you scratched

Douglass, Frederick. "Life of Frederick Douglass". Boston: Anti-Slavery Office, 1845.

Page 1.

"... The white children could tell their ages. I could not tell why I ought to be deprived of the same privilege. I was not allowed to make any inquiries of my master concerning it. He deemed all such inquiries on the part of a slave improper and impertinent, and evidence of a restless spirit."

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"We were not regularly allowanced. Our food was coarse corn meal boiled. This was called mush. It was put into a large wooden tray or trough, and set down upon the ground. The children were then called, like so many pigs, and like so many pigs they would come and devour the mush; some with oyster shells, others with pieces of shingles, some with naked hands, and none with spoons. He that ate fastest go most; he that was strongest got the best place; and few left the trough satisfied."

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"The more I read, the more I was lead to abhor and detest my enslavers. I could regard them in no other light than a band of successful robbers, who had left their homes, and gone to Africa, and stolen us from our homes, and in a strange land reduced us to slavery. I loathed them as being the meanest as well as the most wicked of men."...

"If at any one time of my life more than another, I was made to drink the bitterest drege of slavery, that time was

during the first six months of my stay with Mr. Covey. We were worked in all weathers. It was never too hot or too cold; it could never rain, blow, hail or snow too hard for us to work in the field. Work, work, work, was scarcely more the order of the day than of the night. The longest days were too short for him. I was somewhat unmanageable when I first went there, but a few months of this discipline tamed me. Mr. Covey succeeded in breaking me. I was broken in body, soul and spirit. My natural elasticity was crushed, my intellect languished, the disposi- to read departed, the cheerful spark that lingered about my eye died; the dark night of slavery closed in upon me; and behold a man transformed into a brute."

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"For my part, I should prefer death to hopeless bondage."

West, H.A. printed in The Scroll, April, 1927.

"A great legal victory has recently been won by our race in Texas. The Supreme has declared unconstitutional the law that kept them from the polls. The victory means much more because it was supported throughout by the Negro. Determination and fight made this important decision possible, not forums and discussion groups. If you are entitled to something and do not get it, demand it and back up this demand. We have always had big politicians in Georgia, and we are looking to them to do something besides have committee meetings."

Taylor of the County of Campbell & state of Kentucky, have agreed to emancipate
set free & emancipate my negro man slave Reuben on the following con-
ditions to wit: I am to receive for the hire of the said Reuben, at the rate
of $10 per month in gold or silver, the same to be paid monthly from
till the time shall arrive, when the full consideration for which I have
agreed to liberate & emancipate him shall arrive & I have agreed to liberate
emancipate & set free the said Reuben whenever I shall have received
the full sum of $500 in gold or silver, to be paid, the whole sum at one
time, or as may be convenient in smaller sums & in the latter
case I have agreed to allow interest upon such smaller sums from
the day of each such several payment until the time shall arrive
when the whole $500 shall be received, in the payments & the interest
thereon as aforesaid; but it is expressly & particularly understood,
that such payments are by no means & in no manner to interfere
with the hire at the rate of $10 per month as aforesaid, which
I am regularly in the meantime to receive in manner aforesaid,
independently & exclusively of the aforesaid $500. — And for the
full, true, & perfect performance of the afde agreement, & to execute
proper deeds of emancipation upon the conditions aforesaid, I bind
myself, my heirs, executors & administrators, to James McPike
of the County of Campbell & state of Kentucky, ~~this 30th day of November
in the year of our Lord 1825~~. In witness my hand & seal ~~this day & date above written~~. — 3rd day of November 1825 —

This is a Copy of the original delivered to Joseph McPike

Jas Taylor

snow on the ground, by which I suffered very much. I had determined at last to speak to him to sell me to some person in the neighborhood, so that I might still be near my wife and children—but a different fate awaited me.

My master kept a store at a small village on the bank of the Patuxent river, called B——, although he resided at some distance on a farm. One morning he rose early, and ordered me to take a yoke of oxen and go to the village, to bring home a cart which was there, saying he would follow me. He arrived at the village soon after I did, and took his breakfast with his store-keeper. He then told me to come into the house and get my breakfast. Whilst I was eating in the kitchen, I observed him talking earnestly, but low, to a stranger near the kitchen door. I soon after went out, and hitched my oxen to the cart, and was about to drive off, when several men came round about me, and amongst them the stranger whom I had seen speaking with my master. This man came up to me, and, seizing me by the collar, shook me violently, saying I was his property, and must go with him to Georgia. At the sound of these words, the thoughts of my wife and children rushed across my mind, and my heart beat away within me. I saw and knew that my case was hopeless, and that resistance was vain, as there were near twenty persons present, all of whom

were ready to assist the man by whom I was kidnapped. I felt incapable of weeping or speaking, and in my despair I laughed loudly. My purchaser ordered me to cross my hands behind, which were quickly bound with a strong cord; and he then told me that we must set out that very day for the South. I asked if I could not be allowed to go to see my wife and children, or if this could not be permitted, if they might not have leave to come to see me; but was told that I would be able to get another wife in Georgia.

My new master, whose name I did not hear, took me that same day across the Patuxent, where I joined fifty-one other slaves, whom he had bought in Maryland. Thirty-two of these were men, and nineteen were women. The women were merely tied together with a rope, about the size of a bed-cord, which was tied like a halter round the neck of each; but the men, of whom I was the stoutest and strongest, were very differently caparisoned. A strong iron collar was closely fitted by means of a padlock round each of our necks. A chain of iron, about a hundred feet in length, was passed through the hasp of each padlock, except at the two ends, where the hasps of the padlock passed through a link of the chain. In addition to this, we were handcuffed in pairs, with iron staples and bolts, with a short chain, about a foot

Sally's old mistress on the plantation had been gradually declining in health for years, and now news came that she was dead. Her slaves were divided between her brothers and their children, and Sally and her sons fell to one of the nephews, a dissipated young man, who had wasted all his property, and had been waiting impatiently for his old aunt's death, that he might receive his portion of her estate. He wanted to convert some of his share into ready money, so Isaac and Daniel and Lewis were taken and sold in Fayetteville at a public auction. Daniel was bought by a planter far up the country; Isaac, by a gentleman who lived a little way out of the town; and Lewis, poor little Lewis, his mother's darling, with his merry face and sportive ways,—a speculator from Alabama, saw him, and purchased him to go with a "lot" he had in waiting, to that seemingly distant and unknown land. Sally's grief was great at parting from Daniel, whom she might never see again, for, although not so intelligent as her older son, he had always been affectionate and obedient to her. She took leave of Isaac with more hope, for he was not to be so far removed; but when it came to

Lewis, who was immediately placed in his purchaser's traveling wagon, she was broken down with anguish. The curse of servitude was upon her, although she had married a free man. She was still a slave, and her children were slaves, and only death could free them. Her distress was increased by the rage and despair of her husband, for he was as fond a father as she was a mother. She saw the money paid down for her boy; she heard him calling good-by to her out of the cart, and, half frantic, she ran to him, and catching him in her arms, held him tightly, as if they could never be parted. He was only three years old, just learning to talk, and every hour developing some new charm in his mother's eyes. He did not understand her grief, and she would not sadden his little heart by telling him he would never see her more. Pleased at the prospect of a ride in a wagon, he laughed and danced about, unconscious of fear or sorrow. Sally gave him a little ginger-cake, saying, as she put it into his hand, "Now, Lewis, break it in two, an' give mammy a piece."

"No," said he, "did n't ye jes' gin it to me?" The poor mother burst into tears, and

the child, thinking it was all because she wanted the cake, exclaimed, "Here, mammy, I *will* gin ye a piece," and then her husband came and took her away. With streaming eyes she watched the wagon till it disappeared, and then, as she turned homeward, if she had been familiar with the Scriptures, she would have cried out in anguish, "All Thy waves and Thy billows are gone over me."

CHAPTER IX.

THE HOME DESOLATE—THE MOTHER SOLD TOO.

The house is desolate and lone,
My precious boy, now thou art gone.
I look upon thy empty bed,
And every joy from me hast fled;
I watch to hear thee on the stair.
But all is still—thou art not there;
And then my heavy heart sinks down,
And sees the cross, but not the crown.

I should be glad, my boy, to die
Beneath this Carolina sky;
Yet oft I fear my fate will be
O'er hill and plain to follow thee.
God help me! help us every one,
Through the dear love of Christ his Son!

It was almost dark when Sally reached her own door. Her husband had left her on the way, and gone into a low drinking saloon, to drown his grief and anger in intoxication. Some of her neighbors and acquaintances were waiting for her return, and, going into the house with her, tried to cheer her heart. But what can comfort a mother when she is bereft of her children? If your three only boys should be stolen from you in one day, without hope of recovery, could any earthly friend console you? Sally's sons were as much to her as yours are to you, and the words of her visitors fell unheeded upon her ear. At length, seeing that their efforts were of no avail, they went out silently, and she was left alone. Alone! Yes, it was such loneliness as only they can understand, who have had a similar trial. For a while, she sat immovable, and, as if stupefied by her grief, and then she arose, and opening her little bureau, began to look over the clothes that had belonged to Lewis; every article of which she had labored hard to procure, and had fitted and made for him with a mother's pride and pleasure. The little frocks and aprons were taken up and laid aside again,

"I live down in Alabama."

"Oh, then," said Sally, "I couldn't cry. 'Peared like I was stunned, an' the life died out o' me. I did jes' as he told me without sayin' a word. 'You must come along now,' said he, 'and I'll see about your things afterward.' So he took hold o' my arm an' led me to the door, an' I walked along with him like I was in a dream, till we got to de slave-pen, an' den he pushed me in, an' locked me up wid de rest."

CHAPTER X.

THE SLAVE-PEN.

It is not dying that I fear;
  Lord! it were sweet to die,
And safe from all that wounds me here,
  Within thine arms to lie.

But O! 'tis living that I dread,
  When friends and love are gone,
And not a star is overhead
  To shine my night upon.

And yet, if thou would'st have me live,
  My Master and my Friend,
Unmurmuring days to Thee I'll give,
  For thou the cross dost send.

As the door closed upon her purchaser, and the terrible reality of her fate burst upon her, Sally's unnatural calmness deserted her, and she sank to the ground in a swoon. The slave-pen was an enclosure of perhaps a hundred feet square, surrounded by a high board fence, and entered by a small gate or door. In it, some thirty men, women, and children—the men chained together, two by two—were waiting their departure to the far south-west. A dreadful scene it was. Some were cursing and swearing, and some were rending the air with their cries. There were wives torn from their husbands, and husbands from their wives, and children snatched from their parents, and parents bereft of their children. Without, many of their friends and acquaintances were gathered, talking to them through the bars, some in anger and some in grief, which could find no words for its expression. There were two speculators in company; Sally's purchaser, who attended to outside matters, and who was naturally a kind-hearted man, and another, who was wholly sordid and unfeeling and whose business it was to stay with the slaves, and to act as overseer, keeping them in order as he saw fit. He walked

among them, flourishing a whip in his hand, listening to their conversation, and watching narrowly any seeming attempt to escape.

It was a bright day in June, and the country was in its summer prime. All about them were cultivated fields, and away in the distance the dark pine forests stretched to the horizon. The boughs were full of singing birds, and every breeze was odorous of roses and jessamines, but in that little spot there was anguish enough to shade the brightness of the world, and to make all the angels weep as they looked down out of the clear heaven!

In the loud talking and confusion of the place, Sally's entrance was not noticed. She had lain for some time unconscious, when the overseer observed her, and brandishing his whip about her head, giving her at the same time a slight kick with his heavy foot, he called out, in a rough voice—

"Come, wake up, old gal! Don't want no fainting fits here; all my folks must be lively."

So rudely roused, Sally made an effort to sit up and look about her, and as she did so, he turned away, and was soon occupied in the distant corner. Poor Sally, her heart sick-

ened at the scene before her, and she bowed her head upon her hands. Now and then some fearful oath came to her ear, and anon a piteous exclamation. She thought over all her life, from her childhood to this bitterest hour; a gloomy reach, with only here and there an illumined portion, like a November's day in northern latitudes, when black clouds hurry across the sky, and sunny gleams appear only now and then between the shadows of the howling winds. Would the night never come? She longed for death, and if, in her woeful state, she could have prayed, she would have besought the Lord that it might not tarry. She was roused from her reverie by the entrance of her purchaser. Seeing her sitting motionless where he had left her, he exclaimed, "Come, Sally, there 's no use in grieving—what 's done can 't be helped. I 'll take you back to the house now to pick up your things."

At these words, all the realities of her situation came vividly to her mind. She thought of her husband and of Isaac, and of her old mother, who was now owned by a gentleman a little way out of the town, and with a "Yes, mas'r," she arose and followed him. On

through the streets they passed, and by the very market where she had that morning made her purchases with so much of independence and satisfaction. What a change had a few hours wrought. Now she was weak and dizzy, and led by a man who had over her absolute control. The real reason of her sale was that her success and popularity had awakened so much envy and jealousy, that it was deemed expedient she should be removed. Alabama was then what Texas is now. Her peace and comfort were nothing compared to the safety of the cherished institution of slavery, and so they were sacrificed without one pang of remorse, as they have been thousands of times since her day. She was well known in Fayetteville, and the rumor of her sale spread rapidly through the town. As they passed on, such remarks as this fell upon her ear:

"Good enough for her."

"Yes, yes; she 's held her head rather too high."

"Ah! that 's the way to take down your smart niggers. Reckon she wont be quite so much of a lady down in the Alabama clearings."

But they were not all ill-natured remarks which she heard. In one group was a poor white woman with whom she had often shared her simple meal, and who was now protesting against her fate.

"I tell you it's a mean shame. There aint a better woman in Fayetteville, white or black. Did n't she help me take care of Jimmy all through the fever last fall, and bring me a cup of coffee and a bit of bread whenever he was too sick for me to go to my day's work? I say we'd any of us better be sold than Sally. Any how, I believe she's got the Lord on her side."

These kind words touched Sally's heart, and for the first time that day the tears came to her eyes. *Was* the Lord on her side? In the depths of her heart she prayed that He would not desert her in this most desperate hour. "Oh! Mas'r," she cried, when she could speak, "I's willin' to go with ye if it's de Lord's will, but I'se got a son, my oldest chile, out on de Ridgely plantation, an' a little ways from him my ole mother, an' her I haint seen dis three years—if I could only bid 'em good bye!"

"Well, Sally, if you 'll be peaceable and not

make me any trouble, I'll send for 'em to come and see you to-morrow morning."

"Thank'ee, Mas'r," was her grateful reply.

When she reached her own house, how deserted did everything already look. The landlord had been there, and taken her newly-purchased barrel of flour for rent; the young girl who assisted her had fled in affright, and the rooms were in confusion. The speculator kept guard at the door, and called out to her to make haste and get ready her things. How hard it would have been to her to leave the various articles of household and personal comfort, which by hard labor she had gathered together, if her thoughts had not been engrossed by greater sorrows. Only a limited amount of baggage could be carried on the long journey, and Sally was restricted to one trunk and a bag, a bed and a tub and a pail. The three last were speedily put in readiness, and then she prepared to fill the trunk and the bag with her clothing. One thing after another was taken from the drawers and folded away, and when she came to Isaac's Bible, she placed it in the bag, that she might give it to him on the morrow. While thus employed, her husband suddenly

entered the house. He was away at his work when the news of her sale reached him, and, almost beside himself, he had hurried home to see her once more. Superior to him in thought and energy, he regarded her with a kind of veneration, and was weak as a child at the thought of losing her.

"Oh, Sally, ye shan't go. I can't live without ye. I'll tell dat ar cursed speculator to"——

"Don't go on so, Lewis, I can't bar it; I specs it's de Lord dat sends him."

"Sally, ye know I's got some money dat I's been savin', an' I know where there's them that 'll lend me some more. I'll buy ye of him;" and he went to the door and offered the man two hundred and fifty dollars, the price he had paid for his wife; and when this was refused, three hundred dollars was proffered, with the promise that the money should be paid to him that very evening.

"There's no use talking about it," said the speculator, "money can't alter this transaction. Sally's going to Alabama, and you may as well be quiet about it."

"Oh, Lord Jesus!" gasped Sally, as the

words reached her through the open door, "go thar with me!"

Half frantic, her husband came back, and now raving, and now embracing her, he watched her lay the last things into the trunk upon the floor. "What do ye carry yer clothes for, Sally? He'll sell 'em to get grain for his cursed horses. I would n't take any thing but what I had on my back."

At this moment the speculator called out to know if Sally was ready, and hastily fastening the trunk, and leaving it with the other things which were to be conveyed to the wagon, and taking the bag in her hand, she went out, saying to her husband, "Bar it as well 's ye ken, Lewis, an' cum an' see me in de mornin'."

Eve was not sadder at leaving Paradise than was Sally when she stepped, for the last time, over the threshold of that humble dwelling, where had passed the only bright days she had ever known. Twilight was fast fading, and the hush of a tranquil summer night was settling upon the town. Who could have thought so much of anguish was in human hearts on such an eve! Silently they walked on, Sally and her master. At the corner of

one of the streets she was accosted by a colored man named White, who had always been very friendly to her. Just as he passed her he said, in a low tone, which was unheard by her companion, "I shall come up to de yard to see ye in de evenin'." When they reached the slave-pen, it was quite dark, but out by the wagons a huge fire was burning, and its ruddy glow shone even on the faces of the poor creatures within the enclosure. Most of them were sleeping, worn out with the misery of the day. Sally took the most quiet corner, and laying her bag down against the fence, had composed herself as well as she was able, when she heard some one speaking to her through the bars. It was White. He had come to tell her that the speculators, having locked the door, had gone away for a little while, and that if she would wait till they were all asleep, and the fire had burnt low, she could climb over the fence and escape. A wild hope of freedom sprung up within her, and she embraced it as eagerly as an imprisoned bird that had beat its wings hopelessly against unyielding walls, would fly to an open window which revealed the sunny sky. Carefully she took the clothes from her

bag and passed them, piece by piece, through the crack to her friend without, and then, when all was quiet, and the firelight glow had faded, she tried to mount the high fence that she might let herself down upon the other side. A difficult thing it was. Two or three times she almost succeeded, and then fell frightened back upon the ground. Just as she was about to attempt it again, in a different manner, the bolt of the door was suddenly withdrawn, and she knew that the master had returned, and that all was over. So quietly she lay down, and closing her eyes as if in sleep, resigned herself to her fate.

The morning dawned bright and beautiful on the fields, and wan and wretched on that imprisoned band. The slave train was to leave before noon, and life-long leave-takings must be crowded into these brief hours. Only a favored few were permitted to enter the yard; most of the poor creatures were standing by the fence, talking through it to their friends without, strangely intermingling oaths and sobs and loving words. Here and there one was heard calling upon God, and committing a friend to His care, but most of them seemed desperate and reckless in their woe.

Sally stood, looking out between the boards, to see if, among the multitude, she could discern her mother or her child. The sun rose high in heaven, and the dew forsook the grass, but still they did not come. She began to fear they had not been sent for, when, hastening through the crowd, she saw a tall and comely boy leading an old woman by the hand, whom she knew to be her son and her mother.

Calling to them that they might know where to find her, she sat down by the largest opening in the boards, and gazed out upon them as if all of life were in her eyes. Her old mother was growing childish, and her heart was almost broken at parting from Sally, who was her only daughter and her pride. Her screams and groans were agonizing to hear, and pierced poor Sally's heart with a keener sorrow. Isaac seemed quite stunned and silenced by the blow, but deep thoughts were at work within him, and he was forming resolutions which were to influence his future life. Among the slave company was a young girl of good disposition and character, named Charlotte Rives. The grandmother knew her, and begged Sally, as

she desired the blessing of the Lord, to watch over and protect her. While they stood thus talking, Sally's husband made his way to the group, with wild, sad face, that betrayed a night of pain. He gave her a small parcel, saying, "There's a new dress for ye, Sally. When ye get to Alabama, if ye think it 'll do for me to come, find somebody to write to me, an' I 'll surely go to ye."

"I will, Lewis, I will. I 'll pray to de Lord to let ye come."

"Sally, I can't stay to see ye go. It would kill me. If ye hear any thing from little Lewis, send it to me in de letter. Farwell!"

"Oh, God o' mercy, farwell, farwell!" said Sally, as they wrung each other's hands, and parted.

There was a great commotion now about the yard; then the door was opened, and the speculators entered, and took out first the chained men, whom they arranged in marching order, and then the women and children followed. Last of all came Sally, and as soon as she was without the door, her mother and her son clasped her in their arms. White, upon some pretext, had brought her bag to her again, and now, drawing from it the

precious Bible, she put it into Isaac's hand, saying—

"Read it every day, chile, an' pray to de Lord to guide ye. 'Pears like he 'll take care of ye. If ye see yer brother Daniel, tell him his mother loves him, an' wants him allers to be a good boy."

"Oh, mother," said she to the old woman, "you'se been a good mother to me, an I can't half thank ye for it. Do n't take on for me. De Lord 'll bless ye, an' bring us all together, I hopes, in de Kingdom."

Around Sally stood many of her acquaintances, who had been accustomed to attend the same meeting with her, and who prized her friendship, and had come out from Fayetteville to bid her adieu. Some were weeping, some invoking God's blessing upon her, and one was improvizing, in a minor strain, a song which began—

"Sister, far'well! I bid ye adieu,
I'm sorry to leave ye, I lub ye so well;
But now you are going to whar I dunno;
When ye get to yer station, pray for poor me!"

But now the train was ready, and the impatient overseer called out to Sally, "Come, hurry up there! You 'll have time enough to

cry on the road." One last embrace, and the mother and daughter and son tore themselves from each other's arms, casting back agonized glances as they moved away. Suddenly, the old woman broke from her grandchild's hold, and running after her daughter, untied her checked apron from her waist, and threw it toward her, asking her own in exchange, which was given. Simple pledge! yet was it as dear to them as if it had been a girdle of gems.

"Far'well, far'well, the Lord bless ye," they cried, till their voices grew faint in the distance, and then the grandmother and the boy returned to their respective masters, and Sally went forward to unknown lands.

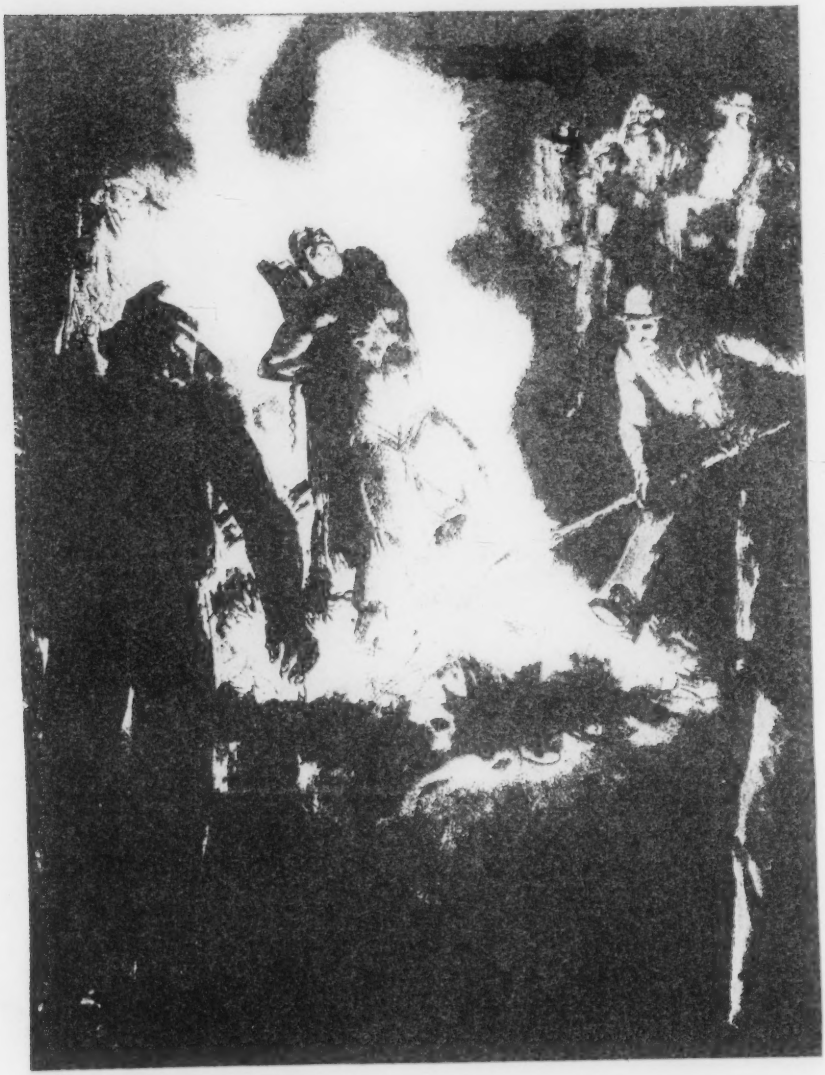
CHAPTER XI.

THE SLAVE-GANG.

Over its bed the river rolled,
All flecked with shining foam;
The waves were black and the waves were cold,
But, deep in their darkest, chilliest fold,
I would I had found a home.

Oh, it had been a sweet release,
Secure from a master's call,
There to sleep in unbroken peace,
Till the world and the worldling's power should cease,
And the Lord be all in all!

In the slave-coffle were about twenty men, with three women — Sally, the young girl Charlotte, and an old woman named Hagar, whom the speculator had bought at a bargain, and five small children. The men were chained together, two by two, but Hagar was docile from age and habit, and Charlotte from youth and inexperience, and there was a kind of dignity about Sally which made her new master dislike to put her in irons; so that, contrary to the usual custom, all three were left unshackled. The speculators rode in a light carriage, and a large wagon, drawn by horses, contained the baggage of the com-



THE LAW IS TOO SLOW
From a lithograph by
George W. Bellows

ROPE & FAGGOT

A BIOGRAPHY OF JUDGE LYNCH

BY

WALTER WHITE

For Henry P. Slaughter
Cordially
Walter White

1929

ALFRED · A · KNOPF

NEW YORK & LONDON

THE SUMMER SCHOOL BULLETIN
Published Weekly During the 1966 Session of the
ATLANTA UNIVERSITY SUMMER SCHOOL

No. 5 July 5, 1966

FREE MOVIE SERIES STARTS ON TUESDAY

First is the series of free movies to be shown at Atlanta University during the Summer School is "Becket" starring Richard Burton and Peter O'Toole. It is a Paramount production in color, and is free to students and faculty.

TUESDAY, July 5, at 7:30 p.m. DEAN SAGE AUDITORIUM.

NDEA INSTITUTE MOVIES AT SPELMAN

The NDEA Institute movies to be shown on Tuesday, July 5, at Howe Hall, Rockefeller, at 8:00 p.m. will be "Intruder in the Dust" and "Come Back Africa."

Students, faculty and friends are invited to attend the showing. A contribution of 25¢ will be collected at the door.

SCHOOL OF LIBRARY SERVICE FILMS

Two films will be presented by the Atlanta University School of Library Service on Thursday evening, July 7, at 7:30 p.m. in Dean Sage Auditorium. They will be "Superfluous People" and "When I'M Old Enough--Goodbye." The films are open to students and faculty.

THURSDAY, July 7, at 7:30 p.m. DEAN SAGE AUDITORIUM

NORTH CAROLINA EXCURSION

An excursion trip is scheduled for Saturday, July 9, to Cherokee, North Carolina, to witness the play, "Unto These Hills," and to tour the reconstructed Indian Village. Transport will leave the campus at 11:00 a.m. and return immediately following the performance of the play.

Any persons interested should contact Mrs. Jennie D. Taylor, Suite 237, Bumstead Hall, or Room 203, New Education Building between the hours of 8:30 and 11:30 a.m.

COMING EVENTS

Monday, July 11 - Summer School Forum - Congressman Charles Weltner
Tuesday, July 12 - Free Movie - "The Night of the Iguana"
Tuesday, July 12 - NDEA Movies - "The Cool World" and "Ivan O'Donaldson"
Wednesday, July 13 - School of Library Service Panal Discussion "Writing and Race"
Thursday, July 14 - Summer Theatre - "In White America"

not black; and, being a slave, my masters and mistresses would not admit that I was white. So I reached the age of ten, still called "a child," and actually one in all life's experiences, though pretty well advanced in education. I had a very good knowledge of the rudiments, had bestowed some attention upon Grammar, and eagerly read every book that fell in my way. Love of study taught me seclusive habits; I read long and late; and the desire of a finished education became the passion of my life. Alas! these days were but a poor preparation for the life that was to come after!

Miss Betsy, though a warm-hearted woman, was a violent advocate of slavery. I have since been puzzled how to reconcile this with her otherwise Christian character; and, though she professed to love me dearly, and had bestowed so much attention upon the cultivation of my mind, and expressed it as her opinion that I was too pretty and white to be a slave, yet, if any one had spoken of giving me freedom, she would have condemned it as domestic heresy. If I had belonged to her, I doubt not but my life would have been a happy one. But, alas! a different lot was assigned me!

About two years and six months after my old master's death, a division was made of the property. This involved a sale of everything, even the household furniture. There were, I believe, heavy debts hanging over the estate. These must be met, and the residue divided among the heirs.

When it was made known in the kitchen that a sale was to be made, the slaves were panic-stricken. Loud cries and lamentations arose, and my young mistresses came often to the kitchen to comfort us.

One of these young ladies, Miss Margaret, a tall, nobly-formed girl, with big blue eyes and brown hair, frequently came and sat with us, trying, in the most persuasive tones, to reconcile the old ones to their destiny. Often did I see the large tears roll down her fair cheeks, and her red lip quiver. These indications of sympathy, coming from such a lovely being, cheered many an hour of after-captivity.

But the "sale-day" came at last; I have a confused idea of it. The ladies left the day before. Miss Betsy took an affectionate leave of me; ah, I did not then know that it was a final one.

The servants were all sold, as I heard one man say, at very high rates, though not under the auctioneer's hammer. To that my young masters were opposed.

A tall, hard-looking man came up to me, very roughly seized my arm, bade me open my mouth; examined my teeth; felt of my limbs; made me run a few yards; ordered me to jump; and, being well satisfied with my activity, said to Master Edward, "I will take her." Little comprehending the full meaning of that brief sentence, I rejoined the group of children from which I had been summoned. After awhile, my mother came up to me, holding a wallet in her hand. The tear-drops stood on her cheeks, and her whole frame was distorted with pain. She walked toward me a few steps, then stopped, and suddenly shaking her head, exclaimed, "No, no, I can't do it, I can't do it." I was amazed at her grief, but an indefinable fear kept me from rushing to her.

"Here, Kitty," she said to an old negro woman, who stood near, "you break it to her. I can't do it. No, it will drive me mad. Oh, heaven! that I was ever born to see this day." Then rocking her body back and forward in a transport of agony, she gave full vent to her feelings in a long, loud, piteous wail. Oh, God! that cry of grief, that knell of a breaking heart, rang in my ears for many long and painful days. At length Aunt Kitty approached me, and, laying her hand on my shoulder, kindly said:

"Alas, poor chile, you mus' place your trus' in the good God above, you mus' look to Him for help; you are gwine to leave your mother now. You are to have a new home, a new master, and I hope new friends. May the Lord be with you." So saying, she broke suddenly away from me; but I saw that her wrinkled face was wet with tears.

With perhaps an idle, listless air, I received this astounding

news; but a whirlwind was gathering in my breast. What could she mean by new friends and a new home? Surely I was to take my mother with me! No mortal power would dare to sever *us*. Why, I remember that when master sold the gray mare, the colt went also. Who could, who would, who dared, separate the parent from her offspring? Alas! I had yet to learn that the white man dared do all that his avarice might suggest; and there was no human tribunal where the outcast African could pray for "right!" Ah, when I now think of my poor mother's form, as it swayed like a willow in the tempest of grief; when I remember her bitter cries, and see her arms thrown franticly toward me, and hear her earnest—oh, how earnest—prayer for death or madness, then I wonder where were Heaven's thunderbolts; but retributive Justice *will* come sooner or later, and He who remembers mercy *now* will not forget justice *then*.

"Come along, gal, come along, gather up your duds, and come with me," said a harsh voice; and, looking up from my bewildered reverie, I beheld the man who had so carefully examined me. I was too much startled to fully understand the words, and stood vacantly gazing at him. This strange manner he construed into disrespect; and, raising his riding-whip, he brought it down with considerable force upon my back. It was the first lash I had ever given to me in anger. I smarted beneath the stripe, and a cry of pain broke from my lips. Mother sprang to me, and clasping my quivering form in her arms, cried out to my young master, "Oh, Master Eddy, have mercy on me, on my child. I have served you faithfully, I nursed you, I grew up with your poor mother, who now sleeps in the cold ground I beg you now to save *my child*," and she sank down at his feet, whilst her tears fell fast.

Then my poor old grandfather, who was called the patriarch slave, being the eldest one of the race in the whole neighborhood, joined us. His gray head, wrinkled face, and bent form, told of many a year of hard servitude.

"What is it, Massa Ed, what is it Kaisy be takin' on so

'bout? you haint driv the *chile* off? No—no! young massa only playin' trick now; come Kais' don't be makin' fool of yourself, young massa not gwine to separate you and the chile."

These words seemed to reanimate my mother, and she looked up at Master Edward with a grateful expression of face, whilst she clasped her arms tightly around his knees, exclaiming, "Oh, bless you, young master, bless you forever, and forgive poor Kaisy for distrusting you, but Pompey told me the child was sold away from me, and that gemman struck her;" and here again she sobbed, and caught hold of me convulsively, as if she feared I might be taken.

I looked at my young master's face, and the ghastly whiteness which overspread it, the tearful glister of his eye, and the strange tremor of his figure, struck me with fright. *I knew my doom.* Young as I was, my first dread was for my mother; I forgot my own perilous situation, and mourned alone for her. I would have given worlds could insensibility have been granted her.

"I've got no time to be foolin' longer with these niggers, come 'long, gal. Ann, I believe, you tole me was her name," he said, as he turned to Master Edward. Another wild shriek from my mother, a deep sigh from grandpap, and I looked at master Ed, who was striking his forehead vehemently, and the tears were trickling down his cheeks.

"Here, Mr. Peterkin, here!" exclaimed Master Edward, "here is your bill of sale; I will refund your money; release me from my contract."

Peterkin cast on him one contemptuous look, and with a low, chuckling laugh, replied, "No; you must stand to your bargain. I want that gal; she is likely, and it will do me good to thrash the devil out of her;" turning to me he added, "quit your snuffling and snubbing, or I'll give you something to cry 'bout;" and, roughly catching me by the arm, he hurried me off, despite the entreaty of Master Ed, the cries of mother, and the feeble supplication of my grandfather. I dared to cast one look behind, and beheld my mother wallowing in the dust,

whilst her frantic cries of "save my child, save my child!" rang with fearful agony in my ears. Master Ed covered his face with his hands, and old grandfather reverently raised his to Heaven, as if beseeching mercy. The sight of this anguish-stricken group filled me with a new sense of horror, and forgetful of the presence of Peterkin, I burst into tears: but I was quickly recalled by a fierce and stinging blow from his stout riding-whip.

"See here, nigger (this man, raised among negroes, used their dialect), if you dar' to give another whimper, I'll beat the very life out 'en yer." This terrific threat seemed to scare away every thought of precaution; and, by a sudden and agile bound, I broke loose from him and darted off to the sad group, from which I had been so ruthlessly torn, and, sinking down before Master Ed, I cried out in a wild, despairing tone, "Save me, good master, save me—kill me, or hide me from that awful man, he'll kill me;" and, seizing hold of the skirt of his coat, I covered my face with it to shut out the sight of Peterkin, whose red eye-balls were glaring with fury upon me. Oath after oath escaped his lips. Mother saw him rapidly approaching to recapture me, and, with the noble, maternal instinct of self-sacrifice, sprang forward only to receive the heavy blow of his uplifted whip. She reeled, tottered and sank stunned upon the ground.

"Thar, take that, you yaller hussy, and cuss yer nigger hide for daring to raise this rumpus here," he said, as he rapidly strode past her.

"Gently, Mr. Peterkin," exclaimed Master Edward, "let me speak to her; a little encouragement is better than force."

"This is my encouragement for them," and he shook his whip.

Unheeding him, Master Edward turned to me, saying, "Ann, come now, be a good girl, go with this gentleman, and be an obedient girl; he will give you a kind, nice home; sometimes he will let you come to see your mother. Here is some money for you to buy a pretty head-handkerchief; now go with him."

These kind words and encouraging tones, brought a fresh gush of tears to my eyes. Taking the half-dollar which he offered me, and reverently kissing the skirt of his coat, I rejoined Peterkin; one look at his cold, harsh face, chilled my resolution; yet I had resolved to go without another word of complaint. I could not suppress a groan when I passed the spot where my mother lay still insensible from the effects of the blow

One by one the servants, old and young, gave me a hearty shake of the hand as I passed the place where they were standing in a row for the inspection of buyers.

I had nerved myself, and now that the parting from mother was over, I felt that the bitterness of death was past, and I could meet anything. Nothing now could be a trial, yet I was touched when the servants offered me little mementoes and keepsakes. One gave a yard of ribbon, another a half-paper of pins, a third presented a painted cotton head-tie; others gave me ginger-cakes, candies, or small coins. Out of their little they gave abundantly, and, small as were the bestowments, I well knew that they had made sacrifices to give even so much. I was too deeply affected to make any other acknowledgment than a nod of the head; for a choking thickness was gathering in my throat, and a blinding mist obscured my sight. I did not see my young mistresses, for they had left the house, declaring they could not bear to witness a spectacle so revolting to their feelings.

Upon reaching the gate I observed a red-painted wagon, with an awning of domestic cotton. Standing near it, and holding the horses, was an old, worn, scarred, weather-beaten negro man, who instantly took off his hat as Mr. Peterkin approached.

"Well, Nace, you see I've bought this wench to-day," and he shook his whip over my head.

"Ya! ya! Massa, but she ha' got one goot home wid yer."

"Yes, has she, Nace; but don't yer think the slut has been cryin' 'bout it!"

"Lor' bless us, Massa, but a little of the beech-tree will fetch

opes the fair petals of the lily; and I longed for the summer warmth of kindness to bid it come forth and bloom in beauty.

But now I turned away from her, murmuring, "'Tis not the time." She would not open her heart, and my own must likewise be closed and silent; but when I met poor little Amy, looking so neglected, with scarcely apparel sufficient to cover her nudity, my heart failed me utterly. There she held upon her hip little Ben, her only joy; every now and then she addressed some admonitory words to him, such as "Hush, baby, love," "you's my baby," "sissy loves it," and similar expressions of coaxing and endearment. And this, her only comfort, was about to be wrenched from her. The only link of love that bound her to a weary existence, was to be severed by the harsh mandate of another. Just God! is this right? Oh, my soul, be thou still! Look on in patience! The cloud deepens above! The day of God's wrath is at hand! They who have coldly forbidden our indulging the sweet humanities of life, who have destroyed every social relation, severed kith and kin, ruptured the ties of blood, and left us more lonely than the beasts of the forest, may tremble when the avenger comes!

I ventured to speak with Amy, and I employed the kindest tone; but ever and anon little Ben would send forth such a piteous wail, that I feared he was in physical pain. Amy, however, very earnestly assured me that she had administered catnip tea in plentiful quantities, and had examined his person very carefully to discover if a pin or needle had punctured his flesh; but everything seemed perfectly right.

I attempted to take him in my arms; but he clung so vigorously to Amy's shoulder, that it required strength to unfasten his grasp.

"Oh, don'tee take him; he doesn't like fur to leab me. Him usen to me," cried Amy, as in a motherly way she caressed him. "Now, pretty little boy donee cry any more. Ann shan't hab you;—now be a good nice boy;" and thus she expended upon him her whole vocabulary of endearing epithets.

"Who could," I asked myself, "have the heart to untie this

sweet fraternal bond? Who could dry up the only fountain in this benighted soul? Oh, I have often marvelled how the white mother, who knows, in such perfection, the binding beauty of maternal love, can look unsympathizingly on, and see the poor black parent torn away from her children. I once saw a white lady, of conceded *refinement*, sitting in the portico of her own house, with her youngest born, a babe of some seven months, dallying on her knee, and she toying with the pretty gold-threads of its silken hair, whilst her husband was in the kitchen, with a whip in his hand, severely lashing a negro woman, whom he had sold to a trader—lashing her because she refused to go *cheerfully* and leave her infant behind. The poor wretch, as a last resource, fled to her Mistress, and, on her knees, begged her to have her child. "Oh, Mistress," cried the frantic black woman, "ask Master to let me take my baby with me." What think you was the answer of this white mother?

"Go away, you impudent wretch, you don't deserve to have your child. It will be better off away from you!" Aye, this was the answer which, accompanied by a derisive sneer, she gave to the heart-stricken black mother. Thus she felt, spoke, and acted, even whilst caressing her own helpless infant! Who would think it injustice to "commend the poison-chalice to her own lips"? She, this fine lady, was known to weep violently, because an Irish woman was unable to save a sufficiency of money from her earnings to bring her son from Ireland to America; but, for the African mother, who was parting eternally from her helpless babe, she had not so much as a consolatory word. Oh, ye of the proud Caucasian race, would that your hearts were as fair and spotless as your complexions! Truly can the Saviour say of you, "Oh, Jerusalem, Jerusalem, I would have gathered you together as a hen gathereth her chickens, but ye would not!" Oh, perverse generation of vipers, how long will you abuse the Divine forbearance!

was about four years old. My mother had several children, and they were sold upon master's death to separate purchasers. She was sold, my father told me, to a Georgia trader. I, of all her children, was the only one left in Maryland. When sold I was naked, never having had on clothes in my life, but my new master gave me a child's frock, belonging to one of his own children. After he had purchased me, he dressed me in this garment, took me before him on his horse, and started home; but my poor mother, when she saw me leaving her for the last time, ran after me, took me down from the horse, clasped me in her arms, and wept loudly and bitterly over me. My master seemed to pity her, and endeavored to soothe her distress by telling her that he would be a good master to me, and that I should not want anything. She then, still holding me in her arms, walked along the road beside the horse as he moved slowly, and earnestly and imploringly besought my master to buy her and the rest of her children, and not permit them to be carried away by the negro buyers; but whilst thus entreating him to save her and her family, the slave-driver, who had first bought her, came running in pursuit of her with a raw-hide in his hand. When he overtook us, he told her he was her master now, and ordered her to give that little negro to its owner, and come back with him.

My mother then turned to him and cried, "Oh, master, do not take me from my child!" Without making any reply, he gave her two or three heavy blows on the shoulders with his raw-hide, snatched me from her arms, handed me to my master, and seizing her by one arm, dragged her back towards the place of sale. My master then quickened the pace of his horse; and as we advanced, the cries of my poor parent became more and more indistinct—at length they died away in the distance, and I never again heard the voice of my poor mother. Young as I was, the horrors of that day sank deeply into my heart, and even at this time, though half a century has elapsed, the terrors of the scene return with painful vividness upon my memory. Frightened at the sight of the cruelties inflicted upon my poor mother, I forgot my own sorrows at parting from her and clung to my new master, as an angel and a saviour, when compared with the hardened fiend into whose power she had fallen. She had been a kind and good mother to me; had warmed me in her bosom in the cold nights of winter; and had often divided the scanty pittance of food allowed her by her mistress, between my brothers, and sisters, and me, and gone supperless to bed herself. Whatever victuals she could obtain beyond the coarse food, salt fish and corn bread, allowed to slaves on the Patuxent and Potomac rivers, she carefully distributed

made ready my bundle, she bade me good-by with tears in her eyes, saying: "My son, be a good boy; be polite to every one, and always behave yourself properly." It was sad to her to part with me, though she did not know that she was never to see me again, for my master had said nothing to her regarding his purpose and she only thought, as I did, that I was hired to work on the canal-boat, and that she should see me occasionally. But alas! We never met again. I can see her form still as when she bade me good-bye. That parting I can never forget. I ran off from her as quickly as I could after her parting words, for I did not want her to see me crying. I went to my master at the store, and he again told me that he had hired me to work on the canal-boat, and to go aboard immediately. Of the boat and the trip and the scenes along the route I remember little—I only thought of my mother and my leaving her.

When we arrived at Richmond, George Pullan, a "nigger-trader," as he was called, came to the boat and began to question me, asking me first if I could remember having had the chickenpox, measles or whooping-cough. I answered, yes. Then he asked me if I did not want to take a little walk with him.

I said, no. "Well," said he, "you have got to go. Your master sent you down here to be sold, and told me to come and get you and take you to the trader's yard, ready to be sold." I saw that to hesitate was useless; so I at once obeyed him and went.

A SLAVE MARKET.

The trader's establishment consisted of an office, a large show-room and a yard in the rear enclosed with a wall of brick fifteen feet high. The principal men of the establishment were the proprietor and the foreman. When slaves were to be exhibited for sale, the foreman was called to the office by means of a bell, and an order given him to bring into the show-room all the slaves in the establishment. This was the work of but a few minutes, and the women were placed in a row on one side of the room and the men on the other. Persons desirous of purchasing them passed up and down between the lines looking the poor creatures over, and questioning them in about the following manner: "What can you do?" "Are you a good cook? seamstress? dairymaid?"—this to the women, while the men would be questioned as to their line of work: "Can you plow? Are you a blacksmith? Have you ever cared for horses? Can

place of both housekeeper and waiting maid to her mistress. She was, in fact, at the beginning and end of every thing.

Mrs. Flint, like many southern women, was totally deficient in energy. She had not strength to superintend her household affairs; but her nerves were so strong, that she could sit in her easy chair and see a woman whipped, till the blood trickled from every stroke of the lash. She was a member of the church; but partaking of the Lord's supper did not seem to put her in a Christian frame of mind. If dinner was not served at the exact time on that particular Sunday, she would station herself in the kitchen, and wait till it was dished, and then spit in all the kettles and pans that had been used for cooking. She did this to prevent the cook and her children from eking out their meagre fare with the remains of the gravy and other scrapings. The slaves could get nothing to eat except what she chose to give them. Provisions were weighed out by the pound and ounce, three times a day. I can assure you she gave them no chance to eat wheat bread from her flour barrel. She knew how many biscuits a quart of flour would make, and exactly what size they ought to be.

Dr. Flint was an epicure. The cook never sent a dinner to his table without fear and trembling; for if there happened to be a dish not to his liking, he would either order her to be whipped, or compel her to eat every mouthful of it in his presence. The poor, hungry creature might not have objected to eating it; but she did object to having her master cram it down her throat till she choked.

They had a pet dog, that was a nuisance in the house.

The cook was ordered to make some Indian mush for him. He refused to eat, and when his head was held over it, the froth flowed from his mouth into the basin. He died a few minutes after. When Dr. Flint came in, he said the mush had not been well cooked, and that was the reason the animal would not eat it. He sent for the cook, and compelled her to eat it. He thought that the woman's stomach was stronger than the dog's; but her sufferings afterwards proved that he was mistaken. This poor woman endured many cruelties from her master and mistress; sometimes she was locked up, away from her nursing baby, for a whole day and night.

When I had been in the family a few weeks, one of the plantation slaves was brought to town, by order of his master. It was near night when he arrived, and Dr. Flint ordered him to be taken to the work house, and tied up to the joist, so that his feet would just escape the ground. In that situation he was to wait till the doctor had taken his tea. I shall never forget that night. Never before, in my life, had I heard hundreds of blows fall, in succession, on a human being. His piteous groans, and his "O, pray don't, massa," rang in my ear for months afterwards. There were many conjectures as to the cause of this terrible punishment. Some said master accused him of stealing corn; others said the slave had quarrelled with his wife, in presence of the overseer, and had accused his master of being the father of her child. They were both black, and the child was very fair.

I went into the work house next morning, and saw the cowhide still wet with blood, and the boards all covered with gore. The poor man lived, and continued to quarrel with his wife. A few months after-

wards Dr. Flint handed them both over to a slave-trader. The guilty man put their value into his pocket, and had the satisfaction of knowing that they were out of sight and hearing. When the mother was delivered into the trader's hands, she said, "You *promised* to treat me well." To which he replied, "You have let your tongue run too far; damn you!" She had forgotten that it was a crime for a slave to tell who was the father of her child.

From others than the master persecution also comes in such cases. I once saw a young slave girl dying soon after the birth of a child nearly white. In her agony she cried out, "O Lord, come and take me!" Her mistress stood by, and mocked at her like an incarnate fiend. "You suffer, do you?" she exclaimed. "I am glad of it. You deserve it all, and more too."

The girl's mother said, "The baby is dead, thank God; and I hope my poor child will soon be in heaven, too."

"Heaven!" retorted the mistress. "There is no such place for the like of her and her bastard."

The poor mother turned away, sobbing. Her dying daughter called her, feebly, and as she bent over her, I heard her say, "Don't grieve so, mother; God knows all about it; and HE will have mercy upon me."

Her sufferings, afterwards, became so intense, that her mistress felt unable to stay; but when she left the room, the scornful smile was still on her lips. Seven children called her mother. The poor black woman had but the one child, whose eyes she saw closing in death, while she thanked God for taking her away from the greater bitterness of life.

III.

THE SLAVES' NEW YEAR'S DAY.

Dr. Flint owned a fine residence in town, several farms, and about fifty slaves, besides hiring a number by the year.

Hiring-day at the south takes place on the 1st of January. On the 2d, the slaves are expected to go to their new masters. On a farm, they work until the corn and cotton are laid. They then have two holidays. Some masters give them a good dinner under the trees. This over, they work until Christmas eve. If no heavy charges are meantime brought against them, they are given four or five holidays, whichever the master or overseer may think proper. Then comes New Year's eve; and they gather together their little alls, or more properly speaking, their little nothings, and wait anxiously for the dawning of day. At the appointed hour the grounds are thronged with men, women, and children, waiting, like criminals, to hear their doom pronounced. The slave is sure to know who is the most humane, or cruel master, within forty miles of him.

It is easy to find out, on that day, who clothes and feeds his slaves well; for he is surrounded by a crowd, begging, "Please, massa, hire me this year. I will work *very* hard, massa."

If a slave is unwilling to go with his new master, he is whipped, or locked up in jail, until he consents to go, and promises not to run away during the year.

Should he chance to change his mind, thinking it justifiable to violate an extorted promise, woe unto him if he is caught! The whip is used till the blood flows at his feet; and his stiffened limbs are put in chains, to be dragged in the field for days and days!

If he lives until the next year, perhaps the same man will hire him again, without even giving him an opportunity of going to the hiring-ground. After those for hire are disposed of, those for sale are called up.

O, you happy free women, contrast *your* New Year's day with that of the poor bond-woman! With you it is a pleasant season, and the light of the day is blessed. Friendly wishes meet you every where, and gifts are showered upon you. Even hearts that have been estranged from you soften at this season, and lips that have been silent echo back, "I wish you a happy New Year." Children bring their little offerings, and raise their rosy lips for a caress. They are your own, and no hand but that of death can take them from you.

But to the slave mother New Year's day comes laden with peculiar sorrows. She sits on her cold cabin floor, watching the children who may all be torn from her the next morning; and often does she wish that she and they might die before the day dawns. She may be an ignorant creature, degraded by the system that has brutalized her from childhood; but she has a mother's instincts, and is capable of feeling a mother's agonies.

On one of these sale days, I saw a mother lead seven children to the auction-block. She knew that *some* of them would be taken from her; but they took *all*. The

children were sold to a slave-trader, and their mother was bought by a man in her own town. Before night her children were all far away. She begged the trader to tell her where he intended to take them; this he refused to do. How *could* he, when he knew he would sell them, one by one, wherever he could command the highest price? I met that mother in the street, and her wild, haggard face lives to-day in my mind. She wrung her hands in anguish, and exclaimed, "Gone! All gone! Why *don't* God kill me?" I had no words wherewith to comfort her. Instances of this kind are of daily, yea, of hourly occurrence.

Slaveholders have a method, peculiar to their institution, of getting rid of *old* slaves, whose lives have been worn out in their service. I knew an old woman, who for seventy years faithfully served her master. She had become almost helpless, from hard labor and disease. Her owners moved to Alabama, and the old black woman was left to be sold to any body who would give twenty dollars for her.

Milledgeville Ga.
February 1st 1863.
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THE STATE OF GEORGIA
ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS
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Treasurer.

in this position, all they wanted to, a pail of strong salt and water was brought, and the poor fellow was "washed down." This washing was customary, after whippings, as the planters claimed it drew out all the soreness, and healed the lacerated flesh.

Upon one occasion, the family being away, I was left extra work to do, being set to help three fellow slaves lay off the rows for planting corn. We did not get them quite straight. The deviation we made from the line was very little, and could scarcely be seen, even by an expert; but the least thing wrong about the work would cause any slave to be whipped, and so all four of us were flogged.

THE SLAVE CABIN.

There was a section of the plantation known as "the quarters," where were situated the cabins of the slaves. These cabins were built of rough logs, and daubed with the red clay or mud of the region. No attempt was made to give them a neat appearance—they were not even whitewashed. Each cabin was about fourteen feet square, containing but one room, and was covered with oak boards, three feet in length, split out of logs by hand. These boards were not nailed on, but held in their places by what were

done — so many more dishes to prepare, that Delia would, perhaps, not have so much time for each meal. But there was no allowance made. It was never thought reasonable that a servant should make a mistake — things must always be the same. I was listening to this quarrel between madam and Delia, supposing my time would come next; but for that once she said nothing to me.

THE MADAM'S SEVERITY.

Mrs. McGee was naturally irritable. Servants always got an extra whipping when she had any personal trouble, as though they could help it. Every morning little Kate, Aunt Delia's little girl, would have to go with the madam on her rounds to the different buildings of the establishment, to carry the key basket. So many were the keys that they were kept in a basket especially provided for them, and the child was its regular bearer. The madam, with this little attendant, was everywhere — in the barn, in the hennery, in the smokehouse — and she always made trouble with the servants wherever she went. Indeed, she rarely returned to the house from these rounds without having whipped two or three servants, whether there was really any cause for the punish-

ment or not. She seldom let a day pass without beating some poor woman unmercifully. The number and severity of these whippings depended more upon the humor of the madam than upon the conduct of the slaves. Of course, I always came in for a share in this brutal treatment. She continued her old habit of boxing my jaws, pinching my ears; no day ever passing without her indulging in this exercise of her physical powers. So long had I endured this, I came to expect it, no matter how well I did my duties; and it had its natural effect upon me, making me a coward, even though I was now growing into manhood. I remember once, in particular, when I had tried to please her by arranging the parlor, I overheard her say: "They soon get spirit—it don't do to praise servants." My heart sank within me. What good was it for me to try to please? She would find fault anyway. Her usual morning greeting was: "Well, Lou, have you dusted the parlors?" "Oh, yes," I would answer. "Have the flowers been arranged?" "Yes, all is in readiness," I would say. Once I had stoned the steps as usual, but the madam grew angry as soon as she saw them. I had labored hard, and thought she would be pleased. The result

however, was very far from that. She took me out, stripped me of my shirt and began thrashing me, saying I was spoiled. I was no longer a child, but old enough to be treated differently. I began to cry, for it seemed to me my heart would break. But, after the first burst of tears, the feeling came over me that I was a man, and it was an outrage to treat me so—to keep me under the lash day after day.

A SHOCKING ACCIDENT.

Not long after Mrs. Farrington had made her first visit to our house, she came there to live. Celia had been acting as her maid. When Mrs. Farrington had been up some months, it was decided that all the family should go down to old Master Jack's for a visit. Celia, the maid, had been so hurried in the preparations for this visit that she had done nothing for herself. The night before the family was to leave, therefore, she was getting ready a garment for herself to wear on the trip; and it was supposed that she sewed until midnight, or after, when she fell asleep, letting the goods fall into the candle. All at once, a little after twelve o'clock, I heard a scream, then a cry of "fire! fire!" and Boss yelling: "O Louis! Louis!" I jumped up, throwing an old coat over me,

and ran up stairs, in the direction of Mrs. Farrington's room, I encountered Boss in the hall; and, as it was dark and the smoke stifling, I could hardly make any headway. At this moment Mrs. Farrington threw her door open, and screemed for "Cousin Eddie," meaning McGee. He hurriedly called to me to get a pitcher of water quick. I grasped the pitcher from the stand, and he attempted to throw the water on Celia, who was all in a blaze, running around like a mad woman; but the pitcher slipped from his hand and broke, very little of the water reaching her. She was at last wrapped in an old blanket, to extinguish the flames; but she was burned too badly to recover. Boss, being a physician, said at once: "Poor girl, poor girl! she is burned to death." He did all he could for her, wrapped her in linen sheets, and endeavored to relieve her sufferings, but all was of no avail—she had inhaled the flame, injuring her internally, and lived only a few days.

MASTER'S NEW COTTON PLANTATION.

Shortly after Boss bought his home in Memphis, he bought a large farm in Bolivar, Miss. It was a regular cotton farm, on the Missippi river, embracing 200 acres. The houses built for the slaves were

heavy meals each day, all the washing and ironing of the finest clothes, besides caring for the babies between times. In the morning she would nurse the babies, then hurry off to the kitchen to get breakfast while they were left in charge of a little girl. Again at noon she repeated her visit to the babies, after cooking the dinner, then in the evening, after supper, she would go to nurse them again. After supper was over, dishes all washed and kitchen in order, she would then go to the little ones for the night. One can see that she had very little time with the children. My heart was sore and heavy, for my wife was almost run to death with work. The children grew puny and sickly for want of proper care. The doctor said it was because the milk the mother nursed to them was so heated by her constant and excessive labors as to be unwholesome, and she never had time to cool before ministering to them. So the little things, instead of thriving and developing, as was their right, dwindled toward the inevitable end. Oh! we were wretched—our hearts ached for a day which we could call our own. My wife was a Christian, and had learned to know the worth of prayer, so would always speak consolingly. "God will help us," she

said: "let us try and be patient." Our trial went on, until one morning I heard a great fuss in the house, the madam calling for the yard man to come and tie my wife, as she could not manage her. My wife had always refused to allow the madam to whip her; but now, as the babies were here, mistress thought she would try it once more. Matilda resisted, and madam called for Boss. In a minute he came, and, grabbing my wife, commenced choking her, saying to her, "What do you mean? Is that the way you talk to ladies?" My wife had only said to her mistress, "You shall not whip me." This made her furious, hence her call for Boss. I was in the dining room, and could hear everything. My blood boiled in my veins to see my wife so abused; yet I dare not open my mouth. After the fuss, my wife went straight to the laundry. I followed her there, and found her handling up her babies' clothes, which were washed but not ironed. I knew at a glance that she was going away. Boss had just gone to the city; and I did not know what to say, but I told her to do the best she could. Often when company came and I held the horses, or did an errand for them, they would tip me to a quarter or half a dollar. This money I always

saved, and so had a little change, which I now gave to Matilda, for her use in her effort to get away from her cruel treatment. She started at once for Forrest's trader's yards, with the babies in her arms and, after she got into Memphis, she stopped outside the yard to rest. While she was sitting on the curb stone, Forrest came out of the yard by the back gate and saw her. Coming up to her he said: "My God! Matilda, what are you doing here? You have changed so I would not have known you. Why have you come here?" Matilda said: "I came back here to be sold again." He stepped back and called another "nigger trader," Collins by name, from Kentucky. "Look here," said Forrest, pointing to my wife. Collins took in the situation at once and said he would buy her and the children. "That woman is of a good family," said he, "and was only sold to prevent her from getting her freedom." She was then taken into the yard. "Oh!" said Forrest, "I know these McGees, they are hard colts." Word was then sent McGee that his cook was in the yard and had come to be sold. He went in haste to the yard. Collins offered to buy her, but McGee said no man's money could buy that woman and her children. I raised her husband

and I would not separate them. She was brought back, and as they rode along in the rockaway, Boss said: "When I am through with you I guess you won't run away again." As they drove up I saw the madam go running out to meet them. She shouted to Matilda: "Ah! madam, you put up at the wrong hotel." They at once went to the barn where my wife was tied to the joist, and Boss and the madam beat her by turns. After they had finished the whipping, Boss said, tauntingly: "Now I am buying you and selling you. I want you to know that I never shall sell you while my head and yours is hot." I was trembling from head to foot, for I was powerless to do anything for her. My twin babies lived only six months after that, not having had the care they needed, and which it was impossible for their mother to give them while performing the almost endless labor required of her, under threats of cruel beatings. One day not long after our babies were buried the madam followed my wife to the smoke house and said: "I am tempted to take that knife from you, Matilda, and cut you in two. You and old Ruben (one of the slaves) went all around the neighborhood and told the people that I killed your babies, and almost whipped

you to death." Of course, when the slaves were accused falsely, as in this case, they were not allowed to make any reply—they just had to endure in silence whatever was said.

EFFORTS TO LEARN TO READ AND WRITE.

Thomas, the coachman, and I were fast friends. We used to get together every time we had a chance and talk about freedom. "Oh!" Tom would say, "if I could only write." I remember when Tom first began to take lessons at night from some plasterers, workmen of the neighborhood. They saw that he was so anxious to learn that they promised to teach him every evening if he would slip out to their house. I, too, was eager to learn to read and write, but did not have the opportunity which Tom had of getting out at night. I had to sleep in the house where the folks were, and could not go out without being observed, while Tom had quarters in another part of the establishment, and could slip out unobserved. Tom, however, consoled me by saying that he would teach me as soon as he knew how. So Tom one night put a copy of some figures on the side of the barn for me to practice from. I took the chalk and imitated him as near as I could, but my work was poor beside his,

as he had been learning for some months, and could make the figures quite well and write a little. Still I kept trying. Tom encouraging me and telling me that I would learn in time. "Just keep trying," said he. When this first lesson was over, I forgot to rub out the marks on the barn, and the next morning when Old Master Jack, who happened to be at our home just at that time, went out there and saw the copy and my imitation of it, he at once raised great excitement by calling attention to the rude characters and wanting to know who had done that. I was afraid to own that I had done it; but old Master Jack somehow surmised that it was Tom or I, for he said to Boss: "Edmund, you must watch those fellows, Louis and Thomas, if you don't they will get spoilt—spoilt. They are pretty close to town here—here." Tom and I laughed over this a good deal and how easily we slipped out of it, but concluded not to stop trying to learn all we could. Tom always said: "Lou, I am going to be a free man yet, then we will need some education; no, let us never stop trying to learn." Tom was a Virginian, as I was, and was sold from his parents when a mere lad. Boss used to write to his parents (owners) occasionally, that his

As they passed my hiding-place, *en route* to their respective apartments, I peeped out through a crevice in the door at them. It was very easy to detect the calm, self-poised man, the thoughtful reasoner, in the still, pale face and erect form of Trueman; whilst the red, hot-flushed countenance, the quick, peering eye and audacious manner of the other, revealed his unpleasant disposition and unsystematized mind.

When the last echo of their retreating footsteps had died upon the ear, I stole from my concealment, and ventured to my own quarters. Many new thoughts sprang into existence in my mind, suggested by the conversation to which I had listened.

I venerated Mr. Trueman more than ever. No disciple ever regarded the face of his master so reverently as I watched his countenance, when I chanced to meet him in any part of the house.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE MISDEMEANOR—THE PUNISHMENT—ITS CONSEQUENCE—FRIGHT.

THE next day Miss Jane, observing my unusual thoughtfulness, said:

"Come, now, Ann, you are not quite free. From the airs that you have put on, one would think you had been made so."

"What have I done, Miss Jane?" This was asked in a quiet tone, perhaps not so obsequiously as she thought it should be. Thereupon she took great offence.

"How dare you, Miss, speak *to me* in that tone? Take that," and she dealt me a blow across the forehead with a long, limber whalebone, that laid the flesh open. I was so stunned by it that I reeled, and should have fallen to the floor, had I not supported myself by the bed-post.

"Don't you dare to scream."

I attempted to bind up my brow with a handkerchief. This she regarded as affectation.

"Take care, Miss Ann," she often prefixed the Miss when she was mad, by way of taunting me; "give yourself none of these important airs. I'll take you down a little."

When Mr. Summerville entered, she began to cry, saying:

"Husband, this nigger-wench has given me a great deal of impertinence. Father never allowed it; now I want to know if you will not protect me from such insults."

"Certainly, my love, I'll not allow any one, white or black, to insult you. Ann, how dare you give your mistress impudence?"

"I did not mean it, Master William." I had thus addressed him ever since his marriage.

I attempted to relate the conversation that had occurred,

wherein Miss Jane thought I had been impudent, when she suddenly sprang up, exclaiming:

"Do you allow a negro to give testimony against your own wife?"

"Certainly not."

"Now, Mr. Summerville," she was getting angry with him, "I require you to whip that girl severely; if you don't do it—why—" and she ground her teeth fiercely.

"I will have her whipped, my dear, but I cannot whip her."

"Why can't you?" and the lady's eye flashed.

"Because I should be injured by it. *Gentlemen* do not correct negroes; they hire others to do that sort of business."

"Ah, well, then, hire some one who will do it well."

"Come with me, Ann," he said to me, as I stood speechless with fear and mortification.

"Seeing him again motion me to follow, I, forgetful of the injustice that had been done me, and the honest resentment I should feel—forgetful of everything but the humiliation to which they were going to subject me—fell on my knees before Miss Jane, and besought her to excuse, to forgive me, and I would never offend her again.

"Don't dare to ask mercy of me. You know that I am too much like father to spare a nigger."

Ah, well I knew it! and vainly I sued to her. I might have known that she rejoiced too much in the sport; and, had she been in the country, would have asked no higher pleasure than to attend to it personally. A negro's scream of agony was music to her ears.

I governed myself as well as I could while I followed Mr. Summerville through the halls and winding galleries. Down flights of steps, through passages and lobbys we went, until at last we landed in the cellar. There Mr. Summerville surrendered me to the care of a Mr. Monkton, the bar-keeper of the establishment duly appointed and fitted for the office of slave-whipping.

"Here," said Mr. Summerville, "give this girl a good gen-

teel whipping; but no cruelty, Monkton, and here is your fee;" so saying he handed him a half-dollar, then left the dismal cellar.

I have since read long and learned accounts of the gloomy, subterranean cells, in which the cruel ministers of the Spanish Inquisition performed their horrible deeds; and I think this cellar very nearly resembled them. There it was, with its low, damp, vault-like roof; its unwholesome air, earthen floor, covered with broken wine bottles, and oyster cans, the debris of many a wild night's revel! There stood the monster Monkton, with his fierce, lynx eye, his profuse black beard, and frousy brows; a great, stalwart man, of a hard face and manner, forming no bad picture of those wolfish inquisitors of cruel, Catholic Spain!

Over this untempting scene a dim, waning lamp, threw its blue glare, only rendering the place more hideous.

"Now, girl, I am to lick you well. You see the half-dollar. Well, I'm to git the worth of it out of your hide. Now, what would you think if I didn't give you a single lick?"

I looked him full in the face, and even by that equivocal light I had power to discern his horrid purpose, and I quickly and proudly replied,

"I should think you did your duty poorly."

"And why?"

"Because you engaged to do *the job*, and even received your pay in advance; therefore, if you fail to comply with your bargain, you are not trustworthy."

"Wal, you're smart enough for a lawyer."

"Well, attend to your business."

"This is my business," and he held up a stout wagon-whip; "come, strip off."

"That is not a part of the contract."

"Yes; but it's the way I always whips 'em."

"You were not told to use me so, and I am not going to remove one article of my clothing."

"Yes, but you *shall*;" and he approached me, his wild eye

glaring with a lascivious light, and the deep passion-spot blazing on his cheek.

"Girl, you've got to yield to me. I'll have you now, if its only to show you that I can."

I drew back a few steps, and, seizing a broken bottle, waited, with a deadly purpose, to see what he would do. He came so near that I almost fancied his fetid breath played with its damnable heat upon my very cheek.

"You've got to be mine. I'll give you a fine calico dress, and a pretty pair of ear-bobs!"

This was too much for further endurance. What! must I give up the angel-sealed honor of my life in traffic for trinkets? Where is the woman that would not have hotly resented such an insult?

I turned upon him like a hungry lioness, and just as his wanton hand was about to be laid upon me, I dexterously aimed, and hurled the bottle directly against his left temple. With a low cry of pain he fell to the floor, and the blood oozed freely from the wound.

As my first impression was that I had slain him, so was it my first desperate impulse to kill myself, yet with a second thought came my better intention, and, unlocking the door, I turned and left the gloomy cell. I mounted the dust-covered steps, and rapidly threaded silent, spider-festooned halls, until I regained the upper courts. How beautiful seemed the full gush of day-light to me! But the heavy weight of a supposed crime bowed me to the earth.

My first idea was to proceed directly to Mr. Sommerville's apartment and make a truthful statement of the affair. What he would do or have done to me was a matter upon which I had expended no thought. My apprehension was altogether for the safety of my soul. Homicide was so fearful a thing, that even when committed in actual self-defence, I feared for the justice of it. The Divine interrogatory made to Cain rang with painful [illegible] mental ear-! "Am I my brother's keeper?" I repeated it again and again, and I lived years in the brief

space of a moment. Away over the trackless void of the future fled imagination, painting all things and scenes with a sombre color.

The first recognizable person whom I met was Mr. Winston. I knew there was but little to hope for from him, for ever since the argument between himself and Mr. Trueman, he had appeared unusually haughty; and the waiters said that he had become excessively overbearing, that he was constantly knocking them around with his gold-headed cane, and swearing that Kentucky slaves were almost as bad as Northern free negroes.

Henry (who had become a *most dear friend of mine*) told me that Mr. Winston had on one or two occasions, without the slightest provocation, struck him severely over the head; but these things were pretty generally done in the presence of Mr. Trueman, and for no higher object, I honestly believe, than to annoy that pure-souled philanthropist. So I was assured that he was not one to entrust with my secret, especially as a great intimacy had sprung up between him and Miss Jane. I, therefore, hastily passed him, and a few steps on met Mr. Trueman. How serene appeared his chaste, marble face! Who that looked upon him, with his quiet, reflective eye, but knew that an angel sat enthroned within his bosom? Do not such faces help to prove the perfectibility of the race? If, as the transcendentalists believe, these noble characters are only types of what the *whole man* will be, may we not expect much from the advent of that dubious personage!

"Mr. Trueman," I said, and my voice was clear and unfaltering, for something in his face and manner exorcised all fear, "I have done a fearful deed."

"What, child?" he asked, and his eye was full of solicitude.

I then gave him a hurried account of what had occurred in the cellar. After a slight pause, he said:

"The best thing for you to do will be to make instant confession to Mr. Summerville. Alas! I fear it will go hard with you, for *you are a slave*."

I thanked him for the interest he had manifested in me, and

passed on to Miss Jane's room. I paused one moment at the door, before turning the knob. What a variety of feelings were at work in my breast! Had I a fellow-creature's blood upon my hands? I trembled in every limb, but at length controlled myself sufficiently to enter.

There sat Miss Jane, engaged at her crochet-work, and Master William playing with the balls of cotton and silk in her little basket.

"Well, Ann, I trust you've got your just deserts, a good whipping," said Miss Jane, as she fixed her eyes upon me.

Very calmly I related all that had occurred. Mr. Summerville sprang to his feet and rushed from the room, whilst Miss Jane set up a series of screams loud enough to reach the most distant part of the house. All my services were required to keep her from swooning, or *affecting to swoon*.

The ladies from the adjoining room rushed in to her assistance, and were soon busy chafing her hands, rubbing her feet, and bathing her temples.

"Isn't this terrible!" ejaculated one.

"What is the matter?" cried another.

"Poor creature, she is hysterical," was the explanation of a third.

I endeavored to explain the cause of Miss Jane's excitement.

"You did right," said one lady, whose truly womanly spirit burst through all conventionality and restraint.

"What," said one, a genuine Southern conservative, "do you say it was right for a slave to oppose and resist the punishment which her master had directed?"

"Certainly not; but it was right for a female, no matter whether white or black, to resist, even to the shedding of blood, the lascivious advances of a bold libertine."

"Do you believe the girl's story?"

"Yes; why not?"

"I don't; it bears the impress of falsehood on its very face."

"No," added another Kentucky true-blue, "Mr. Monkton

was going to whip her, and she resisted him. That's the correct version of the story, I'll bet my life on it."

To all of this aspersion upon myself, I was bound to be a silent auditor, yet ever obeying their slightest order to hand them water, cologne, &c. Is not this slavery indeed?

When Mr. Summerville left the room, he hastily repaired to the bar, where he made the story known, and getting assistance, forthwith went to the cellar, Mr. Winston forming one of the party of investigation. His Southern prejudices were instantly aroused, and he was ready "to do or die" for the propogation of the "peculiar institution."

The result of their trip was to find Monkton very feeble from the loss of blood, and suffering from the cut made by the broken bottle, but with enough life left in him for the fabrication of a falsehood, which was of course believed, as he had a *white face*. He stated that he had proceeded to the administration of the whipping, directed by my master; that I resisted him; and finding it necessary to bind me, he was attempting to do so, when I swore that I would kill him, and that suiting the action to the word, I hurled the broken bottle at his temples.

When Mr. Summerville repeated this to Miss Jane, in my presence, stating that it was the testimony that Monkton was prepared to give in open court, for I was to be arrested, I could not refrain from uttering a cry of surprise, and saying:

"Mr. Monkton has misrepresented the case, as 'I can show.'"

"Yes, but you will not be allowed to give evidence," said Master William.

"Will Mr. Monkton's testimony be taken?" I inquired.

"Certainly, but a negro cannot bear witness against a white person."

I said nothing, but many thoughts were troubling me.

"You see, Ann, what your bad conduct has brought *you to*," said Miss Jane.

Again I attempted to tell the facts of the case, and defend myself, but she interrupted me, saying:

"Do you suppose I believe a word of that? I can assure

you I do not, and, moreover, I'm not going to spend my money to have a lawyer employed to keep you from the punishment you so richly deserve. So you must content yourself to take the public hanging or whipping in the jail yard, which is the penalty that will be affixed to your crime." Turning to Mr. Summerville, she added, "I think it will do Ann good, for it will take down her pride, and make her a valuable nigger. She has been too proud of her character; for my part, I had rather she had had less virtue. I've always thought she was virtuous because she did not want us to increase in property, and was too proud to have her children live in bondage."

I dared not make any remark; but there I stood in dread of the approaching arrest, which came full soon.

As I was sewing for Miss Jane, Mr. Summerville opened the door, and said to a rough man, pointing to me—

"There's the girl."

"Come along with me to jail, gal."

How fearfully sounded the command. The jail-house was a place of terror, and though I had in my brief life "supped full of horrors," this was a new species of torture that I had hoped to leave untasted.

Taking with me nothing but my bonnet, I followed Constable Calcraft down stairs into the street. Upon one of the landings I met Henry, and I knew from his kindly mournful glance, that he gave me all his compassion.

"Good-bye, Ann," he said, extending his hand to me, "good-bye, and keep of good cheer; the Lord will be with you." I looked at him, and saw that his lip was quivering; and his dark eye glittered with a furtive tear. I dared not trust my voice, so, with a grateful pressure of the hand, I passed him by, keeping up my composure right stoutly. At the foot of the stair I met Louise, who was weeping.

"I believe you, Ann, we all believe you, and the Lord will make it appear on the day of your trial that you are right; only keep up your spirits, and read this," and she slipped a little pocket-Testament into my hand, which was a welcome present.

Now, I thought, the last trial is over. All the tender ones who love me have spoken their comforting words, and I may resume my pride and hauteur; but no—standing within the vestibule was the man whom I reverenced above all others, Mr. Trueman. One effort more, and then I might be calm; but before the sunshine of his kindliness the snow and ice of my pride melted and passed away in showers of tears. The first glance of his pitying countenance made me weep. I was weary and heavy-laden, and, even as to a mortal brother, I longed to pour into his ear the pent-up agony of my soul.

"Poor girl," he said kindly, as he offered me his white and finely-formed hand, "I believe you innocent; there is that in your clear, womanly look, your unaffected utterance, that proves to me you are worthy to be heard. Trust in God."

Oh, can I ever forget the diamond-like glister of his blue eyes! and *that tear* was evoked from its fountain for my sorrow; even then I felt a thrill of joy. We love to have the sympathy and confidence of the truly great. I made no reply, in words, to Mr. Trueman, but he understood me.

Conducted by the constable, I passed through a number of streets, all crowded with the busy and active, perhaps the *happy*. Ah, what a fable that word seemed to express! I used to doubt every smiling face I saw, and think it a *radiant lie!* but, since then, though in a subdued sense, I have learned that mortals may be happy.

We stopped, after a long walk, in front of a large building of Ionic architecture, and of dark brown stone, ornamented by beautiful finings, with a tasteful slope of rich sward in front, adorned with a variety of flowers and shrubbery. Through this we passed and reached the first court, which was surrounded by a high stone-wall. Passing through a low-door-way, we stood on the first pave; here I was surrendered to the keeping of the jailer, a man apparently devoid of generosity and humanity. After hearing from Constable Calcraft an account of the crime for which I was committed, he observed—

"A sassy, impudent, unruly gal, I guess; we have plenty

sick; this will larn her a lessin. Come with me," he said, as he turned his besotted face toward me.

Through dirty, dark, filthy passages I went, until we reached a gloomy, loathsome apartment, in which he rudely thrust me, saying—

"Thar's your quarters."

Such a place as it was! A small room of six by eight, with a dirty, discolored floor, over which rats and mice scampered *ad libitum*. One miserable little iron grate let in a stray ray of daylight, only revealing those loathsome things which the friendly darkness would have concealed. Cowering in the corner of this wretched pen was a poor, neglected white woman, whose face seemed unacquainted with soap and water, and her hair tagged, ragged, and unused to comb or brush. She clasped to her breast a weasly suckling, that every now and then gave a sickly cry, indicative of the cholic or a heated atmosphere.

"Poor comfort!" said the woman, as I entered. "poor comfort here, whare the starved wretches are cryin' for ar. My baby has bin a sinkin' ever sense I come here. I'd not keer much if we could both die."

"For what are you to be tried?"

"For takin' a loaf of bread to keep myself and child from starvin'."

She then asked me for what I stood accused. I told her my story, and we grew quite talkative and sociable, thereby realizing the old axiom, "Misery loves company."

* * * * * * *

For several days I lingered on thus, diversifying the time only by reading my Testament, the gift of Louise, and occasionally having a long talk with my companion, whom I learned to address by the name of Fanny. She was a woman of remarkably sensitive feelings, quick and warm in all her impulses; just such a creature as an education and kindly training would have made lovely and lovable; but she had been [illegible] neglected—had grown up a complete human weed.

Our meals were served round to us upon a large wooden drawer, as filthy as dirt and grease could make it. The cuisine dashed our rations, a slice of fat bacon and "pone" of corn bread to us, with as little ceremony as though we had been dogs; and we were allowed one blanket to sleep on.

One day, when I felt more than usually gloomy, I was agreeably disappointed, as the cumbersome door opened to admit my kind friend Louise. The jailer remarked:

"You may stay about a quarter of an hour, but no longer."

"Thank you, sir," she replied.

"This is very kind of you, Louise," for I was touched by the visit.

"I wanted to see you, Ann; and look what I brought you!" She held a beautiful bouquet to me.

"Thank you, thank you a thousand times, this *is* too kind," I said, as I watered the lovely flowers with my tears.

"Oh, they were sent to you," she answered, with a smile.

"And who sent them?"

"Why, Henry, of course;" and again she smiled.

I knew not why, but I felt the blood rushing warmly to my face, as I bent my head very low, to conceal a confusion which I did not understand.

"But here is something that I did bring you," and, opening a basket, she drew out a nice, tempting pie, some very delicious fruit cake, and white bread.

"I suppose your fare is miserable?"

"Oh, worse than miserable."

Fanny drew near me, and without the least timidity, stretched forth her hand.

"Oh, please give me some, only a little; I'm nearly starved?"

I freely gave her the larger portion, for she could enjoy it. I had the flowers, the blessed flowers, that Henry had sent, and they were food and drink for me!

Louise informed me that, since my arrest, she had cleared up and arranged Miss Jane's room; and she thought it was Mr. Summerville's intention to sell me after the trial.

was now a man of social position; of very decided talent and energy. "I know of no man," continued Mr. Trueman, "who is more deserving of public trust than Douglas. He conducts himself with extreme modesty and propriety, and a quiet dignity that inclines the most fastidious in his favor."

He then cited the case of Miss Greenfield (*the* black swan), showing that my race was susceptible of cultivation and refinement in a high degree.

Thus inspired, I poured forth my full soul to him. I told him how, in secret, I had studied; how diligently I had searched after knowledge; how I longed for the opportunity to improve my poor talents. I spoke freely, and with a degree of nervous enthusiasm that seemed to affect him.

"Ann," he said, and large tears stood in his eyes, "it is a shame for you to be kept in bondage. A proud, aspiring soul like yours, if once free to follow its impulses, might achieve much. Can you not labor to buy yourself? At odd times do extra work, and, by your savings, you may, in the course of years, be enabled to buy yourself."

"My dear sir, I've no 'odd times' for extra work, or I would gladly avail myself of them. Lazy I am not; but my mistress requires all my time and labor. If she were to discover that I was working, even at night for myself, she would punish me severely."

I said this in a mournful tone; for I felt that despair was my portion. He was silent for awhile; then said,

"Well, you must do the best you can. I would that I could advise you; but now I must leave. A longer stay would excite suspicion. You heard what they said the other day about Abolitionists."

I remembered it well, and was distressed to think that he had been abused on my account.

With many kind words he took his leave, and I felt as if the sunshine had suddenly been extinguished.

During his entire visit poor Fanny had slept. She lay like one in an opium trance. For hours after his departure she remained so, and much time was left me for reflection.

CHAPTER XXXII.

EXECUTION OF THE SENTENCE—A CHANGE—HOPE.

On the last and concluding day of the term of the court, the jailer signified to me that the constable would, on the morrow, administer the first fifty lashes; and, of course, I passed the night in great trepidation.

But the morning came bright and clear, and the jailer, accompanied by Constable Calcraft, entered.

"Come, girl, said the latter, "I have to execute the sentence upon you."

Without one word, I followed him into the jail yard.

"Strip yourself to the waist," said the constable.

I dared not hesitate, though feminine delicacy was rudely shocked. With a prayer to heaven for fortitude, I obeyed.

Then, with a strong cowhide, he inflicted fifty lashes (the first instalment of the sentence) upon my bare back; each lacerating it to the bone. I was afterwards compelled to put my clothes on over my raw, bloody back, without being allowed to wash away the clotted gore; for, upon asking for water to cleanse myself, I was harshly refused, and quickly re-conducted to the cell, where, wounded, mortified, and anguish-stricken, I was left to myself.

Oh, God of the world-forgotten Africa! Thou dost see these things; Thou dost hear the cries which daily and nightly we are sending up to Thee! On that lonely, wretched night Thou wert with me, and my prison became as a radiant mansion, for angels cheered me there! Glory to God for the cross which He sent me; for it led me on to Him.

Poor Fanny, after her sentence was pronounced, was soon sent to the work-house; so I was alone. The little Testament which Louise had given me, was all the company that I desired. Its rich and varied words were as manna to my hungry soul; and its blessed promises rescued me from a dreadful bankruptcy of faith.

Subsequently, and at three different times, I was led forth to receive the remainder of my punishment.

After the last portion was given, I was allowed to go to the kitchen of the jail and wash myself and dress in some clean clothes, which Miss Jane had sent me. I was then conducted by the constable to the hotel.

Miss Jane met me very distantly, saying—

"I trust you are somewhat humbled, Ann, and will in future be a better nigger."

I was in but a poor mood to take rebukes and reproaches; for my flesh was perfectly raw, the intervals between the whippings having been so short as not to allow the gashes even to close; so that upon this, the final day, my back presented one mass of filth and clotted gore. I was then, as may be supposed, in a very irritable humor, but a slave is not allowed to have feeling. It is a privilege denied him, because his skin is black.

I did not go out of Miss Jane's room, except on matters of business, about which she sent me. I would, then, go slipping around, afraid of meeting Henry. I did not wish him to see me in that mutilated condition. I saw Louise in Miss Jane's room; but there she merely nodded to me. Subsequently we met in a retired part of the hall, and there she expressed that generous and friendly sympathy which I knew she so warmly cherished for me.

Somehow or other she had contrived to insinuate herself wondrously into Miss Jane's good graces; and all her influence she endeavored to use in my favor.

In this private interview she told me that she would induce

Miss Jane to let me sleep in her room; and she thought she knew what key to take her on.

"If," added she, "I get you to my apartment, I will care for you well. I will wash and dress your wounds, and render you every attention in my power."

I watched, with admiration, her tactics in managing Miss Jane. That evening when I was seated in an obscure corner of the room, Miss Jane was lolling in a large arm-chair, playing with a bouquet that had been sent her by a gentleman. This bouquet had been delivered to her, as I afterwards learned, by Louise. Miss Jane had grown to be fashionable indeed; and had two favorite beaux, with whom she interchanged notes, and Louise had been selected as a messenger.

On this occasion, the wily mulatto came up to her, rather familiarly, I thought, and said—

"Ah, you are amusing yourself with the Captain's flowers! I must tell him of it. Dear sakes! but it will please him;" she then whispered something to her, at which both of them laughed heartily.

After this Miss Jane was in a very decided good humor, and Louise fussed about the apartment pretty much as she pleased. At length, throwing open the window, she cried out—

"How close the air is here! Why, Mrs. St. Lucian, the fashionable, dashing lady who occupied this room just before you, Mrs. Somerville, wouldn't allow three persons to be in it at a time; and her servant-girl always slept in my room. By the way, that just reminds me how impolite I've been to you; do excuse me, and I will be glad to relieve you by letting Ann go to my room of nights."

"Oh, it will trouble you, Louise."

"Don't talk or think of troubling me; but come along girl," she said, turning to me.

"Go with Louise, Ann," added Miss Jane, as she perceived me hesitate, "but come early in the morning to get me ready for breakfast."

Happy even for so small a favor as this, I followed Louise

to her room. There I found everything very comfortable and neat. A nice, downy bed, with its snowy covering; a bright-colored carpet, a little bureau, washstand, clock, rocking-chair, and one or two pictures, with a few crocks of flowers, completed the tasteful furniture of this apartment.

All this, I inly said, is the arrangement and taste of a mulatto in the full enjoyment of her freedom! Do not her thrift and industry disprove the oft-repeated charge of indolence that is made upon the negro race?

She seemed to read my thoughts, and remarked, "You are surprised, Ann, to see my room so nice! I read the wonder in your face. I have marked it before, in the countenances of slaves. They are taught, from their infancy up, to regard themselves as unfit for the blessings of free, civilized life; and I am happy to give the lie, by my own manner of living, to this rude charge."

"How long have you been free, Louise, and how did you obtain your freedom?"

"It is a long story," she answered; "you must be inclined to sleep; you need rest. At some other time I'll tell you. Here, take this arm-chair, it is soft; and your back is wounded and sore; I am going to dress it for you."

So saying, she left the room, but quickly returned with a basin of warm water and a little canteen of grease. She very kindly bade me remove my dress, then gently, with a soft linten-rag, washed my back, greased it, and made me put on one of her linen chemises and a nice gown, and giving me a stimulant, bade me rest myself for the night upon her bed, which was clean, white, and tempting.

When she thought I was soundly sleeping, she removed from a little swinging book-shelf a well-worn Bible. After reading a chapter or so, she sank upon her knees in prayer! There may be those who would laugh and scoff at the piety of this woman, because of her tawny complexion; but the Great Judge, to whose ear alone her supplication was made, disregards all such

distinctions. Her soul was as precious to Him, as though her complexion had been of the most spotless snow.

On the following morning, whilst I was arranging Miss Jane's toilette, she said to me, in rather a kind tone :

"Ann, Mr. Summerville wants to sell you, and purchase a smaller and cheaper girl for me. Now, if you behave yourself well, I'll allow you to choose your own home."

This was more kindness than I expected to receive from her, and I thanked her heartily.

All that day my heart was dreaming of a new home—perhaps a kind, good one! On the gallery I met Mr. Trueman (I love to write his name). Rushing eagerly up to him, I offered my hand, all oblivious of the wide chasm that the difference of race had placed between us; but, if that thought had occurred to me, his benignant smile would have put it to flight. Ah, he was the true reformer, who illustrated, in his own deportment, the much talked-of theory of human brotherhood! He, with all his learning, his native talent, his social position and legal prominence, could condescend to speak in a familiar spirit to the lowliest slave, and this made me, soured to harshness, feel at ease in his presence.

I told him that I was fast recovering from the effects of my whipping- I spoke of Louise's kindness, &c.

"I am to be sold, Mr. Trueman; I wish that you would buy me."

"My good girl, if I had the means I would not hesitate to make the purchase, and instantly draw up your free papers; but I am, at the present, laboring under great pecuniary embarrassments, which deny me the right of exercising that generosity which my heart prompts in this case."

I thanked him, over and over again, for his kindness. I felt not a little distressed when he told me that he should leave for Boston early on the following day. In bidding me adieu, he slipped, very modestly, into my hand a ten-dollar bill, but this I could not accept from one to whom I was already heavily indebted.

you pick cotton rapidly?" Sometimes the slave would be required to open his mouth that the purchaser might examine the teeth and form some opinion as to his age and physical soundness; and if it was suspected that a slave had been beaten a good deal he would be required to step into another room and undress. If the person desiring to buy found the slave badly scarred by the common usage of whipping, he would say at once to the foreman: "Why! this slave is not worth much, he is all scarred up. No, I don't want him; bring me in another to look at." Slaves without scars from whipping and looking well physisally always sold readily. They were never left long in the yard. It was expected that all the slaves in the yard for sale would be neatly dressed and clean before being brought into the show-room. It was the foreman's business to see that each one was presentable.

SLAVE WHIPPING AS A BUSINESS.

Whipping was done at these markets, or trader's yards, all the time. People who lived in the city of Richmond would send their slaves here for punishment. When any one wanted a slave whipped he would send a note to that effect with the servant to the trader. Any petty offense on the part of a slave

was sufficient to subject the offender to this brutal treatment. Owners who affected culture and refinement preferred to send a servant to the yard for punishment to inflicting it themselves. It saved them trouble, they said, and possibly a slight wear and tear of feeling. For this service the owner was charged a certain sum for each slave, and the earnings of the traders from this source formed a very large part of the profits of his business. The yard I was in had a regular whipping post to which they tied the slave, and gave him "nine-and-thirty," as it was called, meaning thirty-nine lashes as hard as they could lay it on. Men were stripped of their shirts in preparation for the whipping, and women had to take off their dresses from the shoulders to the waist. These whippings were not so severe as when the slaves were stripped entirely of their clothes, as was generally the case on the plantations where slaves were owned by the dozen. I saw many cases of whipping while I was in the yard. Sometimes I was so frightened that I trembled violently, for I had never seen anything like it before.

SOLD IN THE MARKET.

I was only in the yard a short time before I was

had to wait on the table, sweep the large yard every morning with a brush broom and go for the mail once a week. I used to get very tired, for I was young and consequently not strong. Aside from these things which came regularly, I had to help the madam in warping the cloth. I dreaded this work, for I always got my ears boxed if I did not or could not do the work to suit her. She always made the warp herself and put it in, and I had to hand her the thread as she put it through the harness. I would get very tired at this work and, like any child, wanted to be at play, but I could not remember that the madam ever gave me that privilege. Saddling the horse at first was troublesome to me, but Boss was constant in his efforts to teach me, and, after many trials, I learned the task satisfactorily to the master and to bring the horse to the door when he wished to go out for business or pleasure. Riding horseback was common for both ladies and gentlemen, and sometimes I would have to saddle three or more horses when Boss, the madam, a friend or friends desired a ride. Bird hunting parties were common and were greatly enjoyed, by the young people especially. Boss always invited some of the young people of the

neighborhood to these parties and they never failed to put in an appearance. Williams, Bradford and Freeman were the sons of rich planters, and were always participants in this sport, and their young lady friends joined in it as on-lookers. The young men singing and whistling to the birds, I in the meantime setting the net. As soon as I had got the net in order they would approach the birds slowly, driving them into it. There was great laughter and excitement if they were successful in catching a fine flock.

CRUEL TREATMENT.

I was but a lad, yet I can remember well the cruel treatment I received. Some weeks it seemed I was whipped for nothing, just to please my mistress' fancy. Once, when I was sent to town for the mail and had started back, it was so dark and rainy my horse got away from me and I had to stay all night in town. The next morning when I got back home I had a severe whipping, because the master was expecting a letter containing money and was disappointed in not receiving it that night, as he was going to Panola to spend Christmas. However, the day came and all the family went except me. During the time they were gone the overseer whipped a man so

terribly with the "bull whip" that I had to go for the doctor, and when Dr. Heningford, the regular family physician, came, he said it was awful—such cruel treatment, and he complained about it. It was common for a slave to get an "over-threshing," that is, to be whipped too much. The poor man was cut up so badly all over that the doctor made a bran poultice and wrapped his entire body in it. This was done to draw out the inflammation. It seems the slave had been sick, and had killed a little pig when he became well enough to go to work, as his appetite craved hearty food, and he needed it to give him strength for his tasks. For this one act, comparatively trivial, he was almost killed. The idea never seemed to occur to the slave holders that these slaves were getting no wages for their work and, therefore, had nothing with which to procure what, at times, was necessary for their health and strength—palatable and nourishing food. When the slaves took anything the masters called it stealing, yet they were stealing the slaves' time year after year. When Boss came home he was called on by the town officials, for the case had been reported to them. Boss, however, got out of it by saying that he was not at home when the

trouble occurred. The poor slave was sick from his ill treatment some four or five months, and when he recovered there was a running sore left on his body, from the deep cuts of the whip, which never healed. I can not forget how he looked, the sore was a sickening sight; yet, when he was able to walk he had to return to work in the field.

I had not been at Pontotoc very long when I saw the hounds run a slave, by name Ben Lyon. "Old Ben," as he was called, ran away and had been gone a week when he was seen by a woman who "told on him," and then I was sent to get the man who had trained dogs, or hounds as they were called. The dogs ran the slave about ten miles when they lost track at a creek, but he was caught that night in a farmer's house getting something to eat.

INSTRUCTIONS IN MEDICINE.

After some time, Boss began to tell me the names of medicines and their properties. I liked this and seemed to grasp the idea very well. After giving me a number of names he would make me repeat them. Then he would tell me the properties of each medicine named, how it was used and for what purpose and how much constituted a dose. He would drill me

in all this until I knew it and, in a short time, he would add other names to the list. He always showed me each medicine named and had me smell and carefully examine it that I might know it when seen again. I liked this, and used to wish that I was as wise as my master. He was very precise, steady and gentle in any case of sickness, and, although he had long retired from the medical world, all recognized his merit wherever he went. I used to go to the woods and gather slippery elm, alum root and the roots of wild cherry and poplar, for we used all these in compounding medicines for the servants.

THE OVERSEER—WHIPPINGS AND OTHER CRUELTIES.

The overseer was a man hired to look after the farm and whip the slaves. Very often they were not only cruel, but barbarous. Every farmer or planter considered an overseer a necessity. As a rule, there was also on each plantation, a foreman—one of the brighter slaves, who was held responsible for the slaves under him, and whipped if they did not come up to the required task. There was, too, a forewoman, who, in like manner, had charge of the female slaves, and also the boys and girls from twelve to sixteen years of age, and all the old people that were feeble.

This was called the trash gang. Ah! it would make one's heart ache to see those children and how they were worked. Cold, frosty mornings, the little ones would be crying from cold; but they had to keep on. Aunt Polly, our forewoman, was afraid to allow them to run to get warm, for fear the overseer would see them. Then she would be whipped, and he would make her whip all of the gang. At length, I became used to severe treatment of the slaves; but, every little while something would happen to make me wish I were dead. Everything was in a bustle—always there was slashing and whipping. I remember when Boss made a change in our overseer. It was the beginning of the year. Riley, one of the slaves, who was a principal plower, was not on hand for work one Monday morning, having been delayed in fixing the bridle of his mule, which the animal, for lack of something better, perhaps, had been vigorously chewing and rendered nearly useless. He was, therefore, considerably behind time, when he reached the field. Without waiting to learn what was the reason for the delay, the overseer sprang upon him with his bull whip, which was about seven feet long, lashing him with all his strength, every stroke leaving its mark

upon the poor man's body, and finally the knot at the end of the whip buried itself in the fleshy part of the arm, and there came around it a festering sore. He suffered greatly with it, until one night his brother took out the knot, when the poor fellow was asleep, for he could not bear any one to touch it when he was awake. It was awful to hear the cracking of that whip as it was laid about Riley—one would have thought that an ox team had gotten into the mire, and was being whipped out, so loud and sharp was the noise!

I usually slept in the dining room on the floor. Early one morning an old slave, by name of "Uncle Jim," came and knocked at the window, and upon my jumping up and going to him, he told me to tell Boss that Uncle Jim was there. He had run away, some time before, and, for some reason, had returned. Boss, upon hearing the news, got up and sent me to tell the overseer to come at once. He came, and, taking the bull whip, a cowhide and a lot of peach-tree switches, he and Boss led Uncle Jim back into the cow lot, on the side of the hill, where they drove four stakes in the ground, and, laying him flat on his face, tied his hands and feet to these stakes. After whipping him,

bought by one George Reid who lived in Richmond. He had no wife, but an old lady kept house for him and his three sons. At this time he had a place in the postoffice, but soon after I came there he lost it. He then moved into the country upon a farm of about one thousand acres, enclosed by a cedar hedge. The house was a plain frame structure upon a stone basement and contained four rooms. It was surrounded with shrubbery, and was a pleasant country seat. But I did not like it here. I grieved continually about my mother. It came to me, more and more plainly, that I would never see her again. Young and lonely as I was, I could not help crying, oftentimes for hours together. It was hard to get used to being away from my mother. I remember well "Aunt Sylvia," who was the cook in the Reid household. She was very kind to me and always spoke consolingly to me, especially if I had been blue, and had had one of my fits of crying. At these times she would always bake me an ash cake for supper, saying to me: "My child, don't cry; 'Aunt Sylvia' will look after you." This ash cake was made of corn meal and water, a little salt to make it palatable, and was baked by putting it between cabbage leaves and covering it with

hot ashes. A sweeter or more delicious cake one could not desire, and it was common upon the tables of all the Virginia farmers. I always considered it a great treat to get one of these cakes from "Aunt Sylvia."

The appellations of "aunt" and "uncle" for the older slaves were not only common among the blacks, but the whites also addressed them in the same way.

ON THE AUCTION BLOCK

I was sick a great deal—in fact, I had suffered with chills and fever ever since Mr. Reid bought me. He, therefore, concluded to sell me, and, in November, 1844, he took me back to Richmond, placing me in the Exchange building, or auction rooms, for the sale of slaves. The sales were carried on in a large hall where those interested in the business sat around a large block or stand, upon which the slave to be sold was placed, the auctioneer standing beside him. When I was placed upon the block, a Mr. McGee came up and felt of me and asked me what I could do. "You look like a right smart nigger," said he, "Virginia always produces good darkies." Virginia was the mother of slavery, and it was held by many that she had the best slaves. So when Mr. McGee found I was born and bred in that state he seemed satisfied.

The bidding commenced, and I remember well when the auctioneer said: "Three hundred eighty dollars —once, twice and sold to Mr. Edward McGee." He was a rich cotton planter of Pontotoc, Miss. As near as I can recollect, I was not more than twelve years of age, so did not sell for very much.

PRICE OF SLAVES.

Servant women sold for $500 to $700, and sometimes as high as $800 when possessing extra qualifications. A house maid, bright in looks, strong and well formed, would sell for $1,000 to $1,200. Bright mulatto girls, well versed in sewing and knitting, would sometimes bring as high as $1,800, especially if a Virginian or a Kentuckian. Good blacksmiths sold for $1,600 to $1,800. When the slaves were put upon the block they were always sold to the highest bidder. Mr. McGee, or "Boss," as I soon learned to call him, bought sixty other slaves before he bought me, and they were started in a herd for Atlanta, Ga., on foot.

STARTED FOR A COTTON PLANTATION.

Boss, myself and ten others met them there. We then started for Pontotoc, Miss. On our way we stopped at Edenton, Ga., where Boss sold twenty-one

of the sixty slaves. We then proceeded on our way, Boss by rail and we on foot, or in the wagon. We went about twenty miles a day. I remember, as we passed along, every white man we met was yelling, "Hurrah for Polk and Dallas!" They were feeling good, for election had given them the men that they wanted. The man who had us in charge joined with those we met in the hurrahing. We were afraid to ask them the reason for their yelling, as that would have been regarded as an impertinence, and probably would have caused us all to be whipped.

MY MISSISSIPPI HOME.

At length, after a long and wearisome journey, we reached Pontotoc, McGee's home, on Christmas eve. Boss took me into the house and into the sitting room, where all the family were assembled, and presented me as a Christmas gift to the madam, his wife.

My boss, as I remember him, was a tall, raw-boned man, but rather distinguished in looks, with a fine carriage, brilliant in intellect, and considered one of the wealthiest and most successful planters of his time. Mrs. McGee was a handsome, stately lady, about thirty years of age, brunette in complexion, faultless in figure and imperious in manner. I think

them in jail, to be "sold down the river." This was a deliberate attempt to keep them from their rights, for he knew that they were to have been set free, many years before; and this fact was known to all the neighborhood. My wife's mother was born free, her mother, having passed the allotted time under a law, had been free for many years. Yet they kept her children as slaves, in plain violation of law as well as justice. The children of free persons under southern laws were free — this was always admitted. The course of Logan in putting the family in jail, for safe keeping until they could be sent to the southern market, was a tacit admission that he had no legal hold upon them. Woods and Collins, a couple of "nigger traders," were collecting a "drove" of slaves for Memphis, about this time, and, when they were ready to start, all the family were sent off with the gang; and, when they arrived in Memphis, they were put in the traders' yard of Nathan Bedford Forrest. This Forrest afterward became a general in the rebel army, and commanded at the capture of Fort Pillow; and, in harmony with the debasing influences of his early business, he was responsible for the fiendish massacre of negroes after the capture

of the fort—an act which will make his name forever infamous. None of this family were sold to the same person except my wife and one sister. All the rest were sold to different persons. The elder daughter was sold seven times in one day. The reason of this was that the parties that bought her, finding that she was not legally a slave, and that they could get no written guarantee that she was, got rid of her as soon as possible. It seems that those who bought the other members of the family were not so particular, and were willing to run the risk. They knew that such things—such outrages upon law and justice—were common. Among these was my Boss, who bought two of the girls, Matilda and her sister Mary Ellen. Matilda was bought for a cook; her sister was a present to Mrs. Farrington, his wife's sister, to act as her maid and seamstress. Aunt Delia, who had been cook, was given another branch of work to do, and Matilda was installed as cook. I remember well the day she came. The madam greeted her, and said: "Well, what can you do, girl? Have you ever done any cooking? Where are you from?" Matilda was, as I remember her, a sad picture to look at. She had been a slave, it is true,

but had seen good days to what the slaves down the river saw. Any one could see she was almost heart-broken—she never seemed happy. Days grew into weeks and weeks into months, but the same routine of work went on.

MY MARRIAGE—BIRTH OF TWINS.

Matilda had been there three years when I married her. The Boss had always promised that he would give me a nice wedding, and he kept his word. He was very proud, and liked praise. The wedding that he gave us was indeed a pleasant one. All the slaves from their neighbor acquaintances were invited. One thing Boss did was a credit to him, but it was rare among slave-holders—he had me married by their parish minister. It was a beautiful evening, the 30th of November, 1858, when Matilda and I stood in the parlor of the McGee house and were solemnly made man and wife. Old Master Jack came up from Panola at that time, and was there when the ceremony was performed. As he looked through his fingers at us, he was overheard saying: "It will ruin them, givin wedins-wedins." Things went on as usual after this. The madam grew more irritable and exacting, always finding fault with the servants, whipping them, or

threatening to do so, upon the slightest provocation, or none at all. There was something in my wife's manner, however, which kept the madam from whipping her. An open or implied threat perhaps that such treatment would not be endured without resistance or protest of some kind. This the madam regarded as a great indignity, and she hated my wife for it, and, as I think, was ready to crush her, so great was her anger. In a year there were born to us twin babies, and the madam now thought she had my wife fast, as the babies would be a barrier to anything like resistance on her part, and there would be no danger of her running away. She, therefore, thought that she could enjoy, without hindrance, the privilege of beating the women of whose womanhood she had thoroughly stood somewhat in fear.

A BRAVE DEFENDER OF MY WIFE AND CHILDREN.

Soon after from the first that I should give my wife assistance, as she needed time to care for the babies. Really he was not as bad as the madam at heart, for she tried to see how hard she could be on us. She gave me all the extra work to do that she could think of, apparently to keep me from helping my wife in the kitchen. She had all the cooking tools for three

DEATH TO RUNAWAY SLAVES.

It was about this time, that the law or regulation of the rebel government was promulgated, authorizing or directing the shooting or hanging of any slave caught trying to get away to the Union army. This barbarous law was carried out in many cases, for every little while we would hear of some slave who was caught running away, and hung or shot. A slave belonging to Boss, ran away, and got safely within the Union lines; but he returned to get his sister. They both got away from the house, but had gone only a few miles, when William McGee overtook them, and shot the man dead. William boasted of this, but told Uncle Peter, the foreman, that he never wanted it mentioned.

SLAVES HUNG AND LEFT TO ROT AS A WARNING.

Two slaves belonging to one Wallace, one of our nearest neighbors, had tried to escape to the Union soldiers, but were caught, brought back and hung. All of our servants were called up, told every detail of the runaway and capture of the poor creatures and their shocking murder, and then compelled to go and see them where they hung. I never shall forget the horror of the scene—it was sicken-

ing. The bodies hung at the roadside, where the execution took place, until the blue flies literally swarmed around them, and the stench was fearful. This barbarous spectacle was for the purpose of showing the passing slaves what would be the fate of those caught in the attempt to escape, and to secure the circulation of the details of the awful affair among them, throughout all the neighborhood. It is difficult at this day for those not familiar with the atrocities of the institution of slavery to believe that such scenes could ever have been witnessed in this or any other civilized land, as a result simply of a human being's effort to reach a portion of the country, where the freedom of which it was said to be the home, could be enjoyed without molestation. Yet such was the horrible truth in not one case alone, but in many, as I know only too well.

RUNAWAY SLAVE CAUGHT AND WHIPPED.

One day while I was waiting at dinner, some of the children from the slave quarters came running into the house, and said to old Master Jack: "Uncle John is going away—he is down to the creek." He had been put in the carpenter shop, fastened in the stocks, but by some means he had

gotten the stocks off his feet, and got lose. All in the house immediately got up and ran out. Old master told me to run and catch the runaway. I did not like to do it, but had to obey. Old master and I ran in pursuit, and soon overtook him. He could not run, as the stocks were still on his arms and neck. We brought him back, and he was "staked out"—that is, four stakes were driven into the ground, the arms tied to two and the legs to the other two. He was then paddled with the whipping paddle upon the bottom of his feet, by old Master Jack, until blood blisters arose, when he took his knife and opened them. I was then sent for salt and water, and the bruises of the suffering chattel were washed as usual in the stinging brine.

A HOME GUARD ACCIDENTALLY SHOOTS HIMSELF.

After the capture of Memphis by the Union forces, the soldiers were in the habit of making raids into the surrounding country. These were a source of alarm and anxiety among the people, and they were constantly on the watch to defend their property and themselves, as best they could. One day Dr. Charles Dandridge went over to one of

our neighbors, Mr. Bobor's, to practice shooting, and to see if he had heard anything new about the war. It was the custom of the home-guards to meet weekly, and practice with their fire-arms, in order to be the better prepared, as they pretended, for any sudden incursion of the now dreaded Yankee. Mr. Bobor had gotten a Yankee pistol from some friend, who was in the army, and Dr. Charles wanted to see and try it. It was shown him, and its workings explained. He took it and began shooting, and in showing the other men how quickly he could shoot a Yankee, and mount his horse, he accidentally shot himself under the short rib near his heart, and fell to the ground. All the men came running to him, picked him up and carried him into the house, immediately sending word to Mrs. Dandridge and Master Jack McGee, his father-in-law. The boys came hurrying in, and told us what had happened. I hitched up and drove Boss over to Mr. Bobor's. We found the wounded man rapidly sinking; and when, a little later, his wife came, he could not speak—only clasped her hand. He died that night, and we carried his body to the home, which so short a time before, he had left in health and high spirits.

Examination of slaves for sale.

Canot, Theodore

Adventures of an African Slaver. New York: Garden City ~~Press~~ Publishing Co., 1928.

X: African Fever

I WAS a close watcher of Mongo-John whenever he engaged in the purchase of slaves. As each negro was brought before him, Ormond examined the subject, without regard to sex, from head to foot. A careful manipulation of the chief muscles, joints, arm-pits, and groins was made, to assure soundness. The mouth, too, was inspected, and if a tooth was missing, it was noted as a defect liable to deduction. Eyes, voice, lungs, fingers, and toes were not forgotten; so that when the negro passed from the Mongo's hands without censure, he might have been readily adopted as a good "life" by an insurance company.

Upon one occasion, to my great astonishment, I saw a stout and apparently powerful man discarded by Ormond as utterly worthless. His full muscles and sleek skin, to my unpractised eye, denoted the height of robust health. Still, I was told that he had been medicated for the market with bloating drugs, and sweated with powder and lemon juice to impart a gloss to his skin. Ormond remarked that these jockey-tricks are as common in Africa as among horse-dealers in Christian lands; and desiring me to feel the negro's pulse, I immediately detected disease or excessive excitement. In a few days I found the poor wretch, abandoned by his owner, a paralyzed wreck in the hut of a villager at Bangalang.

When a slave becomes useless to his master in the interior, or exhibits signs of failing constitution, he is soon disposed of to a peddler or broker. These men call to their aid a quack,

familiar with drugs, who, for a small compensation, undertakes to refit an impaired body for the temptation of greenhorns. Sometimes the cheat is successfully effected; but experienced slavers detect it readily by the yellow eye, swollen tongue, and feverish skin.

After a few more lessons, I was considered by the Mongo sufficiently learned in the slave traffic to be intrusted with the sole management of his stores. This exemption from commerce enabled him to indulge more than ever in the use of ardent spirits, though his vanity to be called "king," still prompted him to attend faithfully to all the "country palavers"—and, let it be said to his credit, his decisions were never defective in judgment or impartiality.

After I had been three months occupied in the multifarious intercourse of Bangalang and its neighbourhood, I understood the language well enough to dispense with the interpreter, who was one of the Mongo's confidential agents. When my companion departed on a long journey, he counselled me to make up with Unga-golah, the harem's Cerberus, as she suspected my intimacy with Esther, who would doubtless be denounced to Ormond, unless I purchased the beldame's silence.

Indeed, ever since the night of warning, when the beautiful quarteronne visited my hovel, I had contrived to meet this charming girl, as the only solace of my solitude. Amid all the wild, passionate, and savage surroundings of Bangalang, Esther—the Pariah—was the only golden link that still seemed to bind me to humanity and the lands beyond the seas. On that burning coast, I was not excited by the stirring of an adventurous life, nor was my young heart seduced and bewildered by absorbing avarice. Many a night, when the dews penetrated my flesh, as I looked towards the west, my soul shrank from the selfish wretches around me, and went off in dreams to the

Clothing
Food
Sleeping conditions

Canot, Theodore
Adventures of an African Slaver. New York: Garden City Publishing Co., 1928

result, because I learned from the captain that the invoice of cigars was a malicious trick, palmed off on the *Aerostatico's* owners by her captain in order to thwart or embarrass me, when he heard I was to be intrusted with the purchase of a cargo on the coast.

At the appointed day, *La Fortuna* sailed with 220 human beings packed in her hold. Three months afterwards, I received advices that she safely landed 217 in the bay of Matanzas, and that their sale yielded a clear profit on the voyage of forty-one thousand four hundred and thirty-eight dollars.*

* As the reader may scarcely credit so large a profit, I subjoin an account of the fitting of a slave vessel from Havana in 1827, and the liquidation of her voyage in Cuba:—

1.—Expenses Out.

Cost of *La Fortuna,* a 90-ton schooner,	$ 3,700 00
Fitting out, sails, carpenter and cooper's bills	2,500 00
Provisions for crew and slaves,	1,115 00
Wages advanced to 18 men before the mast,	900 00
" " to captain, mates, boatswain, cook, and steward,	440 00
200,000 cigars and 500 doubloons, cargo,	10,900 00
Clearance and hush-money,	200 00
	$19,755 00
Commission at 5 per cent.,	987 00
Full cost of voyage out,	$20,742 00

2.—Expenses Home.

Captain's head-money, at $8 a head,	1,746 00
Mate's " $4 "	873 00
Second mate and boatswain's head-money, at $2 each a head,	873 00
Captain's wages,	219 78
First mate's wages,	175 56
Second mate and boatswain's wages,	307 12
Cook and steward's wages,	264 00
Eighteen sailors' wages,	1,972 00
	$27,172 46

An African factor of fair repute is ever careful to select his human cargo with consummate prudence, so as not only to supply his employers with athletic labourers, but to avoid any taint of disease that may affect the slaves in their transit to Cuba or the American main. Two days before embarkation, the head of every male and female is neatly shaved; and, if the cargo belongs to several owners, each man's *brand* is impressed on the body of his respective negro. This operation is performed with pieces of silver wire, or small irons fashioned into the merchant's initials, heated just hot enough to blister without burning the skin. When the entire cargo is the venture of but one proprietor, the branding is always dispensed with.

On the appointed day, the barracoon or slave-pen is made joyous by the abundant "feed" which signalises the negro's last hours in his native country. The feast over, they are taken alongside the vessel in canoes; and as they touch the deck, they are entirely stripped, so that women as well as men go out of

3.—Expenses in Havana.

Government officers, at $8 per head,	1,736 00
My commission on 217 slaves, expenses off,	5,565 00
Consignees' commissions	3,873 00
217 slave dresses, at $2 each,	434 00
Extra expenses of all kinds, say,	1,200 00
Total expenses	$39,980 46

4.—Returns.

Value of vessels at auction	$ 3,950 00
Proceeds of 217 slavers,	77,469 00
	$81,419 00

Resumé.

Total Returns,	$81,419 00
" Expenses	39,980 46
Net profit,	$41,438 54

Africa as they came into it—naked. This precaution, it will be understood, is indispensable; for perfect nudity, during the whole voyage, is the only means of securing cleanliness and health. In this state, they are immediately ordered below, the men to the hold and the women to the cabin, while boys and girls are, day and night, kept on deck, where their sole protection from the elements is a sail in fair weather, and a tarpaulin in foul.

At meal time they are distributed in messes of ten. Thirty years ago, when the Spanish slave trade was lawful, the captains were somewhat more ceremoniously religious than at present, and it was then a universal habit to make the gangs say grace before meat, and give thanks afterwards. In our days, however, they dispense with this ritual, and content themselves with a "*Viva la Habana*," or "hurrah for Havana," accompanied by a clapping of hands.

This over, a bucket of salt water is served to each mess, by way of "finger glasses" for the ablution of hands, after which a *kidd*—either of rice, farina, yams, or beans, according to the tribal habit of the negroes—is placed before the squad. In order to prevent greediness or inequality in the appropriation of nourishment, the process is performed by signals from a monitor, whose motions indicate when the darkies shall dip and when they shall swallow.

It is the duty of a guard to report immediately whenever a slave refuses to eat, in order that his abstinence may be traced to stubbornness or disease. Negroes have sometimes been found in slavers who attempted voluntary starvation; so that when the watch reports the patient to be shamming, his appetite is stimulated by the medical antidote of a *cat*. If the slave, however, is truly ill, he is forthwith ticketed for the

sick-list by a bead or button around his neck, and dispatched to an infirmary in the forecastle.

These meals occur twice daily—at ten in the morning and four in the afternoon—and are terminated by another ablution. Thrice in each twenty-four hours they are served with half a pint of water. Pipes and tobacco are circulated economically among both sexes; but as each negro cannot be allowed the luxury of a separate bowl, boys are sent round with an adequate supply, allowing a few whiffs to each individual. On regular days—probably three times a week—their mouths are carefully rinsed with vinegar, while, nearly every morning, a dram is given as an antidote to scurvy.

Although it is found necessary to keep the sexes apart, they are allowed to converse freely during day while on deck. Corporal punishment is never inflicted save by order of an officer, and even then, not until the culprit understands exactly why it is done. Once a week, the ship's barber scrapes their chins without assistance from soap; and on the same day their nails are closely pared, to insure security from harm in those nightly battles that occur, when the slave contests with his neighbour every inch of plank to which he is glued. During afternoons of serene weather, men, women, girls, and boys are allowed to unite in African melodies, which they always enhance by an extemporaneous tom-tom on the bottom of a tub or tin kettle.

The greatest care, compatible with safety, is taken of a negro's health and cleanliness on the voyage. In every well-conducted slaver, the captain, officers, and crew, are alert and vigilant to preserve the cargo. It is their personal interest, as well as the interest of humanity, to do so. The boatswain is incessant in his patrol of purification, and disinfecting substances are plenteously distributed. The upper deck is washed and swabbed daily; the slave deck is scraped and holystoned;

and, at nine o'clock each morning, the captain inspects every part of his craft; so that no vessel, except a man-of-war, can compare with a slaver in systematic order, purity, and neatness. I am not aware that the ship-fever, which sometimes decimates the emigrants from Europe, has ever prevailed in these African traders.

At sundown, the process of stowing the slaves for the night is begun. The second mate and boatswain descend into the hold, whip in hand, and range the slaves in their regular places; those on the right side of the vessel facing forward and lying in each other's lap, while those on the left are similarly stowed with their faces towards the stern. In this way each negro lies on his right side, which is considered preferable for the action of the heart. In allotting places, particular attention is paid to size, the taller being selected for the greatest breadth of the vessel, while the shorter and younger are lodged near the bows. When the cargo is large and the lower deck crammed, the supernumeraries are disposed of on deck, which is securely covered with boards to shield them from moisture. The strict discipline of nightly stowage is of the greatest importance in slavers, else every negro would accommodate himself as if he were a passenger.

In order to insure perfect silence and regularity during the night, a slave is chosen as constable from every ten, and furished with a cat to enforce commands during his appointed watch. In remuneration for his services, which are admirably performed whenever the whip is required, he is adorned with an old shirt or tarry trowsers. Now and then, billets of wood are distributed among the sleepers, but this luxury is never granted until the good temper of the negroes is ascertained, for slaves have often been tempted to mutiny by the power of arming themselves with these pillows from the forest.

It is very probable that many of my readers will consider it barbarous to make slaves lie down naked upon a board, but let me inform them that native Africans are not familiar with the use of feather-beds, nor do any but the free and rich in their mother country indulge in the luxury even of a mat or raw-hide. Among the Mandingo chiefs—the most industrious and civilized of Africans—the beds, divans, and sofas, are heaps of mud, covered with untanned skins for cushions, while logs of wood serve for bolsters. I am of opinion, therefore, that emigrant slaves experience very slight inconvenience in lying down on the deck.

But ventilation is carefully attended to. The hatches and bulkheads of every slaver are grated, and apertures are cut about the deck for ampler circulation of air. Wind-sails, too, are constantly pouring a steady draft into the hold, except during a chase, when every comfort is temporarily sacrificed for safety. During calms or in light and baffling winds, when the suffocating air of the tropics makes ventilation impossible, the gratings are always removed, and portions of the slaves allowed to repose at night on deck, while the crew is armed to watch the sleepers.

Handcuffs are rarely used on shipboard. It is the common custom to secure slaves in the barracoons, and while shipping, by chaining ten in a gang; but as these platoons would be extremely inconvenient at sea, the manacles are immediately taken off and replaced by leg-irons, which fasten them in pairs by the feet. Shackles are never used but for full-grown men, while women and boys are set at liberty as soon as they embark. It frequently happens that when the behaviour of male slaves warrants their freedom, they are released from all fastenings long before they arrive. Irons are altogether dispensed with on many Brazilian slavers, as negroes from Anjuda,

Talley, Thomas W.

Negro Folk Rhymes Wise and Otherwise. New York: Macmillan, 1922.

ON TOP OF THE POT

WILD goose gallop an' gander trot;
Walk about, Mistiss, on top o' de pot!

Hog jowl bilin', an' tunnup greens hot,
Walk about, Billie, on top o' de pot!

Chitlins, hog years, all on de spot,
Walk about, ladies, on top o' de pot!

*STAND BACK, BLACK MAN

Oh!

STAN' back, black man,
You cain't shine;
Yō' lips is too thick,
An' you hain't my kin'.

*In a few places in the South, just following the Civil War, the Mulattoes organized themselves into a little guild known as "The Blue Vein Circle," from which those who were black were excluded. This is one of their rhymes.

Aw!

Git 'way, black man,
You jes haint fine;
I'se done quit foolin'
Wid de nappy-headed kind.

Say?

Stan' back, black man!
Cain't you see
Dat a kinky-headed chap
Hain't nothin' side o' me?

NEGROES NEVER DIE

NIGGER! Nigger never die!
He gits choked on Chicken pie.
Black face, white shiny eye. Nigger! Nigger!

Nigger! Nigger never knows!
Mashed nose, an' crooked toes;
Dat's de way de Nigger goes. Nigger! Nigger!

Nigger! Nigger always sing;
Jump up, cut de Pidgeon's wing;
Whirl, an' give his feet a fling. Nigger! Nigger!

Lane, Lunsford

The Narrative of Lunsford Lane, Formerly of Raleigh, N.C. Boston: Hewes and Watson's Print, 1848.

1. Slave Childs discovery that he is enslaved.
2. Slave's attempts to purchase freedom.

some time afterwards. My infancy was spent upon the floor, in a rough cradle, or sometimes in my mother's arms; my early boyhood, in playing with the other boys and girls, colored and white, in the yard, and occasionally doing such little matters of labor as one of so young years could. I knew no difference between myself and the white children; nor did they seem to know any in turn. Sometimes my master would come out and give a biscuit to me, and another to one of his own white boys; but I did not perceive the difference between us. I had no brothers or sisters, but there were other colored families living in the same kitchen, and the children playing in the same yard, with me and my mother.

When I was ten or eleven years old, my master set me regularly to cutting wood, in the yard, in the winter, and working in the garden in the summer. And when I was fifteen years of age, he gave me the care of the pleasure horses, and made me his carriage driver; but this did not exempt me from other labor, especially in the summer. Early in the morning I used to take his three horses to the plantation, and turn them into the pasture to graze, and myself into the cotton or cornfield, with a hoe in my hand, to work through the day; and after sunset I would take these horses back to the city, a distance of three miles, feed them, and then attend to any other business my master or

any of his family had for me to do, until bed time, when, with my blanket in my hand, I would go into the dining room to rest through the night. The next day the same round of labor would be repeated, unless some of the family wished to ride out, in which case I must be on hand with the horses to wait upon them, and in the meantime to work about the yard. On Sunday I had to drive to church twice, which, with other things necessary to be done, took the whole day. So my life went wearily on from day to day, from night to night, and from week to week.

When I began to work, I discovered the difference between myself and my master's white children. They began to order me about, and were told to do so by my master and mistress. I found, too, that they had learned to read, while I was not permitted to have a book in my hand. To be in the possession of anything written or printed, was regarded as an offence. And then there was the fear that I might be sold away from those who were dear to me, and conveyed to the far south. I had learned, that, being a slave, I was subject to this worst (to us) of all calamities; and I knew of others in similar situations to myself, thus sold away. My friends were not numerous; but in proportion as they were few they were dear; and the thought that I might be separated from them forever, was like that of having

nearest plantation (I knew but little about the rest,) was a very cruel man; in one instance, as it was said among the slaves, he whipped a man *to death*; but of course he denied that the man died in consequence of the whipping. Still it was the choice of my wife to pass into the hands of Mr. Smith, as she had become attached to him in consequence of belonging to the same church, and receiving his religious instruction and counsel as her class-leader, and in consequence of the peculiar devotedness to the cause of religion for which he was noted, and which he always seemed to manifest. But when she became his slave, he withheld both from her and her children the needful food and clothing, while he exacted from them to the uttermost all the labor they were able to perform. Almost every article of clothing worn either by my wife or children, especially every article of much value, I had to purchase; while the food he furnished the family amounted to less than a meal a day, and that of the coarser kind. I have no remembrance that he ever gave us a blanket, or any other article of bedding, although it is considered a rule at the south that the master shall furnish each of his slaves with one blanket a year. So that, both as to food and clothing, I had in fact to support both my wife and the children, while he claimed them as his property, and received all their labor. She was a house

servant to Mr. Smith, sometimes cooked the food for his family, and usually took it from the table; but her mistress was so particular in giving it out to be cooked, or so watched it, that she always knew whether it was all returned; and when the table was cleared away, the stern old lady would sit by and see that every dish (except the very little she would send into the kitchen,) was put away, and then she would turn the key upon it, so as to be sure her slaves should not die of gluttony. This practise is common with some families in that region, but with others it is not. It was not so in that of her less pious master, Mr. Boylan, nor was it precisely so at my master's. We used to have corn bread enough, and some meat. When I was a boy, the pot-liquor, in which the meat was boiled for the "great house," together with some little corn-meal balls that had been thrown in just before the meat was done, was poured into a tray and set in the middle of the yard, and a clam-shell or pewter spoon given to each of us children, who would fall upon the delicious fare as greedily as pigs. It was not generally so much as we wanted, consequently it was customary for some of the white persons who saw us from the piazza of the house where they were sitting, to order the more stout and greedy ones to eat slower, that those more young and feeble might have a chance. But it was not so with Mr. Smith; such luxu-

ries were more than he could afford, kind and Christian man as he was considered to be. So that by the expense of providing for my wife and children, all the money I had earned, and could earn, by my night labor, was consumed, till I found myself reduced to five dollars, and this I lost one day in going to the plantation. My light of hope now went out. My prop seemed to have given way from under me. Sunk in the very night of despair respecting my freedom, I discovered myself, as though I had never known it before, a husband, the father of two children, a family looking up to me for bread, and I a slave, penniless, and well watched by my master, his wife, and his children, lest I should, perchance, catch the friendly light of the stars to make something in order to supply the cravings of nature in those with whom my soul was bound up; or lest some plan of freedom might lead me to trim the light of diligence after the day's labor was over, while the rest of the world were enjoying the hours in pleasure or sleep.

At this time an event occurred, which, while it cast a cloud over the prospects of some of my fellow slaves, was a rainbow over mine. My master died; and his widow, by the will, became sole executrix of his property. To the surprise of all, the bank of which he had been cashier, presented a claim against the estate for forty thou-

sand dollars. By a compromise, this sum was reduced to twenty thousand dollars; and my mistress, to meet the amount, sold some of her slaves, and hired out others. I hired my time of her,* for which I paid her a price varying from one hundred dollars to one hundred and twenty dollars per year. This was a privilege which comparatively few slaves at the south enjoy; and in this I felt truly blessed.

I commenced the manufacture of pipes and tobacco on an enlarged scale. I opened a regular place of business, labelled my tobacco in a conspicuous manner with the names of "*Edward and Lunsford Lane*," and of some of the persons who sold it for me,—establishing agencies for the sale in various parts of the state, one at Fayetteville, one at Salisbury, one at Chapel Hill, and so on,—sold my articles from my place of business, and about town, also deposited them in stores on commission; and thus, after paying my mistress for my time, and rendering such support as was necessary to my family,

*It is contrary to the laws of the state for a slave to have command of his own time in this way, but in Raleigh it is sometimes winked at. I knew one slave-man, who was *doing well for himself*, taken up by the public authorities and hired out for the public good, three times in succession, for this offence. The time of hiring in such a case is one year. The master is subject to a fine. But generally, as I have said, if the slave is *orderly*, and appears to be *making nothing*, neither he nor the master is interfered with.

I found in the space of some six or eight years, that I had collected the sum of one thousand dollars. During this time I had found it politic to go shabbily dressed, and to appear to be very poor, but to pay my mistress for my services promptly. I kept my money hid, never venturing to put out a penny, nor to let any body but my wife know that I was making any. The thousand dollars was what I supposed my mistress would ask for me, and so I determined now what I would do.

I went to my mistress and inquired what was her price for me. She said a thousand dollars. I then told her that I wanted to be free, and asked her if she would sell me to be made free. She said she would; and accordingly I arranged with her, and with the master of my wife, Mr. Smith, already spoken of, for the latter to take my money* and buy of her my freedom, as I could not legally purchase it, and as the laws forbid emancipation, except for "meritorious services." This done, Mr. Smith endeavored to emancipate me formally, and to get my manumission recorded; I tried also; but the court judged that I had done nothing "meri-

* *Legally*, my money belonged to my mistress; and she could have taken it and refused to grant me my freedom. But she was a very kind woman for a slave owner; and she would under the circumstances scorn to do such a thing. I have known of slaves, however, served in this way.

torious," and so I remained, nominally only, the slave of Mr. Smith for a year; when, feeling unsafe in that relation, I accompanied him to New York, whither he was going to purchase goods, and was there regularly and formally made a freeman, and there my manumission was recorded. I returned to my family in Raleigh, and endeavored to do by them as a freeman should. I had known what it was to be a slave, and I knew what it was to be free.

But I am going too rapidly over my story. When the money was paid to my mistress and the conveyance fairly made to Mr. Smith, I felt that I was free. And a queer and a joyous feeling it is to one who has been a slave. I cannot describe it, only it seemed as though I was in heaven. I used to lie awake whole nights in thinking of it. And oh, the strange thoughts that passed through my soul, like so many rivers of light; deep and rich were their waves as they rolled;—these were more to me than sleep, more than soft slumber after long months of watching over the decaying, fading frame of a friend, and the loved one laid to rest in the dust. But I cannot describe my feelings to those who have never been slaves; then why should I attempt it? He who has passed from spiritual death to life, and received the witness within his soul that his sins are forgiven, may possibly form some distant idea, like the ray of the setting

GEORGIA CODE, ANNOTATED (1935)

Chapter and Section	
2	CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE OF GEORGIA
5002	(Article VII, Finance, Taxation, etc.) Paragraph II. EXEMPTIONS. -- The General Assembly may, by law, exempt from taxation all public property; places of religious worship or burial; all institutions of purely public charity; all buildings erected for and used as a college, incorporated academy, or other seminary of learning, and also all funds or property held or used as endowment by such colleges, incorporated academies or seminaries of learning, provided the same is not invested in real estate; and provided, further, that said exemptions shall only apply to such colleges, incorporated academies or other seminaries of learning as are open to the general public; provided, further, that all endowments to institutions established for white people shall be limited to white people, and all endowments to institutions established for colored people shall be limited to colored people. . . .
	92-201 (998) of Code contains same provisions.
53/312	"WHITE PERSON" DEFINED. -- The term "white person" shall include only persons of the white or Caucasian race, who have no ascertainable trace of either Negro, African, West Indian, Asiatic Indian, Mongolian, Japanese, or Chinese blood in their veins. No person, any one of whose ancestors has been duly registered with the State Bureau of Vital Statistics as a colored person or person of color, shall be deemed to be a white person. (Acts 1927, p. 277)
79/103	PERSONS OF COLOR, WHO ARE. -- All Negroes, mulattoes, mestizos, and their descendants, having any ascertainable trace of either Negro or African, West Indian, or Asiatic Indian blood in their veins, and all descendants of any person having either Negro or African, West Indian, or Asiatic Indian blood in his or her veins, shall be known in this State as persons of color. (Acts 1865-6, p. 239; 1927, p. 272)

(Source: THE LAWS OF ATLANTA AND GEORGIA RELATING TO THE SEPARATION OF THE RACES. Compiled from Georgia Code, Annotated (1935), and Municipal Code of Atlanta (1942). Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia, 1945.)

Ga, State Govts

GEORGIA LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
317 Trust Company of Georgia Building, Atlanta 3, Ga.

Affiliated with the
National League of Women Voters

January 17, 1947

Dear League Member:

Numerous inquiries have come to this office as to what action the League expects to take at this critical moment in Georgia's history.

The League as an organization must maintain its non-partisan position. A member must act in her individual capacity. The Board of the Georgia League strongly urges every member (except those who hold official League positions) immediately to express themselves publicly on either side as to their stand in the gubernatorial controversy. The Board urges you to get your friends to do the same.

Let Hon. Herman Talmadge, Hon. Ellis Arnall, your representatives, and newspapers know your position in this matter.

This is a time for action.

Yours truly,

Beatrice H. Haas

(Mrs. Leonard Haas)
President

P. S. Roll call votes enclosed.

GEORGIA LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
317 Trust Company of Georgia Building, Atlanta 3, Georgia
January 17, 1947

Listed below are three important roll call votes leading up to the present situation in the state government of Georgia.

The first vote was a trial vote and is considered by some as the most important as they believe the winning group on this vote attracted in subsequent voting the votes of those who had not fully made up their minds. The vote was 128 to 126.

The second vote listed is a vote which was taken immediately after a resolution which would have declared that the General Assembly could not elect a governor was defeated. The second vote listed was a vote that the General Assembly proceed immediately to elect a governor. (The question now before the courts is whether they had the right to elect the governor.) The vote was 137-114.

The third vote was the vote for Mr. Talmadge for governor. The nominations were closed after Mr. Talmadge had been nominated and the presiding officer instructed the legislators to vote for Mr. Talmadge by saying "Talmadge" and to vote against him by saying "Present". Vote 161-87.

Senatorial District or County with name of senator or representative	Vote I (Resolution to have all election returns published at once. Talmadge leaders urged defeat; Thompson leaders urged its passage.)	Vote II (Resolution that the Gen. Assembly proceed immediately to elect a governor. Introduced by Talmadge leader.)	Vote III (On Mr. Talmadge for Governor)
HOUSE			
Appling			
J. A. Tuton	Aye	Nay	Talmadge
Atkinson			
Maynard Higgs	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Bacon			
Homer Causey	Aye	Nay	Present
Baker			
J. M. Ethredge	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Baldwin			
J. L. Sibley Jennings	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
E. Culver Kidd	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Banks			
Oscar Rucker	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Barrow			
J. Julian Bennett	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Bartow			
J. L. Davis	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Leroy N. Jenkins	Aye	Nay	Present
Ben Hill			
C. O. Walker	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Berrien			
J. H. Swindle	Aye	Nay	Present
Bibb			
Marvin E. Kemper	Aye	Nay	Present
W. Horace Vandiver	Aye	Nay	Present
Lewis B. Wilson	Aye	Nay	Present

(continued)

Name & County	Vote I	Vote II	Vote III
Bleckley			
James Marion Dykes	Aye	Aye	Talmadge
Brantley			
W. H. Jones	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Brooks			
H.R. Garrett	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Bryan			
W. K. Smith, M.D.	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Bulloch			
J. Brantley Johnson, Jr.	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
L. M. Mallard	Aye	Nay	Talmadge
Burke			
J. J. Bargeron	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Frank M. Cates	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Butts			
Benjamin B. Garland	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Calhoun			
J. D. Cowart, Jr.	Aye	Aye	Talmadge
Camden			
Q. L. Claxton	Nay	Nay	Present
Candler			
F. H. Sills	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Carroll			
Herschel Reid	Aye	Nay	Present
Willis Smith	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Catoosa			
James Evitt, Jr.	Aye	Nay	Present
Charlton			
Ralph Knabb	Aye	Nay	Present
Chatham			
R. E. Evans, Jr.	Aye	Nay	Present
Herbert C. Skinner	Aye	Nay	Present
Malberry Smith, Jr.	Aye	Nay	Present
Chattahoochee			
Joe N. King	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Chattooga			
H. Grady Ramey	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Cherokee			
B. A. Manous	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Clarke			
Jake B. Joel	Aye	Nay	Present
Jack R. Wells	Aye	Nay	Present
Clay			
Jim Gibbons	Aye	Nay	Did Not Vote
Clayton			
A. B. Smith	Aye	Nay	Talmadge
Clinch			
Ben T. Willoughby	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Cobb			
Sam J. Welsch	Aye	Nay	Present
Harold S. Willingham	Aye	Nay	Present
Coffee			
Henry C. Ellis	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Micajah Vickers	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Colquitt			
Robert E. Cheshire	Aye	Nay	Talmadge
Wm. C. Riddlespurger	Aye	Nay	Talmadge

Name & County	Vote I	Vote II	Vote III
Columbia			
Glenn S. Phillips	Aye	Nay	Present
Cook			
D. F. Burton	Aye	Nay	Present
Coweta			
Henry C. Arnall	Aye	Nay	Present
Myer Goldberg	Aye	Nay	Present
Crawford			
Clifford R. Avera	Aye	Nay	Present
Crisp			
Palmer H. Greene	Aye	Aye	Talmadge
Dade			
Rufus W. Massey	Aye	Did not vote	Present
Dawson			
Dr. Marcus L. Howard	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Decatur			
Tom E. Rich	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
S. N. Cox, Sr.	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
DeKalb			
Pierre Howard	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
H. O. Hubert	Aye	Nay	Present
W. Hugh McWhorter	Aye	Nay	Present
Dodge			
Eugene E. Yawn	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Dooly			
Leon F. Beddingfield	Aye	Nay	Present
Dougherty			
Adie N. Durden	Aye	Nay	Present
George Sabados	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Douglas			
Alpha A. Fowler, Jr.	Aye	Nay	Present
Early			
Wilton B. Bostwick	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Echols			
J. E. Padgett	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Effingham			
H. C. Tuttle	Did not vote	Nay	Talmadge
Elbert			
E. J. Pullia m	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Emanuel			
H. C. Edenfield	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Geo. L. Smith, II	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Evans			
J. B. Glisson	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Fannin			
R. T. Hampton	Aye	Nay	Present
Fayette			
Grady L. Huddleston	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Floyd			
Dean Covington	Aye	Nay	Present
M. G. Hicks	Aye	Aye	Did not vote
A. D. Littlejohn	Aye	Nay	Present
Forsyth			
Jay L. Holbrook	Aye	Nay	Talmadge
Franklin			
Ben F. Chook	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Fulton			
Paul S. Etheridge, Jr.	Aye	Aye	Talmadge
W. C. Kendrick	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
M. M. (Muggsy) Smith	Aye	Nay	Present

Name & County	Vote I	Vote II	Vote III
Gilmer			
Glascock			
G. M. Hardin	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Glynn			
Chas. Gowen	Aye	Nay	Present
Bernard N. Nightingale	Aye	Nay	Present
Gordon			
Buford A. Ingle	Aye	Nay	Present
Grady			
G. B. Trulock	Aye	Nay	Present
Greene			
Miles Walker Lewis	Aye	Nay	Talmadge
Gwinnett			
Emmett O. Dobbs, Jr.	Aye	Nay	Present
Rhodes Jordan	Aye	Nay	Present
Habersham			
Garrison	Aye	Nay	Talmadge
Hall			
A. R. Kenyon	Aye	Nay	Present
Howard T. Overby	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Hancock			
John C. Lewis	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Haralson			
James R. Murphy	Aye	Nay	Present
Harris			
Zade Kenimer	Aye	Nay	Present
Hart			
T. H. Risner	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Heard			
A. C. Caswell	Aye	Aye	Talmadge
Henry			
Joseph Mann	Aye	Nay	Talmadge
Houston			
John W. Bloodworth	Aye	Nay	Present
Irwin			
D. J. Henderson	Aye	Nay	Talmadge
Jackson			
C. E. Hardy	Aye	Nay	Present
Jasper			
Wm. H. Key	Aye	Nay	Present
Jeff Davis			
C. C. Harrison	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Jefferson			
J. Roy McCrackon	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Jenkins			
Walter Harrison	Aye	Nay	Present
Johnson			
J. H. Rowland	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Jones			
W. B. Williams	Aye	Did not vote	Did not vote
Lamar			
A. N. Moye	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Lanier			
John W. Greer	Aye	Nay	Present
Laurens			
W. Herschel Lovett	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Laurens			
Linton G. Malone	Aye	Nay	Present

Name & County	Vote I	Vote II	Vote III
Lee			
C. C. Ansley	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Liberty			
Marvin F. Clark, Jr.	Aye	Nay	Talmadge
Lincoln			
J. P. Wells	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Long			
Robert L. Watford Sr	Aye	Nay	Talmadge
Lowndes			
Country Johnston	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Lowndes			
J. E. Mathis	Aye	Nay	Present
Lumpkin			
G. H. Moore	Aye	Did not vote	Did not vote
Macon			
Tom Coogle	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Madison			
A. F. Seagraves	Aye	Nay	Talmadge
Marion			
E. C. Stevens	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
McDuffie			
Leonard N. Lokey	Aye	Aye	Talmadge
McIntosh			
W. E. Williams	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Meriwether			
O. W. Hill	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Meriwether			
G. C. Thompson	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Miller			
Henry M. Miller	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Mitchell			
Fred Hand	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Mitchell			
Frank S. Twitty	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Monroe			
W. Buford Mitchell	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Montgomery			
Walter B. Morrison	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Morgan			
C. R. Mason	Aye	Nay	Present
Murray			
Fred F. Long	Aye	Nay	Present
Muscogee			
J. Robert Elliott	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Muscogee			
Ralph M. Holleman	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Muscogee			
I. Lawrence Shields	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Newton			
A. M. Campbell	Aye	Nay	Present
Oconee			
Robert M. Nicholson	Aye	Nay	Talmadge
Oglethorpe			
J. C. Smith	Aye	Nay	Talmadge
Paulding			
George T. Bagby	Aye	Aye	Talmadge
Peach			
Sam M. Mathews	Nay	Aye	Talmadge

Name & County	Vote I	Vote II	Vote III
Pickens			
J. I. Hofner	Aye	Nay	Present
Pierce			
L. H. Oden	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Pike			
W. J. Barrett Jr.	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Polk			
W. Roy Adams	Aye	Nay	Present
Polk			
Paul W. Hurt	Aye	Nay	Present
Pulaski			
D. C. Chalker	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Putnam			
Grady Loveretto Sr.	Aye	Nay	Did not vote
Quitman			
LoronGary, M.D.	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Rabun			
Paul Green	Nay	Aye	Present
Randolph			
W. H. Lockett	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Richmond			
Henry P. Eve	Aye	Nay	Present
Richmond			
William S. Morris	Aye	Nay	Present
Richmond			
John Bell Towill	Aye	Nay	Present
Rockdale			
James C. Mann	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Schley			
Charles (Buddy) Battle	Aye	Nay	Present
Screven			
G. Elliott Hagan	Aye	Nay	Present
Seminole			
Bartow Gibson	Aye	Nay	Present
Spalding			
R. L. Addleton	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Spalding			
John J. Flynt Jr.	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Stephens			
George B. Ramsay Jr.	Aye	Nay	Present
Stewart			
Byron C. Anglin	Nay	Did not vote	Talmadge
Sumter			
Thoron D. Jennings	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Sumter			
W. G. Pearlman	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Taliaferro			
William R. Moore	Aye	Nay	Present
Talbot			
H. Chris Callier	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Tattnall			
J. D. Bradley Jr.	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Taylor			
Garland T. Byrd	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Telfair			
John K. Whaley	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Terrell			
Mrs. Rebecca Laing Rainey	Nay	Aye	Talmadge

Name & County	Vote I	Vote II	Vote III
Thomas W. B. Cochran Jr.	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Thomas Lawson Neel	Aye	Nay	Present
Tift I. Y. Conger	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Toombs Garland H. Williams	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Towns E. L. Adams	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Troutlen I. H Hall	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Troup W. H. Caldwell	Aye	Nay	Present
Troup H. E. Groover Sr.	Aye	Nay	Present
Troup Tom Morgan	Aye	Nay	Talmadge
Turner Clyde Z. Hardin	Aye	Aye	Talmadge
Twiggs Homer L. Chance	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Union W. T. Meeks Jr.	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Upson Robert A. Freeman	Aye	Nay	Talmadge
Upson H. Doyal Salter	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Walker Ray Crow	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Walker John L. Mavity	Did not vote	Did not vote	Did not vote
Walton J. E. Briscoe Jr.	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Ware Wayne Hinson	Aye	Nay	Present
Ware Jack Williams	Aye	Nay	Present
Warren Jack B. Ray	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Washington W. C. McMillan	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Washington Lonnie J. Moye Jr.	Aye	Nay	Talmadge
Wayne Robert L. Harrison	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Webster J. L. Black	Did not vote	Did not vote	Did not vote
Wheeler Wallace Adams	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
White Guy C. Dorsey	Aye	Nay	Present
Whitfield Stafford Brooke	Aye	Nay	Present
Whitfield W. A. Britton	Aye	Nay	Present
Wilkes H. G. Garrard	Nay	Aye	Talmadge

Name & County	Vote I	Vote II	Vote III
Wilcox			
Dr. J. F. Witherington	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Wilkinson			
Lee W. Pennington	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Worth			
W. J. Crowe	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
Worth			
C. J. Hobby	Nay	Aye	Talmadge

SENATE

District & Name		Vote I	Vote II	Vote III
1st	Grayson	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
2nd	Smiley	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
3rd	Howard	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
4th	Wells	Aye	Aye	Talmadge
5th	Blitch	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
6th	Miller	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
7th	Butler	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
8th	Bush	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
9th	Odom	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
10th	Sumner	Aye	Nay	Present
11th	Killingsworth	Nay	Nay	Talmadge
12th	Burke	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
13th	Ferguson	Aye	Nay	Present
14th	Richardson	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
15th	Darby	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
16th	Hooks	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
17th	Carswell	Aye	Nay	
18th	Overstreet	Aye	Nay	Present
19th	Brown	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
20th	Tarbutton	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
21st	Boone	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
22nd	Scay	Aye	Nay	Present
23rd	Adams	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
24th	Hogg	Aye	Nay	Present
25th	Woodall	Aye	Nay	Present
26th	Sams	Aye	Nay	Talmadge
27th	Hodges	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
28th	Griffith	Aye	Nay	Present
29th	Knox	Aye	Nay	Talmadge
30th	Mason	Aye	Aye	Talmadge
31st	Williams	Aye	Nay	Present
32nd	Dorsey	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
33rd	Logan	Aye	Nay	Present
34th	Dean	Presiding officer, so did not vote		
35th	Callaway	Nay	Aye	
36th	Gwyn	Aye	Nay	Talmadge
37th	Huckaba	Aye	Nay	Talmadge
38th	Trippe	Aye	Nay	Present
39th	Coker	Aye	Aye	Talmadge
40th	Mitchell	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
41st	Kiker	Aye	Nay	Present
42nd	Baker	Aye	Aye	Did not vote
43rd	Pannell	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
44th	Yates	Aye	Nay	Present
45th	Walker	Nay	Aye	Talmadge

SENATE (Continued)

District & Name	Vote I	Vote II	Vote III
46th Widoman	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
47th Branch	Aye	Nay	Talmadge
48th Tippins	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
49th Danielle	Aye	Nay	Present
50th Arnold	Aye	Nay	Present
51st Weaver	Nay	Aye	Talmadge
52nd Millican	Aye	Nay	Present
53rd Kennon	Aye	Nay	Did not vote
54th Parker	Aye	Nay	Present

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Southern Regional Council

GEORGIA BUSINESS

THE BUREAU OF BUSINESS RESEARCH

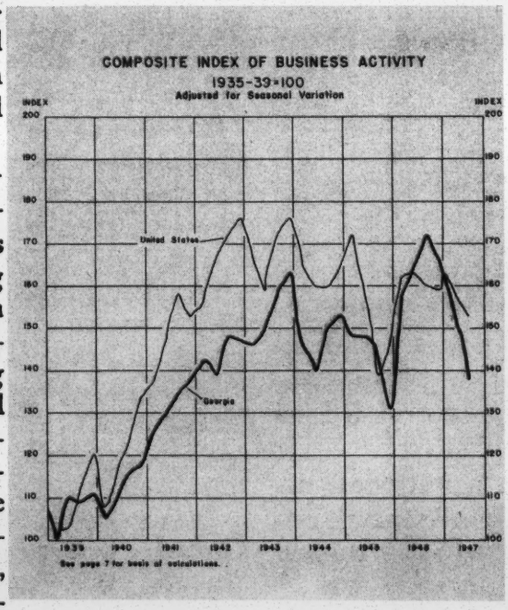
College of Business Administration The University of Georgia

Vol. VII, No. 1 Athens, Georgia October 1947

Highlights of Business Activity

Prices Up, Production Down

Predictions were freely made during the first half of 1947 that a recession could be expected sometime during the latter part of the year. More recently, this sentiment has given way to a stoic belief that inflationary forces are still at work, and that essential adjustments in the country's economy will be delayed.



Business indexes of economic activity for both Georgia and the United States reflect no serious slackening in the physical production and movement of commodities. On the accompanying chart, an average of several major indexes, with the effects of price increases eliminated. indicates a decline during the spring and summer months. But in general, no serious slackening has developed in either demand or the physical movements of goods, and prices of most commodities have continued to move upward.

United States Industrial production of goods throughout 1947 has remained above the same months of 1946 although the Federal Reserve Board Index of Industrial Production has gradually fallen from its Post-war Peak of 190 in March to 178 in July. Increases in automobiles and other durable goods have been particularly prominent, although textiles and many soft goods have reflected significant declines. Freight car loadings have consistently stayed at a high level. On the other hand, construction contracts are considerably less than a year ago, and retail sales, when price changes are eliminated, are down.

Georgia Available indexes on Georgia activity, when summarized, also reflect a generally favorable situation. A downward trend has developed in the textile industry during the summer. Cotton consumption in the state fell from an index of 184 (based on the 1935-39 average) in January to 120 in July. Lumber production was 40 per cent above pre-war for the first 4 months of 1947, but has since fallen by about 15 per cent. Employment continues at a high rate, with a definite scarcity of qualified construction workers in most localities throughout the State.

Department store sales, as reported by the Atlanta Federal Reserve Bank, have generally been higher in dollar value for 1947 than for corresponding months of 1946. But when adjustments are made for retail price rises in the past year, volume sales have consistently been less in 1947 than in 1946.

Prices and the Cost of Living

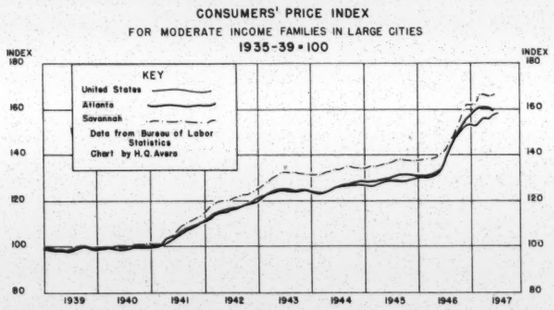
Trend Continues Upward in Spite of Wistful Predictions and Verbal Threats

Expectations of a decline in prices and cost of living have failed to materialize. Even after the phenomenal price rise of 1946 after price controls were lifted, the general trend throughout 1947 has been upward.

Prices

Between June and December 1946, retail prices according to the U. S. Department of Commerce's Retail Price Index rose 17 percent. By July 1947, the increase amounted to 22 percent—80 percent above pre-war.

Wholesale prices rose even faster—28 percent



from June to December 1946, and 37 percent by August 1947—90 percent above the pre-war average. Building materials, grain, and foods led the rise.

Cost Of Living

Estimates of the cost of living by the Bureau of Labor Statistics have risen slightly less than retail and wholesale prices—the July 1947, index was 19 percent higher than June 1946. This lower rise results primarily from the fact that rents are still under controls. The most rapid increase occurred between June and December 1946, with an average rise of 15 percent for the United States.

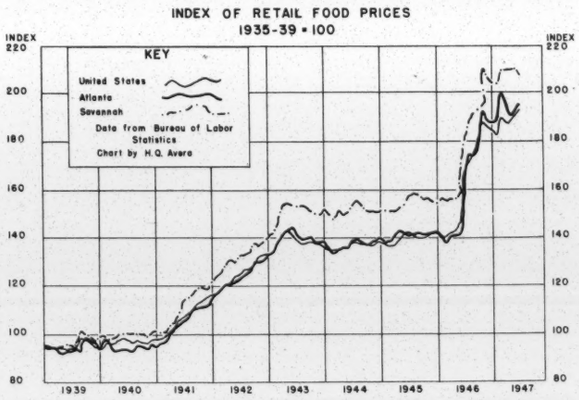
Georgia

In Georgia estimates of cost of living are available only for Atlanta and Savannah. In both cities the rise has been higher than for the United States, as shown on the accompying chart. This more rapid increase is a result of a lower pre-war price base, rather than of more expensive living costs.

Food

Food costs have led the price rise. During the last half of 1946, food prices increased by more than one-fourth. The rise in food prices in 1947, as shown on the chart, has been much slower than during the latter part of 1946, but no indication of a break in prices has developed.

Meat and dairy products have led the food price rise. From an index of 134 in June 1946, the retail price of meat jumped to 204 in November, to 217 in June 1947, and has steadily risen. Wholesale prices of meat have increased even more than retail prices, approximately doubling between June 1946, and the summer of 1947.



Current Situation

Based on supply prospects, shortages continue to exist for many durable goods such as automobiles, but adequate supplies of textiles and other soft goods are available at existing prices. Considerable sales resistance toward the purchase of many items existed throughout the first half of 1947 as indicated by the decline in the physical volume of retail sales. Against this trend, several general inflationary events are still operating. Notable among these are the cash payment for terminal leave bonds of military personnel, expanded foreign loans and purchases, and the increased cost of certain specific raw materials, such as coal and steel.

Industrial Employment Trends in Georgia

Current Industrial Employment Exceeds 600,000

By Harris P. Dawson, *Regional Director, U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Atlanta*

No discussion of recent employment trends in Georgia would be complete without reference to the experiences of the war years. The state is just now recovering from the great shifts in employment which occurred during the war and immediately thereafter, and as a result, the employment patterns of the future promise to be substantially different from the prewar patterns. Processes invented during the war, the utilization of certain war plants, the newly acquired skills of Georgia workers, all have had their effects. Moreover, Georgia workers have also become accustomed to higher wages, and less enthusiastically, to higher prices, and they will naturally resist any backward movement of wage rates.

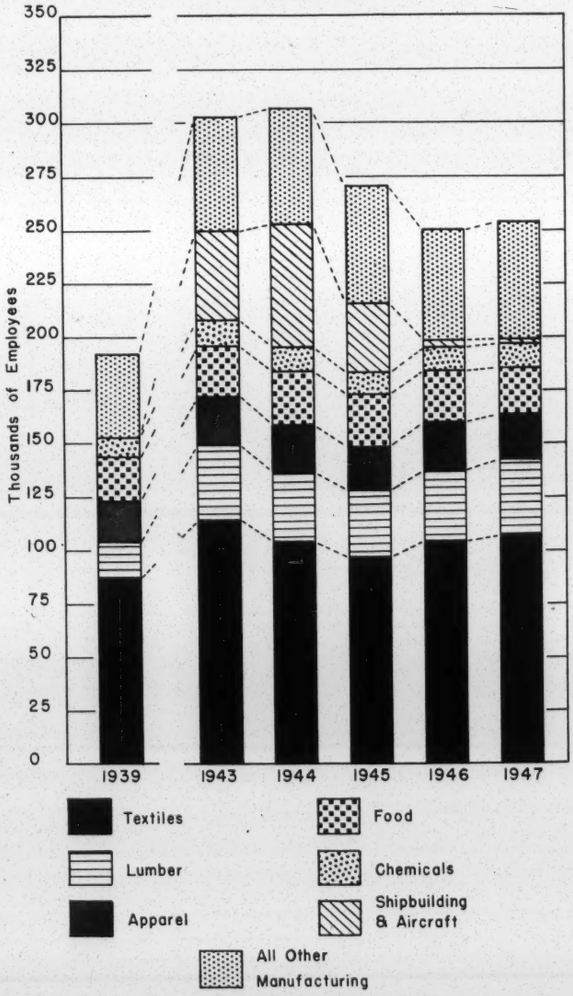
During, and since the war, employment in Georgia's non-agricultural industries (both manufacturing and non-manufacturing) has stood at a level much higher than that of 1939. The peak was reached in 1943 when total employment in the state averaged 666,000 workers or about 35 percent greater than in 1939. The current level of non-agricultural employment is in the neighborhood of 608,000, or over 20 percent higher than in the pre-war period.

Wartime Expansion Mainly In manufacturing

In keeping with the wartime demands, and paralleling the general trend over the nation, Georgia manufacturing industries between 1942 and 1945 took on more new workers than did the non-manufacturing industries, such as trades, services and finance. After one year of America's direct participation in the war (January 1943), manufacturing employment in Georgia had risen by about 50 percent over the 1939 level to a total of 288,700 workers, as compared with an increase of 47 percent for the other southeastern states and 65 percent for the nation as a whole. The state's wartime employment peak came in November 1943, when manufacturing industries employed 314,400 persons, a 63 percent rise from the 1939 level.

GEORGIA MANUFACTURING EMPLOYMENT BY MAJOR INDUSTRIES

(Annual Averages)[1]



[1] 1939 is average of July, Aug. & Sept. levels. 1947 is average for first six months.

Source: Atlanta office U. S. Bureau of Labor Stats.

Chart by H. Q. Avera

Again, even at this peak, Georgia's increase in manufacturing employment did not come up to the national average of a 76 percent increase. Nevertheless, Georgia's expansion during the war, percentagewise, was more than any of the other southern states, with the exception of Alabama, Florida and Mississippi, where heavy industries and shipbuilding showed large increases. Among the southeastern states Georgia has ranked second, with North Carolina first, in manufacturing employment for a number of years.

The over-all increase in manufacturing employment to the peak in 1943, was the result of two general movements in manufacturing employment which did not exactly coincide. First in order of time, were significant increases in industries, such as textiles, apparel and lumber, which were important in peacetime and whose products were equally important to the war but which could be transferred to war needs without extensive product changes or plant alterations. Army duck, cloth for dungarees, and yarn for Navy T-shirts required little change from peacetime specifications, and the pine boards which went into Army barracks were cut in the same manner as the boards which formerly went into homes.

War-Born Industries

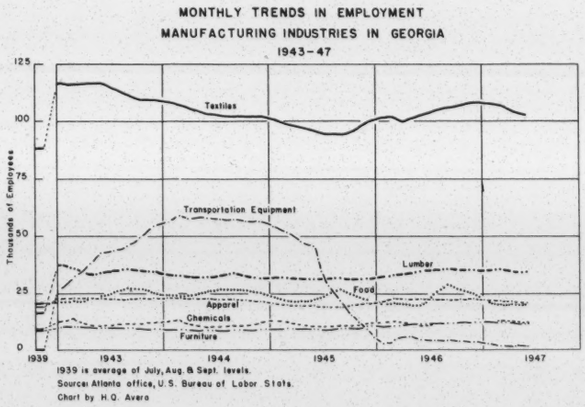
The second movement concerns the strictly war-born industries, such as shipbuilding, aircraft and shell loading which required a longer period of time in which to get into production. Plants had to be built and production lines set up before large numbers of workers could be employed. However when these industries finally went into production, there were not enough workers to man all of Georgia's plants, and adjustments within the state's industries became necessary. Gradually through inducement of higher wages in war plants, through War Manpower Commission directives and recruiting policies, through special treatment in draft deferments, workers were shifted from textiles, apparels and lumber into shipbuilding and aircraft. As a result war industries reached their peak employment levels after the non-durable industries started declining.

Textiles

To illustrate, Georgia's textile industry, which employed about 45 percent of all manufacturing workers in 1939, reached its peak early in the war months, and by the time war production had reached its height, had started to lose employees to higher paying industries. Textile mills lost employees steadily, with minor exceptions, from November 1942 to September 1945. At that time, however, the total employment in this group—94,600—was still 7 percent above 1939, and at the peak of war production, textiles still employed 35 percent of all Georgia's industrial workers. In like manner the lumber industry doubled its employment from 1939 to 1943 but declined steadily thereafter to the end of the war.

Aircraft

On the other hand, the transportation equipment industries—shipbuilding and aircraft—which were practically nonexistent in Georgia until the early part of 1942—were employing 25,000 workers by January 1943, and continued to increase month-by-month until the wartime high of 58,600 was reached in



March 1944. For the entire year of 1944 employment in this group remained above 55,000, but by February 1945 most of the demands for ships and aircraft had been met and employment had begun to decline. By August 1945, just prior to V-J Day, employment had dropped to 38,800. Immediately following V-J Day, cut-backs and

contract cancellations lowered the industry's employment to 21,700. Further reductions followed until by March 1947 the industry had settled down to its pre-war level of less than 2,000 workers. Similarly iron and steel, ordnance and machinery, although never important in the state, obtained their highest employment levels in 1944 and declined sharply after V-J Day.

Post-War Recovery

An analysis of more recent trends indicates the current stage of the state's employment cycle. As would be expected, the non-manufacturing industries were able to start a slow and gradual recovery after V-J Day. A steady expansion of employment in Georgia's textile industry occurred from October 1945 through February 1947, thus regaining a large part of the decline which occurred during the latter war years. However, since the first of this year the industry has lost over 5,000 workers bringing the current level to 103,100. A part of this recent decline may be attributed to certain adjustments normally to be expected following a period of intense activity. These adjustments include improved worker efficiency as a result of better training and more selective hiring policies on the part of the mills, the return of older and more experienced workers, and finally the replacing of older equipment with new and more modern machines in many mills.

New Manufacturing Plants To Open

The press has widely heralded the opening of new plants in Georgia. This is most encouraging, but as yet the full effects on employment of these new plants cannot be traced. Many of them are still under construction and have employed no production workers. Others have not yet started construction. Moreover, many of the new enterprises are small and are merely replacing the small businesses which went out of operation during the war. On the other hand, others represent genuine additions to the state's economy. Fortunately most of the new establishments are in well tried lines, with a minimum of speculative enterprises. Some of the new plants are in the apparel industry. The expansion of the Chicopee Manufacturing Company's Lumite Plants are paralleling lines already known here. Others such as Ford, General Motors, and Sherwin-Williams plants near Atlanta represent the decentralization of old companies, which have carefully chosen Georgia from a number of possible locations.

Diversification Still Needed

While the establishment of each new plant is most encouraging, one point should not be forgotten. In appraising the employment prospects in Georgia it should be remembered that today two industries, textiles and lumber, still employ over one-half of all manufacturing workers in the state; if four more groups are included—apparel, food processing, furniture and chemicals—82 percent of all manufacturing employment is accounted for. Thus, while percentage-wise the South and Georgia are making definite progress in industrial employment expansion, the simple truth is that its growth extends from a narrow base, and lack of diversification is still a weakness in the state's economy.

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35-State Taxes and Administration

Tax Reform in Georgia

Past Progress has been Sporatic and Slow

By R. P. Brooks, *Professor of Economics*
College of Business Adminstration, University of Georgia

In the last session of the General Assembly a resolution was passed requiring the Governor to create a Commission on Tax Revision. Acting Governor Thompson appointed the Commission in March of this year, and in May the Commission held its first meeting. All citizens who have the interests of Georgia at heart stand ready to aid the Commission in its work and look forward eagerly to its final report next year.

Economic progress and an enlightened tax system are recognized as being mutually related. A tax system which encourages the establishment of new industries, the adoption of modern improvements in agriculture, forestry, and manufacturing, is desired by each locality and state. With rapid economic changes, continuous revisions in the tax structure are essential if the tax system is to encourage rather than retard progress.

In view of the present widespread interest in revamping the tax system of Georgia, as exemplified by acts of the last General Assembly in creating a special tax commission, Georgia Business will present analyses of phases of the Georgia tax structure from time to time by recognized tax authorities. This article presenting a chronological review of past efforts is the first of a series. Editor.

Members of the Commission know that in the past the General Assembly has for the most part failed to follow the recommendations of State tax revision committees and that years usually elapse before desirable changes suggested by the Commissions are enacted into law. Recommendations made by individual competent students of taxation usually have met the same fate. Some cases in point may be cited.

Tax Commission Of 1918

In 1918 the General Assembly passed a bill creating a Special Tax Commission composed of two Senators, three members of the House, and three businessmen. The Commission was an able one and was composed of men who were generally regarded as sound students of taxation in Georgia, including Dr. J. H. T. McPherson of the University of Georgia, and Dr. Edgar H. Johnson of Emory. After ten months study the Commission rendered its report. (*Report of the Special Tax Commission*, Byrd Printing Company, Atlanta, 1919). It concentrated upon the familiar evils of the general property tax, such as the failure to get on the books great quantities of legally taxable property, the competitive undervaluation practiced by counties in order to lessen their contribution to the State Treasury, the individual inequalities within counties, the scandalous way in which intangibles were escaping taxes. As a remedy for this situation, the Commission advocated a constitutional amendment to end the uniform ad valorem system and permit classification. It further recommended the complete reorganization of the administration of taxes and the setting up of a State Tax Commission with power to enforce the law; and finally it recommended an income tax as the fairest of all impositions. The General Assembly at that time disregarded the Report.

The City Club of Atlanta had a standing Committee on Taxation, the Chairman of which was Mr. Walter McElreath. That Committee in 1923 prepared an excellent Report, *Taxation in Georgia; Analysis of Revenues and Expenditures by Counties; Discussion of Proposed Changes.* The Committee opposed the current agitation for the abandonment of the ad valorem tax for State revenue and advocated the adoption of a sales tax, an income tax, an occupation tax, and an inheritance tax. The City Club of Atlanta was, of course, a private enterprize and was actuated in its study by a laudable desire to align the leading business elements on the side of tax reform.

Tax Commission Of 1925

In 1925 Governor Clifford Walker appointed a notable Committee on Taxation consisting of twenty leading citizens under the chairmanship of Eugene R. Black, later Governor of the Federal Reserve System, and including such outstanding businessmen as Mr. T. K. Glenn, President of the Trust Company of Georgia, and Harold Hirsch, both of Atlanta; Mr. M. B. Lane, President of Citizens and Southern Bank, and Mr. T. M. Cunningham, both of Savannah; Mr. W. C. Bradley of Columbus; and Mr. W. R. Vereen of Moultrie. This committee presented its Report in July, 1925.

The Report endorsed the findings of the Tax Commission of 1918. It cited the state's poor administrative machinery, pointing out that responsibility for the administration of the tax laws was shared by four separate officers in the Capitol, none of which had an adequate staff. The Committee strongly felt that a thorough-going budgeting system should be adopted. It repeated the recommendations of the earlier Commission that an income tax be imposed and that a constitutional amendment be adopted permitting classification. A complete change in assessing property for taxation was recommended. What was needed was centralized control and the elimination of competitive undervaluation; and finally the Committee denounced the allocation system. No action was taken by the General Assembly on this report.

Private Tax Studies Of 1930

Five years later in 1930, two important studies of Georgia's taxation problems were published. One of these was prepared by Mr. Malcolm Bryan, then Professor of Economics at the University of Georgia, and now Vice-Chairman of the Board of the Trust Company of Georgia. This Report, entitled *The Fiscal Position of Georgia,* was one of a series of monographs on business subjects prepared under the auspices of the Bureau of Business Research at the University of Georgia.

The other study was prepared by Mr. Harley L. Lutz, Professor of Pubic Finance at Princeton University, who had been employed by Governor Hardman to undertake the work.

These studies, made independently, were thorough and excellent. They agreed in advocating an income tax but disapproved the pending income tax amendment as being inadequate. They both denounced the then prevalent system of allocating various tax receipts to specific purposes (62 percent of the revenue of Georgia at that time was disposed of without legislative appropriation). Both scholars argued strongly against the abandonment of the ad valorem tax for state purposes.

Lutz favored a classification amendment, but Bryan did not discuss the point. Lutz devoted a considerable part of his study to analyzing the General Tax Act, pointing out many absurdities. He reserved his severest condemnation for the poor administration of the tax system, again recommending the creation of a State Tax Commission and the consolidation of the scattered administration units under one body with adequate power; and he strongly advocated state control of local fiscal affairs. Neither authority took any definite stand in the matter of a Sales Tax although Lutz thought the gross receipts tax of 1929 (which expired in 1931) a very poor piece of legislation. Neither of these excellent studies resulted in legislative action.

1937 Report

A group of Atlanta businessmen employed the writer in 1937, under the direction of Mr. Hugh Spalding, to prepare still another anal-

Composite Index of Business Activity
(Page 1)

The Georgia Index is based on weighted averages of indexes of cotton consumption, lumber production, manufacturing employment, and retail sales adjusted for price changes. Original data reported by Atlanta Federal Reserve Bank, Bureau of Census, and Bureau of Labor Statistics.

The United States Index is based on weighted averages of indexes of industrial production, construction contracts, freight car loadings, employment, and retail sales adjusted for price changes. Original data reported by Federal Reserve Board, Bureau of Labor Statistics, and U. S. Department of Commerce.

ysis of the state's financial situation. This comprehensive report, like its predecessors, bore no fruit.

Legislation Lags Behind Recommendations

In the past, the General Assembly has been slow to act upon the recommendations of either official or independent experts. There are always influential persons and business firms that are interested in maintaining the status quo; change is bound to affect somebody adversely. People in general prefer to endure present ills rather than take the chance of more grievous ones that might follow change. There develops a sort of vested interest in bad government.

Perhaps a more cogent explanation of the lag between recommendations and legislation is to be found in a lack of understanding of the proposed changes. Proposals made by tax commissions and by experts in the field oftentimes seem radical to average citizens. A period of public education must usually intervene, therefore, before the new idea can win the approval of the masses. It took nearly twenty years of agitation to carry into effect the recommendation of the 1918 Tax Commission that the constitution be amended to permit classification (finally adopted in 1937); a dozen years elapsed before the 1918 and 1925 recommendations of an income tax were adopted; a State Tax Commission was created in 1931, six years after Governor Walker's Committee so recommended.

Tax Legislation Of 1933

Governor Thompson's Commission therefore should be heartened by the reflection that its work may not in the long-run be in vain. Every now and then a leader arises who can carry the General Assembly along with him in reform measures. Such a leader was the present junior Senator from Georgia, who as Governor Russell held office from 1931 to 1933. He induced the General Assembly to submit to the people a Constitutional amendment permitting classification (though unfortunately the electorate turned down the amendment). The present income tax was adopted during his time; and he put over the long-awaited reorganixation of the tax administration by furthering the creation of a state revenue commission (in 1937 changed to a single State Revenue Commissioner) to consolidate the numerous offices charged with administration of the various parts of the tax system. Since Governor Russell's time no great progress in tax revision has occurred, although a number of other studies of the problem have been made.

Further Tax Studies

While progress in tax reform has been slow, studies of the states tax structure have continued. In 1938 and 1940 the Citizens' Fact-Finding Movement of Georgia printed analyses of the Revenue system— *Georgia State Taxes*, June, 1938; and *Georgia Tax System*, June, 1940. The State Revenue Commissioner, in 1944, set up an informal group of tax officials, citizens and experts, to study the entire tax system. Under sponsorship of this group, I prepared an extensive report on the Assessment of Property in Georgia and the Problem of Equalization. In May of 1946 the Institute for the Study of Georgia Problems published a comprehensive study of financial affairs of Georgia. (R. P. Brooks, *Financing Government in Georgia*, 1850-1944. Bulletin of the University of Georgia, May, 1946).

Legislative Act Of 1943

The most important, specific measure for improving the tax system in recent years was a legislative act of 1943 uprooting the allocations system. This requirment that all funds be paid into the State Treasury and be expended by legislative act was imbedded in the new Georgia Constitution adopted in August, 1945. Thus ended one of the major evils under which Georgia had so long suffered.

Improvement in the administration of the general property tax is currently one of the state's most pressing problems. I shall discuss this phase of the tax structure in a future issue of *Georgia Business*.

35 - State Governments & Administration
1948

FROM - PROVISIONS OF THE CONSTITUTION OF VIRGINIA PERTAINING TO ELECTIONS.

Section 18. Qualifications of voters. - Every citizen of the United States, twenty-one years of age, who has been a resident of the State one Year, of the county, city, or town, six months, and of the precinct in which he offers to vote, thirty days, next preceding the election in which he offers to vote, has been registered, and has paid his State poll taxes, as hereinafter required, shall be entitled to vote for members of the General Assembly and all officers elective by the people; but removal from one precinct to another, in the same county, city or town shall not deprive any person of his right to vote in the precinct from which he has moved, until the expiration of thirty days after such removal.

The right of citizens to vote shall not be denied or abridged on account of sex.

* * * * * *

Section 20. Who may register. - Every citizen of the United States, having the qualifications of age and residence required in section eighteen, shall be entitled to register, provided:

First. That he has personally paid to the proper officer all State poll taxes legally assessed or assessable against him for the three years next preceding that in which he offers to register; or, if he came of age at such time that no poll tax shall have been assessable against him for the year preceding the year in which he offers to register, has paid one dollar and fifty cents, in satisfaction of the first year's poll tax assessable against him; and

Second. That, unless physically unable, he make application to register in his own handwriting, without aid, suggestion, or memorandum, in the presence of the registration officer, stating therein his name, age, date and place of birth, residence and occupation at the time and for the one year next preceding, and whether he has previously voted, and, if the State, county, and precinct in which he voted last; and,

Third. That he answer on oath any and all questions affecting his qualifications as an elector, submitted to him by the registration officer, which questions, and his answers thereto, shall be reduced to writing, certified by the said officer, and preserved as a part of his official records.

* * * * * *

NOTE: The recent decision of the Attorney General ruling invalid the use by registrars of any printed forms, and therefore compelling instead personal applications for registration on blank sheets of paper, makes it imperative that we instruct prospective voters of the full requirements contained in Section 20 above, that they may be adequately prepared to register.

Each person registering for the first time should present three Poll tax receipts for 1946, 1947 and 1948.

REGISTER NOW!

To register you must be prepared to write out the required information without any aid, suggestion or memorandum.

To help you to prepare yourself, a sample copy of the form used in Richmond and the information you must place on it is set below.

APPLICATION FOR REGISTRATION TO VOTE OFFICE GENERAL REGISTRAR City Hall - Richmond, Va.	Date_____ Serial No._____ Precinct No._____

OATH I,_____, do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I am entitled to register under the Constitution and Laws of this State and that I am not disqualified from exercising the right of suffrage by the Constitution of Virginia.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this day of 194__

_____ Signature of Applicant

_____ General Registrar

On this form or a similar one you must state:

1. Your name. 2. Your address. 3. The name of the place where you were born.
4. The year you were born. 5. The month you were born. 6. The day you were born.
7. Your present age. 8. Your occupation. 9. How long you have lived in Virginia.
10. How long you have lived in your city or county. 11. How long you have lived in your precinct. 12. Whether or not you have voted before.
13. If you have voted before, then state the name of the State, County or City and Precinct in which you voted.

25 - State Govt. & Administration

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Veteran's Adviser
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

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DIFFICULT AREAS IN ALABAMA STATE FINANCES

One year ago this publication carried two articles directed at the question of the degree of soundness in the Alabama state revenue system. The principal facts, problems, and conclusions set forth therein are still relevant, particularly:

1. Total state taxes increased from $40,358,000 in 1939 to $92,476,000 in 1947 and $106,240,000, in 1948.

2. Some taxes increased much more rapidly than others, for example: sales and use taxes from $5,948,000 in 1939 to $26,546,000 in 1947 and $32,173,000 in 1948; income from $1,812,000 in 1939 to $10,318,000 in 1947 and $12,551,000 in 1948; and tobacco, from $3,156,000 in 1939 to $7,115,000 in 1947 and $7,662,000 in 1948. On the other hand, increases in certain other taxes were nominal, e.g., property, from $5,192,000 in 1937 to $6,101,000 in 1947 and $6,616,000 in 1948; and corporation franchise taxes and permits from $1,660,000 in 1939 to $2,143,000 in 1947 and $2,205,000 in 1948.

3. In general, the special funds, particularly the Special Educational Trust Fund, received the great bulk of the increases in tax collections.

4. State, and state and local, per capita taxes stated in terms of a percentage of per capita income were much smaller in 1947 than in 1939. This means that Alabama state and local governments have shared much less than proportionately in the postwar prosperity. Are state and local governmental responsibilities also relatively less important?

5. Increases in price levels have dissipated much of the increased dollar tax collections. This is particularly true of expenditures for construction.

6. The 1947 legislature over-appropriated General Fund receipts. A deficit was avoided during the fiscal year 1948 by reducing the working capital of the state's liquor store system. Because the same expedient must be used in the current fiscal year, perhaps the situation should be spelled out in greater detail.

The Alabama liquor store system began operations without any working capital. Over the years it accumulated a total of $7,200,000 through the retention of earnings. Four million dollars of this belongs to all funds in proportion to their share in the earnings of the system. That is, 60 per cent was contributed by the General Fund, 10 per cent by the counties and 30 per cent by the municipalities. In addition, the General Fund refrained from withdrawing $3,200,000 of its share, leaving this amount with the system which accounted for it on its books as "surplus." In order to pay General Fund appropriations during the fiscal year ending September 30, 1948, it was necessary to reduce this "surplus" to $900,000. To "balance" the General Fund in the current year it will be necessary to use this remaining $900,000 and more than $1,000,000 of the $4,000,000 working capital. Since it would be manifestly unfair to permit the General Fund of the state to recapture a part of the working capital without offering the counties and municipalities an opportunity to make equivalent withdrawals, it may be anticipated that virtually all of the state liquor stores' working capital will be withdrawn.

If this almost certain eventuality materializes, and unless other sources of working capital are provided, Alabama will be operating a state merchandising business of approximately $50,000,000 annual sales under a severe handicap. Profits under conditions requiring hand-to-mouth buying, foregoing of discounts, and interest expense, naturally will be smaller than they otherwise would be. Since liquor store earnings and withdrawals of surplus currently are looked to for about one-half of General Fund receipts, it is clear that anything tending to reduce such earning may contribute to General Fund deficits in years to come.

A primary difficulty facing the 1949 legislature is one of restoring General Fund revenues to a level sufficient to meet

the appropriations necessary to perform the state's services that are financed out of this fund. Since the General Fund currently is spending more than its revenue receipts, and in view of the fact that almost all agencies and departments financed by General Fund receipts are asking for larger appropriations, it is clear that the legislature has a major problem to resolve. Assuming that the legislature will refrain from making appropriations in excess of conservative estimates of receipts, it has five alternative courses of action.

1. It might hold General Fund appropriations to anticipated revenues from existing General Fund taxes and other revenue sources.

2. It might shift certain existing General Fund disbursements to other funds, e.g., fail to renew the $2,750,000 appropriations to the Special Educational Trust Fund.

3. It might add new taxes or other revenue receipts to the General Fund.

4. It might raise rates on existing General Fund taxes.

5. It might redistribute existing taxes giving the General Fund a larger share at the expense of special funds.

Perhaps a sixth point should be added. The legislature might implement point number one by running away from the problem of providing adequate revenues by reducing *absolute* appropriations and increasing *contingent* appropriations, i.e., those payable if funds are available. This would not necessarily be bad. If point number one should prove politically impossible, the better thing to do might be to avoid prorations by using the device of the contingency appropriation.[1]

Present indications are that the legislature either will overappropriate the General Fund or will fail to provide much additional revenue thus holding appropriations to absurdly low levels in terms of present day costs and governmental services demanded. Neither action will settle the problem. Indeed, the General Fund problem appears insoluble in terms of the actions of any one session of the legislature. Alternatives two to five above appear politically unpalatable under present conditions of threatened recession and genuine need of more revenue by services financed out of special funds. This is not to say, however, that the next session of the legislature can do nothing constructive to contribute to the solution of the problem of the General Fund and also to the problems of all state services financed out of special funds. On the contrary, the legislature can set in motion certain programs which will go a long way to resolve the state's fiscal problems. Among the more important elements in such a program are:

1. Take the necessary action to establish an adequate budget system. Every operating division of the state should be subjected to the control of quarterly allotments and the budget office should be staffed with at least five competent examiners who would become thoroughly acquainted with the problems, procedures, and requirements of each operating division. Further, the legislature should make definite appropriations for specific services and objects from each special fund. Until this is done it is unrealistic to hold the Governor responsible for the efficient operation of each department and agency; also the legislature scarcely can hope to possess the detail of information and understanding necessary to judge the appropriations needed to achieve the state's objectives.

2. Take necessary action to establish a capital outlay budget. The present revenue system allows too little for capital improvements for all functions including highway construction. It does not appear likely that the improvements demanded for schools, hospitals, roads, etc. can be financed without considerable borrowing. Much preliminary work remains to be done in inventorying capital needs and in developing the details of financing and timing such a program.

3. Initiate action toward improving assessment and equalization of the property tax. This tax is grossly underused in Alabama in comparison with other areas; its administration permits wholesale evasions and extreme inequalities of several different types. The only real hope of the municipalities to obtain sufficient additional local revenues to meet their demands for services and retain a reasonable claim to the privilege of "home rule," lies in restoring the integrity and productivity of the property tax. A sensible first step in this direction is to direct the Department of Revenue to work out the details of a program of state-wide reassessment, installation of modern assessment systems, training and supervision of local assessing officials and continuing state-wide equalization. A succeeding legislature should follow through on such a program.

4. Take steps leading to the eventual abolition of earmarking of revenue receipts except for true trust funds. In making this point the writer recognizes full well the difficulties and dangers involved. The propensity of Alabama legislatures to levy taxes for special designated purposes only is old and deep-seated. An explanation of this traditional practice undoubtedly would be complex but some of the more important causes would include: irresponsible accounting and budgeting prior to 1932; comparative poverty in the past which means that new taxes appeared quite burdensome and difficult to sell except for specific services of great popular interest; and, until recently, a general reluctance to accord government an important role in the development of the state. It is easily understandable that succeeding legislatures succumbed to the temptation to permit worthy pressure groups to lead the fight for new taxes and that such groups should

1 The Fletcher Budget Act makes appropriations payable in full only if the receipts are estimated to be adequate. Warrants cannot be drawn in excess of cash on hand. For an explanation of this act see *Alabama's Balancing Budget,* by Paul E. Alyea, University of Alabama, Bureau of Public Administration, 1942. Past experience with "prorating" or cutting appropriations to avoid deficits was not happy from the point of view of such services as education and health. This act places grave responsibilities on the legislature except in periods where "surplus" financing is both practicable and desirable. The next few years are not likely to constitute such a period.

feel a proprietary interest in such taxes after they had carried the brunt of the battle.

First, some facts as to the extent and character of earmarking will be presented; then a brief note on the reasons it should be abolished.

Tables 1 and 2 are offered as indicative of the facts.

Table 1

Receipts and Disbursements
State Funds Only
Fiscal Year 1948
(In thousands of dollars)

	General Fund	All state funds
Gross receipts	21,938	259,343
Transfers	11,508	95,205
Net receipts	10,430	164,138
Gross disbursements	22,592	266,900
Disbursement transfers	5,287	93,586
Net disbursements	17,305	173,271

The comparative unimportance of the General Fund as shown in Table 1 is overstated to some degree because the figures for both net receipts and net disbursements in the total for all funds include items which are inflationary. For example, they include gross sales and purchases of the liquor stores. The general impression given by the table is correct; almost the only thing "general" about the General Fund is its name.

Table 2 merits considerable pondering. It shows the distribution of the principal net receipts from taxes and state liquor store earnings. Tax collections in 1948 are contrasted with 1939. Clearly the General Fund tax sources are more stable in yield than are the larger special fund taxes, but they do not include any share in the big revenue producers except to the extent of expenses of collection.

The writer would like to make his attitude perfectly clear. He would not recommend abolishing earmarking if he felt that the State of Alabama (including local governments) would fail to provide much more than the present amounts for such services as education and highways. His considered

(Continued on Page 8)

Table 2

State of Alabama
Net Receipts of Selected Funds from Principal Sources
Fiscal years 1938-39 and 1947-48
(Net Receipts, in thousands of dollars, include expenses of administration of taxes which are included in General Fund receipts)

	Net receipts for fiscal year		Distribution of 1947-48 net receipts							
	1938-39	1947-48	General Fund	Alabama Special Educational Trust Fund	Public School Fund	Highway Fund	County Funds	City Funds	Pension Funds	Other funds and undistributed collections
Distribution of Taxes										
Property, Redemption, Sale of Tax Land	5,192	6,616	2,495	.....	3,045	.....	61	.....	1,015	.....
Income	1,506	12,551	877	10,250	779	.....	.....	.....	260	385
Corporation Taxes	1,660	2,205	2,010	.....	.....	.....	195	.....	.....	.....
Insurance Companies	1,131	2,334	2,334	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Deed Recording	56	179	179	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Estate Tax	199	392	392	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Carbonic Acid Gas	29	49	49	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Freight Line Equipment	0	8	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Mortgage Recording	84	278	278	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Oil Companies License	36	115	115	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Playing Cards and Punch Boards	56	151	151	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Privilege Licenses (General Schedule)	816	1,195	1,195	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Public Utilities (Water, Gas, Elec.)	110	222	222	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Registration of Securities	48	59	59	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Telephone and Telegraph mileage	7	7	7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
T. V. A.	161	373	373	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Poll Tax	213	476	.....	.....	476	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Coal and Iron Tonnage	350	476	.....	476	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Express Companies	8	25	.....	25	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Hydroelectric Companies	423	552	.....	552	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Railroad Companies	267	399	.....	399	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Sleeping Car Companies	20	20	.....	20	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Chain Store License	110	94	.....	94	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Telephone Companies	140	333	.....	333	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Tobacco Tax	3,156	7,662	.....	7,662	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Sales and Use Tax	5,948	32,173	757	29,458	.....	.....	1,700	.....	.....	258
Financial Institutions Excise Tax	212	678	181	.....	.....	.....	167	330	.....	*
Gasoline Tax	14,154	27,530	29	.....	.....	13,688	13,750	63	.....	.....
Motor Vehicle Licenses	2,987	5,298	236	.....	.....	5,062	.....	.....	.....	.....
Motor Carrier	195	698	66	.....	.....	525	.....	.....	.....	107
Drivers Licenses	210	705	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	705
Lubricating Oil	206	387	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	387
Beer Tax and License	362	1,527	500	.....	.....	.....	704	.....	.....	323
Sub total	40,052	105,767	12,513	49,269	4,300	19,275	16,577	393	1,275	2,165
Distribution from ABC Stores		14,773	9,522	.....	.....	.....	1,413	3,638	.....	200
Total		120,540	22,035	49,269	4,300	19,275	17,990	4,031	1,275	2,365

* Only $52.72

Source: Derived from Annual Report of the Department of Finance, State Auditor, and State Treasurer to the Governor of Alabama for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1948

REVIEW OF BUSINESS ACTIVITY IN ALABAMA IN FEBRUARY 1949

ALABAMA business on the whole remained at a very high level in February. There were some declines in industrial activity, employment had some weak spots, and retail trade slackened somewhat—but most of these things can be thought of as symptomatic. Whether or not these are indications of only minor readjustments remains to be seen.

INDUSTRIAL activity in Alabama during February, as measured by the composite index of production in seven basic industries, declined from January. The February index was 180, a drop of 7 points from January and 11 points from February of last year. There is usually a seasonal decline from January in each of the basic industries included in the index. However, with the exception of cotton consumption and coal production, the declines were more than seasonally expected. The industrial index for the United States, as computed by the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, stood at 189, a decline of 2 points from January and 5 points from February 1948.

The index of pig iron production in Alabama declined 15 points to stand at 178. Despite this decline from January, the index was 4 points above February of last year and has only been exceeded by one like month, February 1944. The steel picture was similar to that of pig iron. Although the index of steel production declined 9 points from January, output still remained high. February is the ninth consecutive month in which the steel index has been over 200 or over twice the 1935-39 average.

A drop of 18 points in the index of electric energy used for industrial purposes indicated that there were declines in other industries which are not included in the composite industrial index, but which are heavy users of electric energy.

Cotton consumed by textile mills in Alabama during February declined 5 per cent from January and 18 per cent from February 1948. The seasonally adjusted index stood at 131, an increase of 2 points over January. Cotton spindle activity (measured by average spindle hours) for February showed 367 active hours per spindle in place as compared to 411 in January and 472 in February a year ago. The average hours per spindle in place has continuously declined since August 1948 indicating a shortened work week or lay-offs of workers.

BUILDING contracts awarded in Alabama during February amounted to $12,525,000, an increase of 69 per cent over January and 61 per cent over February 1948. Value of nonresidential contracts awarded amounted to 54 per cent of the total value and was larger than any previous month since May 1948. Value of public works and utilities contracts declined 47 per cent from January and 68 per cent from February 1948, and accounted for only 10 per cent of the total value. Residential contracts awarded increased substantially over January and February of last year.

EMPLOYMENT activity in Alabama continued to be unsteady during February. Some sections of the state reported improved employment conditions, while other sections reported unfavorable conditions due to layoffs in sawmilling and lumber activity. Part of the decline in lumber and sawmilling was due to less demand for lumber products, the falling price of lumber, and bad weather during the month. Indications of improved activity were declines in job applications and claims for unemployment compensation. Unfavorable factors were declines in job placements and job openings, increased payments for unemployment compensation, and increased job applications on file.

Employment in manufacturing as estimated by the Department of Industrial Relations declined from 223,200 workers as of January 15 to 220,800 as of February 15, a loss of 2,400 workers. Principal declines were in lumber, foundries, and textiles. Employment was down 400 workers in bituminous coal mining and down 500 in government employment in Alabama.

New applications for jobs during February amounted to 14,267, a decline of 11 per cent from January but an increase of 18 per cent over February a year ago. The total number of workers at the end of February actively seeking jobs through the Employment Service amounted to 58,551, an increase of 6 per cent over the previous month. Job openings received during the month was down 11 per cent.

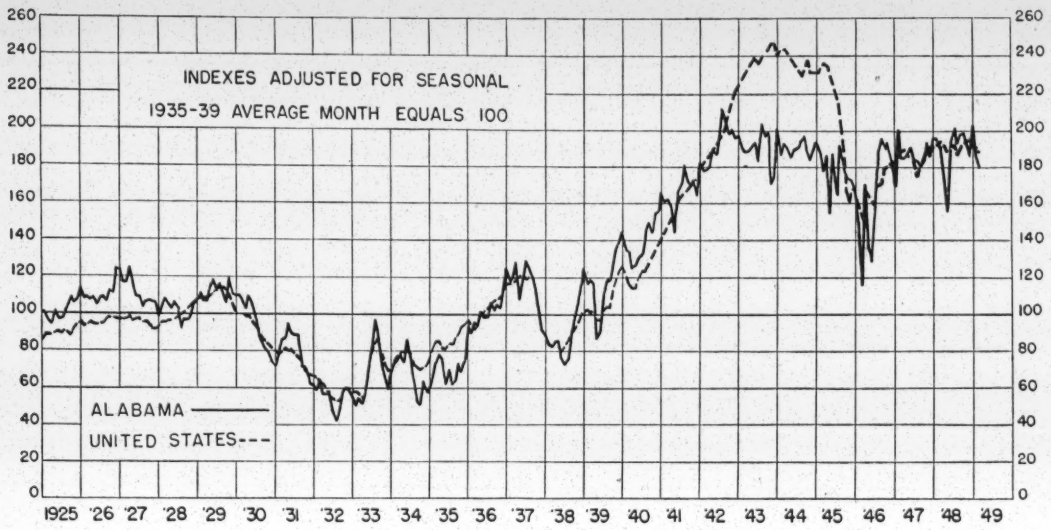
Total job placements amounted to 9,551, a decline of 10 per cent from January and a drop of 20 per cent from February 1948. Placements of nonagricultural workers declined 11 per cent, while those of agricultural workers were only 5 per cent less than the previous month. An unfavorable ratio of job placements to job applications continued to exist during February with 4,716 more job applications than placements.

Initial claims for unemployment compensation amounted to 14,432, a decline of 10 per cent from January claims. Payments for unemployment compensation totaled $951,129, an increase of 4 per cent during the month. All industry divisions shared in the increase with the exception of mining.

TRADE activities in February were below January in all phases except department store sales in Mobile. Department store inventory values in Birmingham and Montgomery increased. Estimated sales based on sales tax payments were $144,547,000, a decline of 5 per cent from the January level and a decline of one per cent from a year ago. Data are not available for a more detailed analysis of February sales. In January, the retail sales based on a

Industrial Activity in Alabama and United States

United States Index compiled by Board of Governors, Federal Reserve System



February Business Activity in State of Alabama

TYPE OF ACTIVITY	February 1949	Per cent change from Previous month	Per cent change from Year ago	Index number*
Industry				
Cement production—barrels	736,150	— 11.3	+ 18.7	252.3
Coal production, bituminous—net tons	1,271,000	— 13.1	— 21.1	135.1
Coke production—net tons	484,787	— 11.2	— 1.9	181.3
Cotton consumption—running bales	77,300	— 5.2	— 18.3	131.0
Electric energy consumption, industrial purposes—1,000 kwh	390,314	— 3.5	+ 8.0	411.2
Pig iron production—gross tons	295,854	— 12.5	+ 2.1	178.1
Steel ingot production	.....	— 10.6	— 2.2	201.4
Composite index of industrial activity				179.9
Cotton spindle activity—average active hours	367	— 10.7	— 22.1	.....
Pig iron production—per cent of capacity	104	— 3.2	+ 5.6	.....
Steel ingot production—per cent of capacity—last week of month	94	— 7.8	— 8.7	.....
Construction				
Building contracts awarded—$1,000	12,525	+ 69.4	+ 60.9	388.0
Nonresidential contracts awarded—$1,000	6,688	+138.9	+223.6	.....
Residential contracts awarded—$1,000	4,550	+111.3	+168.9	.....
Public works and utilities contracts awarded—$1,000	1,287	— 47.3	— 68.0	.....
Cement consumption—barrels	107,853	— 47.6	— 37.1	119.0
Employment				
State Employment Service applications	14,267	— 11.1	+ 18.1	.....
State Employment Service placements	9,551	— 10.4	— 19.7	.....
Unemployment compensation initial benefit claims	14,432	— 10.3	+ 59.8	.....
Unemployment compensation payments—$1,000	993	+ 4.4	+ 85.9	.....
Veterans readjustment payments—$1,000	720	— 2.2	— 30.1	.....
Trade				
Estimated retail sales—$1,000[1]	144,547	— 4.5	— 1.4	395.3
Department store sales—Birmingham[2]	.....	— 0.3	— 3.5	351.0
Gasoline sales—1,000 gallons	36,505	— 5.0	+ 11.7	243.7
Electric energy consumption, nonindustrial purposes—1,000 kwh	153,141	— 5.2	+ 7.9	437.0
New passenger car and truck registration	3,239	— 38.9	— 28.8	.....
Passenger car	2,273	— 37.0	— 22.7	.....
Truck	966	— 42.9	— 40.0	.....
Total tonnage over State Docks and Terminals—Mobile	243,381	+ 8.8	— 28.3	.....
Outbound—tons of 2,000 lbs.	51,515	— 24.9	— 69.0	.....
Inbound—tons of 2,000 lbs.	191,866	+ 26.6	+ 10.7	.....
Finance				
Bank debits—debits to deposit accounts—4 cities—$1,000	487,073	— 13.4	— 0.9	389.1
Insurance sales, ordinary life—$1,000	13,344	+ 25.4	+ 20.6	294.0
Savings and loan associations, mortgage loans—$1,000[3]	743	— 9.8	— 12.7	.....
Consumers Price Index—Birmingham	.....	— 1.2	— 0.6	171.7
Mobile[4]				
Prices received by Alabama farmers	.....	— 2.7	— 6.4	250.0
Total tax collections, State Department of Revenue—$1,000	6,590	— 15.6	+ 6.9	.....

* Adjusted for seasonal variation only, with 1935-39 average month equals 100.

1 Estimate based on total retail sales tax collected. Index adjusted for seasonal only with 1938-41 average equals 100.

2 Index based on average daily sales. Per cent change based on unadjusted index.

3 Covers 17 identical associations.

4 Quarterly data only available for this city.

Sources of the data in the above table are given in the March 1948 Business News.

maximum sample of identical reporting firms dropped 25 per cent from the December level. According to the sample, significant changes in the retail sales of individual businesses included declines for food stores, 15 per cent; general merchandise stores, 50 per cent; clothing stores, 55 per cent; furniture stores, 41 per cent; miscellaneous retail trade concerns, 31 per cent; manufacturers of all machinery except electrical, 26 per cent; and an increase of 61 per cent for sales made by the manufacturers of food and kindred products.

Gasoline sales (gallons) in February declined 5 per cent from January but increased substantially over a year ago, 12 per cent. The seasonally adjusted index was virtually the same as January. Registrations (number) of all vehicles dropped 39 per cent from January; passenger car registration fell 37 per cent; trucks, 43 per cent; and all other vehicles, 80 per cent. As a composite, registrations of all vehicles were 29 per cent below a year ago.

Department store sales (dollar value) in February in Birmingham and Montgomery were 5 per cent and 4 per cent respectively below January, while sales in Mobile increased 6 per cent. Compared to a year ago, these sales declined 4 per cent in Birmingham, 6 per cent in Montgomery, and 6 per cent in Mobile. Department store inventory values increased from January 31 to February 28 by 3 per cent in Birmingham and 4 per cent in Montgomery, and were one per cent and 10 per cent respectively above February 29, 1948.

TRAFFIC over the Alabama State Docks at Mobile for the month of February totaled 243,381 tons, an increase of 9 per cent over January but a decrease of 28 per cent from February 1948. Outbound tonnage made up 51,515 tons (21 per cent) of the total while inbound products accounted for 191,866 (79 per cent). The outbound figure was 25 per cent below the previous month and 69 per cent under February 1948. However, the inbound tonnage total showed increases in comparison to both January 1949 and February 1948 of 27 per cent and 11 per cent respectively. Products of mines (bauxite, manganese ores, and large quantities of sodium nitrate) arriving at the bulk materials handling plant of the State Docks, represented over 80 per cent of all inbound tonnage. Latest figures available on imports through the Mobile Customs District are for January, with a total value of $2,082,284. The most recent tabulations of exports available were for October and November of last year, $5,903,570 and $6,962,933 respectively.

FINANCIAL indicators in February registered declines from January bank debits, savings deposits, and prices received by Alabama farmers but increases in demand deposits, mortgage recordings, consumers' price index, and insurance sales. Declines from February 1948 bank savings, postal savings, consumers' price index, and prices received by Alabama farmers were shown while bank debits, demand deposits, mortgages, and insurance sales were above the year-ago figures.

The total dollar volume of bank debits in the thirteen reporting Alabama cities, $609,949,072, was 14 per cent below the January debits but was slightly above February a year ago. A study of bank debits since 1923 in four major Alabama cities shows that February debits are usually 18 per cent below January. Demand deposits indicate the cash resources of a community readily available for use. These deposits had a balance at the end of February of $558,757,073 and were above the previous month and the year-ago balances. The savings deposits balance of $187,855,843 was one per cent below January and was 2 per cent below the year-ago figure. There has been a decline in postal savings for the past eleven consecutive months, but a slight increase over January was shown. However, the balance remained below the year-ago level. Mortgages recorded in the eleven counties reporting amounted to $18,577,497 in February and were above January and February 1948 recordings by 15 per cent and 23 per cent respectively. Ordinary life insurance sales also increased over January and the year-ago figures, the $13,344,000 total of sales being 25 per cent above January and 21 per cent above February 1948. The index of prices received by Alabama farmers declined from 257 in both December and January to 250 in February. The 17 point decline from February 1948 was due largely to the lower prices of grains, cotton, and cottonseed. The all items consumer price index for Birmingham has declined each month since August, dropping from 179 in that month to 172 in February.

CITIES in Alabama which reported during February had increases over January demand deposits, postal savings, building permits, mortgage recordings, and payments for unemployment compensation. Comparison with the year-ago figures reveals increases in bank debits, demand deposits, postal receipts, building permits, mortgages, applications for work, and claims and payments for unemployment compensation.

Attention is called to the following indicators in the various cities: the increases over January savings deposits in *Anniston* and over January and the year-ago savings in *Birmingham;* the decline from the previous month and February 1948 demand deposits, building permits, and mortgages in *Decatur;* the decline from January of all indicators except claims and payments for unemployment compensation in *Dothan;* the increase over January postal receipts in *Gadsden* (the only increase over January receipts shown); the improved employment situation (increased placements and declines in applications) in *Huntsville* and the *Tri-Cities;* the decline from February 1948 bank debits in *Mobile* and *Montgomery;* the increase over the year-ago bank and postal savings in *Selma;* and the large decline (24 per cent) from January bank debits in *Tuscaloosa.*

Retail Sales of Selected Firms†

In State and Twelve Selected Counties, Per Cent Change from December 1948 to January 1949

Kind of Business	Calhoun	Colbert & Lauderdale	Dallas	Etowah	Houston	Jefferson	Madison	Mobile	Montgomery	Morgan	Tuscaloosa	State
Food	— 8.9	— 8.6	—10.0	— 7.8	— 6.7	—19.6	—15.7	—14.8	0.0	—12.1	— 9.6	—14.5
General Mdse.	—47.9	—43.9	—54.2	—51.1	—47.5	—54.1	—47.5	—52.3	—16.4	—51.0	—43.3	—49.7
Clothing	—54.4	—56.2	—57.2	—54.5	—57.0	—55.4	—50.2	—50.3	—47.1	—48.3	—54.0	—55.2
Furniture	—43.4	—39.1	—50.7	—43.6	—36.2	—33.2	—40.3	—50.4	—47.7	—45.8	—56.6	—40.6
Automobile	— 5.2	+ 7.1	— 1.2	—14.5	—12.0	— 4.0	+20.1	— 5.0	— 2.4	+15.5	—12.7	— 1.5
Lbr. & Bldg. Mat.	— 0.4	—33.2	—41.2	—27.8	—13.5	— 5.1	—12.3	—30.4	+ 4.0	—16.6	+ 3.4	—13.6
Hdwe. & Farm Imple.	— 3.6	—18.3	— 8.8	—11.9	—11.9	—30.7	—33.5	—40.8	—42.9	—13.9	—24.3	—15.8
All Types	—17.9	—22.2	—20.7	—25.7	—23.0	—28.4	—23.5	—26.3	—22.3	—18.6	—20.5	—24.5

†Dept. of Revenue, Montgomery. Based on reports of net retail sales of a maximum number of identical firms.

February Business Activity of Alabama Cities

		February 1949	Per cent change from Previous month	Per cent change from Year ago
Total for Eleven Reporting Cities				
Bank debits	($1000)	609,949	— 14.2	+ 0.6
Demand deposits	($1000)	558,757	+ 0.5	+ 4.2
*Savings deposits	($1000)	187,856	— 0.7	— 1.6
*Postal savings	($1000)	21,372	+ 0.06	— 4.7
Postal receipts	($1000)	627	— 12.5	+ 14.3
Building permits	($1000)	7,092	+108.8	+134.4
†Mortgages	($1000)	18,577	+ 14.7	+ 22.9
†Property transfers		2,314	— 13.4	— 3.8
Job placements		4,637	— 13.0	— 36.0
Job applications		8,041	— 17.0	+ 4.3
Claims		8,273	— 16.3	+ 38.7
Anniston				
Bank debits	($1000)	20,172	— 15.4	+ 13.0
Demand deposits	($1000)	19,821	+ 2.0	— 2.2
*Savings deposits	($1000)	10,458	+ 0.9	— 5.1
*Postal savings	($1000)	586	— 0.04	— 4.6
Postal receipts	($1000)	19	— 9.8	+ 15.6
Building permits	($1000)	298	+680.8	+ 38.4
Job placements		161	— 0.6	— 17.4
Job applications		398	— 6.8	— 8.9
Claims		444	— 17.5	+ 49.0
Birmingham				
Bank debits	($1000)	292,341	— 12.5	+ 0.3
Demand deposits	($1000)	240,904	+ 0.4	+ 4.0
*Savings deposits	($1000)	65,339	+ 0.9	+ 1.7
*Postal savings	($1000)	11,888	+ 0.3	— 2.9
Postal receipts	($1000)	277	— 16.5	+ 11.1
Building permits	($1000)	2,171	+ 72.0	+ 46.3
Mortgages	($1000)	9,745	+ 40.2	+ 70.9
Property transfers		882	— 8.7	— 4.9
Job placements		1,110	— 14.6	— 38.4
Job applications		2,905	— 12.1	+ 14.0
Claims		2,874	— 8.4	+ 20.3
Decatur				
Bank debits	($1000)	13,985	— 12.8	+ 7.3
Demand deposits	($1000)	11,614	— 1.3	— 2.5
*Savings deposits	($1000)	2,284	+ 1.7	+ 1.6
*Postal savings	($1000)	364	— 1.1	— 2.6
Postal receipts	($1000)	11	— 8.3	+ 26.0
Building permits	($1000)	12	— 89.1	— 87.2
Mortgages	($1000)	225	— 52.2	— 19.5
Property transfers		101	— 33.1	— 9.8
Job placements		89	**	— 44.4
Job applications		219	— 52.3	— 41.3
Claims		184	— 51.7	+ 2.8
Dothan				
Bank debits	($1000)	11,918	— 18.6	+ 19.3
Demand deposits	($1000)	16,309	— 3.1	+ 9.5
*Savings deposits	($1000)	2,514	— 1.0	+ 11.2
*Postal savings	($1000)	1,264	— 1.0	— 8.9
Postal receipts	($1000)	13	— 4.7	+ 30.0
Building permits	($1000)	151	— 30.5	+ 18.4
Mortgages	($1000)	642	— 44.6	— 37.7
Property transfers		71	— 23.7	— 5.3
Job placements		146	— 41.6	— 52.0
Job applications		176	— 35.3	— 12.4
Claims		135	+ 18.4	— 10.6
Gadsden				
Bank debits	($1000)	18,077	— 15.6	+ 13.5
Demand deposits	($1000)	18,490	+ 4.6	+ 5.2
*Savings deposits	($1000)	8,240	+ 0.8	— 1.5
*Postal savings	($1000)	572	— 0.2	— 4.6
Postal receipts	($1000)	22	+ 17.2	+ 16.6
Building permits	($1000)	273	— 21.6	— 1.2
Mortgages	($1000)	715	+ 3.0	— 7.1
Property transfers		133	— 29.6	— 38.1
Job placements		376	— 25.1	— 34.3
Job applications		421	— 40.5	— 3.4
Claims		526	— 47.5	+ 16.4
Huntsville				
Bank debits	($1000)	18,527	— 14.1	+ 5.5
Demand deposits	($1000)	19,182	**	+ 14.1
*Savings deposits	($1000)	5,601	+ 0.8	— 1.0
*Postal savings	($1000)	486	+ 0.3	— 11.1
Postal receipts	($1000)	18	— 11.9	+ 2.2
Building permits	($1000)	52	— 21.5	+ 83.2
Mortgages	($1000)	811	— 31.3	+ 27.6
Property transfers		71	— 16.5	+ 4.4
Job placements		240	+ 70.2	— 9.4
Job applications		291	— 55.8	+ 18.3
Claims		210	— 32.7	+ 17.3
Mobile				
Bank debits	($1000)	117,765	— 13.8	— 3.7
Demand deposits	($1000)	114,374	+ 0.5	+ 6.1
*Savings deposits	($1000)	46,584	+ 0.4	— 5.9
*Postal savings	($1000)	1,357	— 1.2	— 13.5
Postal receipts	($1000)	97	— 9.9	+ 13.2
Building permits	($1000)	795††	+208.8	+108.5
Mortgages	($1000)	1,953	— 5.3	+ 1.5
Property transfers		398	— 19.4	— 12.9
Job placements		1,386	— 7.7	— 45.9
Job applications		1,753	+ 2.6	+ 42.3
Claims		1,908	— 14.9	+147.8
Montgomery				
Bank debits	($1000)	65,049	— 15.4	— 4.0
Demand deposits	($1000)	57,202	+ 0.5	+ 2.2
*Savings deposits	($1000)	19,849	— 10.1	— 0.01
*Postal savings	($1000)	3,124	+ 0.3	— 3.5
Postal receipts	($1000)	104	— 9.5	+ 25.5
Building permits	($1000)	201	— 51.8	— 26.9
Mortgages	($1000)	1,762	+ 34.6	+ 4.8
Property transfers		213	+ 19.7	+ 30.7
Job placements		406	— 32.0	— 11.0
Job applications		799	— 6.9	— 9.9
Claims		593	— 13.3	+ 20.0
Selma				
Bank debits	($1000)	12,883	— 15.8	+ 6.7
Demand deposits	($1000)	14,445	— 3.3	+ 1.4
*Savings deposits	($1000)	11,872	— 0.2	+ 1.0
*Postal savings	($1000)	201	+ 0.5	+ 5.6
Postal receipts	($1000)	17	— 5.4	+ 10.8
Building permits	($1000)	145	+329.2	+200.1
Mortgages	($1000)	745	+ 40.8	+ 26.8
Property transfers		55	— 22.5	— 32.9
Job placements		226	— 20.4	— 18.4
Job applications		270	+ 20.0	+ 8.4
Claims		229	+ 47.7	+124.5
Tri-Cities				
Bank debits	($1000)	18,726	— 18.6	+ 2.3
Demand deposits	($1000)	19,487	+ 6.3	— 1.1
*Savings deposits	($1000)	4,938	— 0.9	— 5.4
*Postal savings	($1000)	1,023	+ 0.4	— 7.3
Postal receipts	($1000)	21	— 13.2	+ 15.3
Building permits	($1000)	95	+ 7.3	+129.7
Mortgages	($1000)	1,083	+ 19.4	+ 20.4
Property transfers		215	+ 2.4	+ 83.8
Job placements		301	+ 48.3	+ 0.7
Job applications		261	— 17.4	— 44.2
Claims		316	— 26.3	+ 14.1
Tuscaloosa				
Bank debits	($1000)	20,507	— 24.2	+ 3.3
Demand deposits	($1000)	26,930	— 0.6	+ 7.2
*Savings deposits	($1000)	10,177	— 0.7	— 5.8
*Postal savings	($1000)	507	— 0.9	— 10.2
Postal receipts	($1000)	28	— 18.4	+ 9.0
Building permits	($1000)	91	— 83.5	+ 75.6
Mortgages	($1000)	896	— 3.8	— 44.3
Property transfers		175	— 25.2	— 7.9
Job placements		196	— 35.5	— 23.1
Job applications		548	— 27.0	— 13.4
Claims		854	— 3.6	+ 26.7

*End of month balance. †Does not include Calhoun County. Mortgages and property transfers totals are county totals and employment information is for area served by the particular office. **No change from Previous Month. ††Does not include $2,807,763 permits for work at Alabama State Docks.

opinion is that these and other services could be more fully supported, with a fairer tax system, if earmarking were abandoned, provided certain measures were adopted to make it possible for the legislature and the administration to become truly responsible.

Earmarking hurts in several fundamental respects, particularly: 1. It prevents a balanced development of essential services which are not popularly understood and demanded. 2. It virtually precludes a genuine reform of the Alabama system of corporation and business taxation. 3. Indirectly it contributes to the progressive deterioration of the property tax as a source of local government and school district revenues. 4. It contributes to the slow development of proper budgeting as applied to many special funds.

The next session of the legislature cannot abolish earmarking outright. It certainly should not do so. The steps it might take toward this goal are: 1. to insist on modern budgetary and appropriation procedures applied to all funds; 2. to initiate property tax administrative reform; 3. to precipitate a crisis to stimulate public interest in the problem by being ruthless in holding appropriations to anticipated revenues. That is, avoid both overappropriation and the dodge of contingency appropriations. Finally, after points one and two have been successfully implemented, a general assembly two or four years hence might revise the Fletcher Budget Act to permit deficit financing in years of low revenue due to cyclical conditions. This last point is fundamental to remove the objections that, under a system requiring that the budget be "balanced" annually, education and other functions occasionally may experience disproportionate cuts in their appropriations.

PAUL E. ALYEA

MEASUREMENT OF CONSUMER OPINION AND INTEREST

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35 — State Governments & Administration

STATE TAX COMMENTS

By William M. Lester
Director Tax Revision Committee
311 State Capitol, Atlanta, Ga.

MAY 1949

NEW TAX LEGISLATION

State Legislatures in more than half of the forty-five states which met this year have adjourned or are nearing adjournment. There are always a number of changes made in the tax laws in every year in which there are regular Legislative Sessions. Many of these changes are made to conform to interpretation of similar laws by the courts. New exemptions are frequently created and exemptions formerly allowed are often withdrawn. Occasionally an unconstitutional and unworkable tax is repealed, and new laws imposed. The Tax Revision Committee, in its study of State Taxes, has endeavored to follow these various changes so that our General Assembly and others interested in tax revision would have information as to tax legislation passed in other states.

ADDITIONAL REVENUE

A number of new taxes have been imposed, aside from license taxes in specific businesses, while more than a hundred bills imposing new taxes of importance have been introduced in the various Legislatures. An attempt has been made in most of these new taxes to tap new fields, so as to meet constantly increasing state budgets. The Legislatures in a number of these states this year have assured their states millions of dollars in additional revenue with practically no additional cost of collection by the simple device of amending the rate section of existing tax laws. In Texas, a bill has been introduced which would, at one swoop, increase by 10% the rates of twelve major taxes in the state.

SEVENTY MILLION DOLLAR QUESTION

In one state a "Seventy Million Dollar Question" has been given to the Legislature. Governor Warren of Florida posed this question to the Legislature of that state in an address to it. He suggested eight types of new taxes which would supply the additional funds needed in such state for the forthcoming biennium. He also suggested doubling the present rate of five other taxes. Since the Legislature has been in session less than a month, none of the suggested tax legislation has been enacted. The "Seventy Million Dollar Question" is, also, unanswered.

TAX BATTLE IN NORTH CAROLINA

In North Carolina the General Assembly which adjourned on April 23 refused to impose any new taxes as requested by Governor Scott. A bitter battle was waged over the Governor's request for a one-cent-a-gallon increase in the gasoline tax and for an election on the issuance of $200 million in bonds to build rural roads. An increase of one cent in the gas tax was finally imposed, but such increase is contingent upon approval of the bond issue by the people at an election, the date of which is to be set by the Governor.

The General Assembly of North Carolina also failed to do as much for the school teachers as Governor Scott wanted done. Although the school forces met with a major set back in the defeat of proposals to adopt a "minimum foundation" plan, calling for joint state and county support of the public schools, the General Assembly did give a 28% pay increase to school teachers, and a 20% boost to other state workers.

GEORGIA TAX CHANGES

The new tax measures passed by our General Assembly at the recent session have met with wide approval throughout the State. The Act classifying Accounts, however, will have to be amended at the 1950 session, as an error was made at the beginning of the second sentence of Section 2. The word "tangible" in this sentence should be "intangible." The General Assembly will no doubt correct this typographical error made in the bill as introduced, enrolled and engrossed. If the members of the General Assembly will submit their tax bills to the Tax Revision Committee, as some did, we will be glad to check them before they are introduced or to prepare such measures upon request.

CHANGES IN TAX RATES

There has been a reduction of rates in a few of the states. In Arkansas the cigarette tax was reduced $1.00 per 1,000 cigarettes. Now, investment income of individuals under Maryland's income tax has been reduced by 1/2 of 1%. On the other side of the record, the gross income tax rate in Indiana has been increased by 1/4 or 1/8 of 1%, depending on the classification of the taxpayer. South Dakota has also increased the gross income tax on car lines by 3 3/4% and also added 1% to the rates of its sales and use, severance and motor excise taxes. Car line companies property tax rate was increased in Wyoming by 1/2 of 1% of assessed value. The severance tax rates have been increased in New Mexico by varying fractional percentages. This state also raised the rates on gasoline, use, fuel and petroleum products other than motor fuels two cents per gallon. The cigarette tax in this state was also increased 1/2 cent per 10 cigarettes. The corporate franchise tax on net incomes of business corporations in New York were increased one per cent.

Other excise tax increases include Montana and North Dakota. In Montana 6% was added to its alcoholic beverage tax rate, and one cent per gallon to its gasoline tax rate. The gasoline tax rate was increased two cents per gallon in North Dakota and its cigarette tax rate was increased one mill per cigarette. Kansas also increased its gasoline tax rate to 5 cents a gallon, and Washington's tax rate per gallon was increased from 5 to 6.5 cents.

Taxpayers in Nevada and New Mexico who smoke will have their cigarette tax increased to four cents per package, while North Dakota taxpayers will have their tax increased from 3 to 5 cents. Washington has increased its cigarette tax rate to 4 cents per pack, but their is some doubt as to its legality.

INCOME TAX CHANGES

New York is the only state which has increased its income tax rate. New Yorkers will pay their personal income taxes for the calendar year 1948 on the basis of 90% of the normal tax instead of 60% as for 1947. Corporations will also pay 5.5% instead of 4.5% as for the preceding year.

In addition to the changes already noted for Maryland and Rhode Island, Arkansas has disallowed the deduction of Federal income taxes. Colorado has granted additional personal exemptions for persons who

are over 65 or blind. Kansas and North Carolina have increased the amount of credit allowed for dependents. Kansas, however, has decreased the personal exemption allowance, while Montana has limited personal exemption allowances for certain taxpayers. Both of these states have also joined Georgia in providing as exemptions certain income of veterans. Montana has also amended its law so as to disallow deductions for death, succession, inheritance, estate, legacy, and gift taxes. The net income of production credit agencies will be taxes in New Mexico in the future. The net income of cooperatives and mutual associations will also be taxed by North Carolina.

Some advantages have been given the taxpayer by a few of the states. Idaho has provided for crediting refunds of income tax erroneously paid, whether paid under protest or not. North Dakota will not recognize gain in cases of involuntary conversions. An amendment has been adopted in Montana following the Federal rule for deduction of bad debts. The taxpayers of Colorado may find it an advantage under an amendment in such state which includes building, draft and dairy equipments in the definition of capital assets. This amendment, however, may have the opposite effect for some taxpayers.

SALES AND USE TAXES

The sales and use tax bases have been broadened in several states. In Arkansas an act has been passed requiring all sales of beer, wine, liquor and other intoxicating beverages to be included as taxable retail sales. An act has been passed in Iowa specifically providing that sales of building materials, supplies and equipment to owners, contractors, and builders, are to be construed as retail sales upon which the tax is imposed. In Utah the states sales tax is made to apply to every sale of motor vehicle, thus eliminating sales formerly untaxed because they were considered casual or were made by persons, not dealers. Other measures producing sales tax bases are pending in several Legislatures still in session. Attention will be called to such measures if passed, as well as to any other tax laws enacted.

TEMPORARY INCREASE MADE PERMANENT

Temporary increases of previous years were continued in several states. The Pennsylvania Legislature has made its one cent per gallon increase in the gasoline tax to expire May 31, 1951. It also extended its temporary increased rates on alcoholic beverages, cigarettes, soft drinks and corporate income. Three other states have likewise found it expedient to continue increased temporary rates. In Rhode Island the business corporate franchise tax increased rate was made permanent, while Colorado's income tax and Idaho's gasoline tax were continued. West Virginia has made permanent an increase in its gasoline tax from 4 to 5 cents a gallon which was scheduled to expire this year.

IMPROVEMENT IN PROPERTY ASSESSMENT

A special session of the Kentucky Legislature has adopted most of the program recommended by Governor Clements and Commissioner H. Clyde Reeves for improvement in the administration of property assessment in such state. Provision has been made for better compensation of tax assessors under the legislation passed. A staff has been set up in Commissioner Reeves' office to assist local assessing officials in maintaining sound and equitable property assessment. The services of this staff are optional, but several counties are understood to have already requested assistance along this line.

EVERY MAN'S TAX BURDEN

ALL THE LIVELONG DAY . .

HENRY SUBURBAN reaches out at 7 a.m. of a bright May morning to turn off the alarm clock (*price: $5; tax, $1*). Accompanied by the trebling of birds, he climbs wearily out of bed (*price: $195; annual personal property tax, 75¢*), walks across the floor of his $8,000 house (*annual general property tax, $240*), and switches on the electricity (*33¢ tax on his $10 monthly bill*) which lights the bulb (*price: 20¢; tax, 1¢*)

To music from a bedroom radio (*price: $30; tax, $3*), Henry shaves with his electric (see above) razor. As a radio newscaster reports that Henry's state is preparing to increase income taxes and impose a general sales tax on everything anyone buys, Henry slaps across his jowls a handful of bay rum (*price: $1.30; tax, 21¢*).

He dresses quickly, hurriedly fastening cuff links (*price: $3.50; tax, 70¢*), and tie clasp (*price: $1.50; tax, 30¢*), puts on his Swiss wrist watch (*price. $60; tax, $12**), and rushes downstairs. Tucked under one arm is a leather briefcase (*price: $18; tax, $3.60*) which carries papers from his real estate office, including one deed (*property valued at $3,000; stamp tax, $3.30*)

In the kitchen, he's just in time to snatch two slices of bread from the electric toaster (*price: $16, tax, $3.20*), lift his coffee from the gas stove (*price: $190; tax, $19*), and grab a glass of fruit juice from the refrigerator (*price: $300; tax, $30*).

A glance out of the window shows it's raining, so he calls to his wife (*marriage license, $2*) to telephone (*monthly bill: $12, tax, $2.05*) for a taxi. Too many other people want taxis on a wet morning so Henry gets out his own car (*price: $1,800; tax, $105***) and drives (*operator's license; $1*) to the railroad station.

Henry relaxes at the station with a cigarette (*price per pack: 8¢; Federal tax, 7¢*), lit by a match (*tax: 5½¢ per 1,000*). Aboard the train, Henry gives the conductor his ticket (*price: 85¢; tax, 13¢*) and settles down to a hand of bridge with three cronies, using of course, a deck of cards (*price: 40¢; tax, 13¢*).

In the city on his way to the office, Henry stops to buy a roll of camera film (*price: 20¢; tax, 5¢*) that he promised his son (*birth registration: $1*), and the lipstick (*price: $1; tax, 20¢*) he promised his wife. Because there are friends coming to his house in the evening, he buys a bottle of whiskey (*price: $2.30; tax, $2.60*).

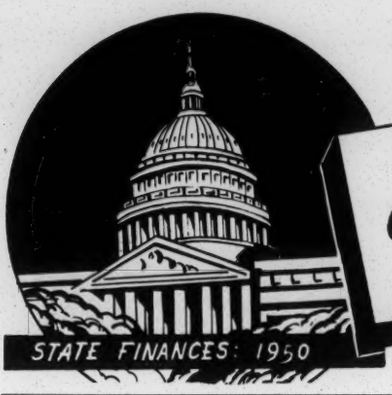
Arriving eventually at the office, Henry sighs (*no tax!*) and settles to a day's work (*annual income. $5,000; Federal and state income tax, $510*). If he works hard for the rest of his life, he will be able to provide the government with a handsome slice of inheritance tax. And if he dies in a state that is fiscally tolerant, he can take comfort in the thought that his casket provided it costs less than $100—will be exempt from any sales tax.

* *Not counting customs duty.*
** *Plus annual registration of $8; tax of 5¢ on each pound of a new tire; tax of 5 per cent on each new part or accessory; state and Federal gasoline tax average: 5½¢ per gallon*

Reprinted from TAX OUTLOOK

Under a burden of this kind, the taxpayers of the State, feeling that the financing of the additional services provided by the Supplemental Appropriation Bill meant additional taxes to be added to our present hodge-podge, voted against the same in the recent referendum. People throughout the State, though, have stated that if our antiquated tax system is revised so as to give us a simplified, equitable, and integrated system, they will be willing to pay whatever taxes are required to provide the services set out in the Bill. In the meantime, Commissioner Redwine reports a net increase of $2,885,976.63 in our collections for the first ten months of this fiscal year over the same period the past year. A net increase of $457,508.51 is shown by the Revenue Department for April, 1949, over the same month in 1948.

S.R.C. State Govt



SUMMARY OF STATE GOVERNMENT FINANCES IN 1950

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
CHARLES SAWYER, *Secretary*

BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
ROY V. PEEL, *Director*

GOVERNMENTS DIVISION
Allen D. Manvel, Chief

G-SF50-No.1 Washington 25, D. C. April 1951

State governments spent $13,183 million in the fiscal year 1950, or 11.9 percent more than in fiscal 1949.[1] This is more than double the amount of State expenditure in 1946. The record 1950 total was equal to $89 per capita, which compares with $81 in 1949 and $49 in 1946.

State revenue was also at a new high of $11,863 million in 1950, as against $10,986 million in 1949 and $7,198 million in 1946.

General borrowings of the 48 States in 1950 was about five times the amount provided for debt retirement and was more than double borrowings of the previous year. Gross debt outstanding rose 28.8 percent to a record high of $5,268 million at the end of fiscal 1950, as compared with the postwar low of $2,367 million at the end of 1946.

[1] Data contained in the Census Bureau's annual series on "State Finances" are for State fiscal years that end on June 30, except for 6 States with earlier closing dates (3 in the spring and 3 between the preceding August and December), as shown in table 11.

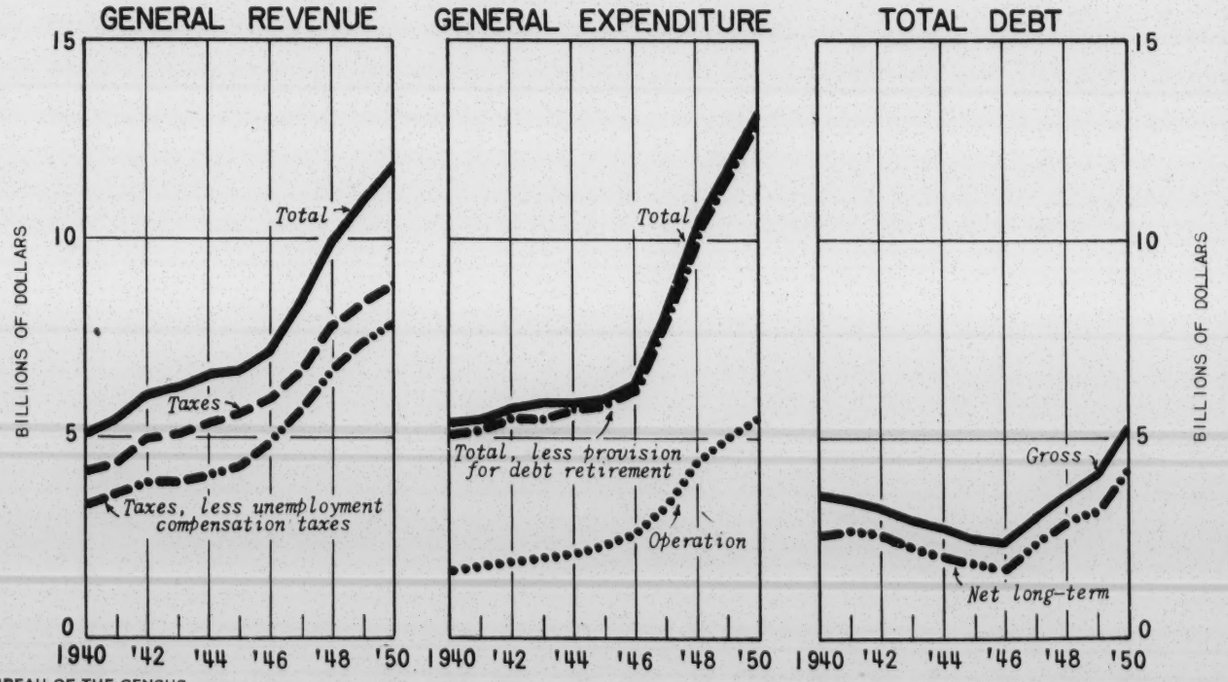
Trends since 1940 in State general revenue, general expenditure, and total debt are summarized in figure 1 below, which is supported by table 1.

NATURE OF THIS REPORT

The present publication is the first to provide information covering all 1950 revenue and expenditure of the 48 States. A Census Bureau report issued in February 1951, Revenue and Expenditure of Selected States in 1950, provided such information regarding the 30 States for which figures were first compiled. Preliminary 1950 data on taxes were initially released in the August 1950 publication, State Tax Collections in 1950, and additional tax detail on a preliminary basis was supplied by the report Sources of State Tax Revenue in 1950.

Information on State debt outstanding, issued, and retired is also shown in the present report. Summary preliminary data on outstanding

FIG. 1-STATE GENERAL REVENUE, GENERAL EXPENDITURE, AND TOTAL DEBT, 1940-1950



State debt appeared in the December 1950 report, Governmental Debt in 1950.

Financial statistics for the alcoholic-beverage stores operated by 16 States are also first supplied in the present publication.

Some of the 1950 figures shown in this report are subject to possible limited revision. Final and more detailed absolute amounts, as well as additional derived statistics, will appear in a subsequent report, Compendium of State Government Finances in 1950.

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE COMPARED

A comparison of 1950 totals of income and utgo for the 48 States together shows that:

General expenditure exceeded general revenue by $1,320 million or 11.1 percent;

General expenditure less provision for debt retirement exceeded general revenue by $1,044 million or 8.8 percent;

General revenue and borrowings exceeded general expenditure by about $8 million.

Comparative totals for the fiscal years 1950 and 1949 were as follows (amounts in millions):

Classification	1950	1949
Total general revenue and borrowings	$13,191	$11,574
General borrowings	1,328	588
Total general revenue	11,863	10,986
Total general expenditure	13,183	11,782
Provision for debt retirement	275	226
General expenditure less provision for debt retirement	12,907	11,557

The foregoing figures indicate a continuance of trends noted in the three preceding years, involving a tendency for expenditure to increase at a greater rate than revenue, after several years of revenue surpluses. In 1948, nevertheless, a majority of States still had more revenue than expenditure.

In 1949 and 1950, however, 33 States and 40 States, respectively, had larger total expenditure than total revenue.

GENERAL REVENUE AND BORROWING

State government revenue was $876 million greater in 1950 than in 1949. More than two-thirds of this increase was accounted for by taxes, up $591 million or 7.1 percent from the previous year's level.

A faster rate of increase applied to State revenue from Federal aid, which rose 15.0 percent. Revenue from charges and miscellaneous sources increased only 1.7 percent.

State taxes produced $8,940 million in fiscal 1950, as compared with $8,349 million in the previous year. These amounts include payroll taxes held in trust for payment of unemployment compensation benefits and hence not available for general State purposes. Excluding these pay-roll levies (which rose 5.7 percent in 1950), tax collections amounted to $7,912 million in 1950, or 7.3 percent more than in the preceding year.

Federal aid received by States in fiscal 1950 totaled $1,960 million, as compared with $1,705 million in 1949 and only $743 million in 1946. Aid from local governments amounted to $70 million.

Income from charges and miscellaneous general revenue reached $893 million in 1950, as compared with $878 million the year before.

State borrowing for general-government purposes in fiscal 1950 amounted to $1,328 million as against $588 million in fiscal 1949.

A summary of general revenue and borrowings for each State is presented in table 2. Additional detail on tax revenue appears in table 3.

GENERAL EXPENDITURE

For all but 6 States, total general expenditure in 1950 exceeded that of the previous fiscal year.

Operation spending, the largest major component, rose from $4,972 million in fiscal 1949 to $5,457 million in fiscal 1950, or 9.7 percent. These sums include bonus payments to veterans of World War II by several States--$457 million in 1950 and $505 million in 1949.

All other functions contributed to the marked expansion in operation expenditure. By far the largest increase in both absolute and relative terms was for public welfare operation (primarily public assistance payments under State-administered programs), which cost $1,578 million in 1950 as compared with $1,306 million the preceding year. Other large increases in operation expenditure were for school purposes, up $75 million, and hospitals and institutions for the handicapped, up $59 million.

Aid to local governments--comprising both grants and shares allocated to local governments of taxes imposed and collected by the States--amounted to $4,011 million, or 30.4 percent of all State general expenditure in fiscal 1950. This is 13.2 percent higher than the 1949 aid amount. Nearly half of the 1950 sum, $1,982 million, was for school purposes; $773 million was for public welfare; and $576 million was for local streets and highways.

Capital outlay of State governments amounted to $2,112 million in 1950, up 15.6 percent from the year before and more than the total for the 5 fiscal years 1942 to 1946, when such spending was limited by wartime restrictions and shortages.

Statistics on general expenditure for each State are shown in table 4, classified by character; table 5 shows operation expenditure by function; and table 6 presents selected data on capital outlay and aid paid to local governments.

ALCOHOLIC-BEVERAGE SYSTEMS

The alcoholic beverage stores operated by 16 States had a net income of $157 million in

fiscal 1950, slightly less than in the preceding year. These systems made net contributions of $171 million to the general-government funds of their respective States during the year.

Monopoly-system data are in tables 7 and 8.

GENERAL AND ENTERPRISE DEBT

Long-term debt issued by States during fiscal 1950 amounted to $1,343 million. The comparable total for the preceding fiscal year was $727 million. The bulk of the issuance of long-term debt in 1950 involved relatively few States--mainly Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Minnesota, California, Washington, and Oklahoma, in that order--but numerous other States issued sizable amounts. Retirement of long-term debt by the States totaled $271 million during the fiscal year 1950.

State gross debt outstanding (including a small proportion for enterprise purposes) rose to a new high of $5,268 million at the end of fiscal 1950, as against $4,090 million a year earlier. The 1950 total is equal to $35.66 per capita.

Statistics on debt outstanding and on long-term debt issued and retired appear in table 9 of this report. It should be noted that these data relate to both general and enterprise debt, whereas statistics of "general borrowings," "provision for debt retirement," and "interest," shown in tables 1, 2, and 4, relate to general debt only.

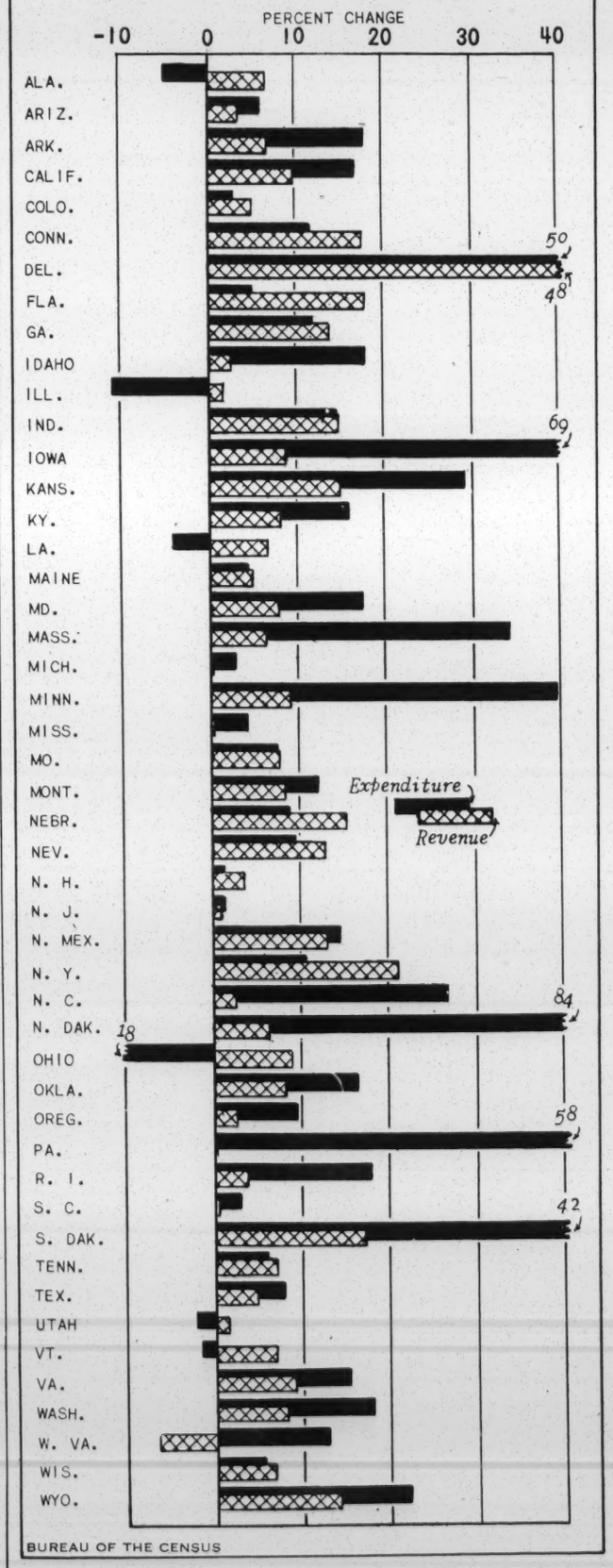
INTERSTATE COMPARISONS

Caution must be exercised in attempting to draw conclusions from direct comparison of financial amounts for individual State governments. The States differ widely in the scope and intensity of their responsibilities. There is a lack of uniformity, as among various parts of the country, in traditions concerning the extent and quality of public services and in economic ability to support such services. Perhaps even more important, differences exist in the allocation of responsibility, as between State and local government units, for particular public functions. Some State governments directly administer certain activities which elsewhere are locally handled, either with or without extensive financial assistance from the State.

The fraction which State government amounts make up of total State and local finances therefore differs materially from one State area to another. Percentage figures illustrating this variation, in terms of 1942 tax revenue data, are presented in table 11. No more recent figures of this nature are available.

Table 10 deals with one factor of difference among States--their range in population size--by presenting per capita amounts of selected financial items. The considerable range which exists in the total scale of State government finances is indicated by the following distributions of the 48 States:

FIG. 2-PERCENT CHANGE, 1949-1950, IN STATE GENERAL REVENUE AND GENERAL EXPENDITURE



Amount per capita, fiscal 1950	Total general revenue	Taxes		General expenditure	
		Total	Total, less unemployment compensation	Total	Total, less provision for debt retirement
Less than $40	....	....	5	....	.....
$40 - $55....	1	18	20	1	1
$55 - $70....	13	17	16	7	10
$70 - $85....	12	8	6	10	10
$85 - $100...	9	5	1	13	10
$100 - $115..	7	....	.....	6	7
$115 - $130..	4	....	.....	4	4
$130 or over.	2	....	.....	7	6
Total.....	48	48	48	48	48

A distribution of States according to the percent of change, between 1949 and 1950, in their revenue, major classes of expenditure, and gross debt, is as follows:

Percent change, 1949-1950	General revenue	General expenditure				Gross debt
		Total	Operation	State aid	Capital outlay	
Decrease.....	1	6	6	5	15	15
Increase:						
0 - 10.....	35	16	15	16	8	10
10 - 20.....	10	16	14	14	6	3
20 - 30.....	1	3	5	5	9	5
30 - 40.....	.....	2	2	5	3	2
40 - 50.....	1	1	.....	2	1	1
50 or over...	.....	4	6	1	6	12
Total.....	48	48	48	48	48	48

Percent changes in total revenue and expenditure from 1949 to 1950 are chartered for individual States in figure 2 on page 3.

SOURCES AND TERMINOLOGY

Data for this report were compiled by trained representatives of the Census Bureau from official State records and reports, primarily in the State fiscal offices. The figures were classified according to standard Census categories for reporting of State finances, and subjected to careful review as so classified. The cooperation of State officials in providing information for this report is gratefully acknowledged.

Census provision of comparative and aggregate financial statistics calls for presentation of data in terms of uniform categories whereby, for example, expenditure amounts for similar purposes are combined regardless of the number of funds involved. Figures in this report are, therefore, unlikely to agree directly with specific amounts in official State records and reports, except where particular segments of such sources conform explicitly with standard Census categories. A leaflet discussing the "Relation of Census Statistics on Governmental Finances to Original Sources" is available from the Bureau of the Census upon request.

Definitions of some of the terms used in this and other Census Bureau reports on "State Finances" are presented on pages 16-17 of the present report. A more detailed glossary of principal concepts and categories applied in Census reporting on finances of State governments appears in the Compendium report of this annual series.

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Table 1.--SUMMARY OF STATE GENERAL REVENUE, GENERAL EXPENDITURE, AND TOTAL DEBT: 1942-1950

Item	Amounts in millions							Percent change[1]		Percent distribution[1] 1950	Per capita[1,2] 1950
	1950	1949	1948	1947	1946	1945	1942	From 1949 to 1950	From 1942 to 1950		
Total general revenue and borrowings..	$13,191	[3]$11,574	$10,825	$9,223	$7,271	$6,742	$6,248	14.0	111.1	.....	$89.29
General borrowings[1].....	1,328	588	799	742	73	14	148	126.0	794.2	.....	8.99
Total general revenue.....	11,863	[3]10,986	10,025	8,481	7,198	6,729	6,100	8.0	94.5	100.0	80.31
Taxes, total.....	8,940	[3]8,349	7,791	6,690	5,968	5,561	4,979	7.1	79.6	75.4	60.52
Total less unemployment compensation..	7,912	[3]7,376	6,732	5,721	4,935	4,307	3,903	7.3	102.7	66.7	53.56
Sales and gross receipts.....	4,670	4,365	4,045	3,415	2,806	2,278	2,220	7.0	110.4	39.4	31.62
General sales or gross receipts.....	1,670	1,609	1,479	1,181	900	776	633	3.8	164.0	14.1	11.31
Motor vehicle fuels.....	1,544	1,361	1,260	1,110	887	696	942	13.5	64.0	13.0	10.46
Alcoholic beverages.....	420	426	426	410	402	312	256	-1.6	63.8	3.5	2.84
Tobacco products.....	414	388	339	245	199	145	131	6.7	216.8	3.5	2.80
Other.....	622	580	542	470	418	349	258	7.2	140.6	5.2	4.21
License and privilege.....	1,203	1,089	981	868	765	690	694	10.5	73.4	10.1	8.15
Motor vehicles and operators.....	756	665	593	517	440	395	431	13.7	75.4	6.4	5.12
Other.....	447	424	387	351	326	295	263	5.5	70.1	3.8	3.03
Individual income.....	724	593	499	418	389	357	249	22.2	190.4	6.1	4.90
Corporation income.....	586	641	585	451	442	453	269	-8.7	118.0	4.9	3.97
Property.....	311	[3]276	279	261	253	276	271	12.8	14.7	2.6	2.10
Unemployment compensation.....	1,028	973	1,059	969	1,034	1,254	1,076	5.7	-4.5	8.7	6.96
Other[4]	417	412	343	308	279	253	200	1.3	109.1	3.5	2.82
Aid received from other governments.....	2,030	1,760	1,439	1,157	767	759	809	15.4	150.8	17.1	13.74
From Federal Government.....	1,960	1,705	1,399	1,125	743	738	786	15.0	149.3	16.5	13.27
Charges and miscellaneous.....	893	878	796	633	462	410	312	1.7	186.1	7.5	6.04
Total general expenditure.....	13,183	11,782	10,400	8,099	6,404	5,997	5,821	11.9	126.5	100.0	89.24
Provision for debt retirement.....	275	226	179	146	188	223	305	22.0	-9.8	2.1	1.87
General expenditure less provision for debt retirement.....	12,907	11,557	10,221	7,953	6,216	5,775	5,516	11.7	134.0	97.9	87.38
Operation.....	5,457	4,972	4,351	3,318	2,579	2,253	1,914	9.7	185.1	41.4	36.94
General control.....	310	292	257	234	199	187	169	6.0	83.2	2.3	2.10
Public safety.....	242	224	200	171	144	131	123	7.8	97.1	1.8	1.64
Highways.....	567	547	491	424	359	308	260	3.6	118.0	4.3	3.84
Natural resources.....	315	290	244	207	166	144	123	8.5	155.5	2.4	2.13
Health.....	126	109	106	109	105	95	55	15.9	130.8	1.0	.85
Hospitals and institutions for the handicapped.....	640	581	492	400	320	286	231	10.2	176.6	4.9	4.33
Public welfare.....	1,578	1,306	956	839	681	605	526	20.8	199.9	12.0	10.68
Correction.....	148	142	130	107	91	82	71	3.8	108.1	1.1	1.00
Schools.....	829	754	652	506	374	354	275	9.9	201.7	6.3	5.61
Bonus payments to veterans.....	457	505	616	159	47	.....	.....	-9.5	.....	3.5	3.09
Other and unallocable.....	246	221	207	163	92	60	81	11.3	203.5	1.9	1.66
Capital outlay.....	2,112	1,827	1,425	949	356	267	615	15.6	243.4	16.0	14.30
Highways.....	1,438	1,330	1,018	670	266	223	527	8.1	172.8	10.9	9.73
Schools.....	265	221	170	102	33	14	26	19.8	911.8	2.0	1.80
Other.....	409	275	238	177	57	30	62	48.4	561.6	3.1	2.77
Aid paid to local governments.....	4,011	3,544	3,167	2,549	2,044	1,838	1,751	13.2	129.2	30.4	27.16
Highways.....	576	563	481	415	329	285	338	2.4	70.3	4.4	3.90
Public welfare.....	773	642	646	495	374	349	389	20.4	98.6	5.9	5.23
Schools.....	1,982	1,728	1,490	1,129	921	842	766	14.7	158.9	15.0	13.42
Other and unspecified.....	680	612	549	511	420	363	257	11.1	164.2	5.2	4.60
Interest.....	88	76	71	63	70	80	110	14.9	-20.5	0.7	.59
Contributions to trust funds and enterprises.....	1,239	1,136	1,206	1,073	1,168	1,336	1,126	9.0	10.0	9.4	8.39
To unemployment compensation trust funds.....	1,028	973	1,059	969	1,034	1,254	1,076	5.7	-4.5	7.8	6.96
Debt outstanding at end of fiscal year:											
Gross.....	5,268	4,090	3,632	2,956	2,367	2,526	3,267	28.8	61.3	100.0	35.66
General.....	4,696	3,622	3,343	2,721	2,154	2,303	3,023	29.7	55.4	89.1	31.79
Enterprise.....	572	468	290	236	213	223	244	22.0	134.2	10.9	3.87
Net long-term (general and enterprise)....	4,232	3,238	2,867	2,263	1,734	1,910	2,569	30.7	64.7	80.3	28.65
Full faith and credit.....	3,438	2,673	2,487	1,947	1,431	1,573	2,172	28.6	58.3	65.3	23.28
Long-term debt issued during fiscal year[5] (general and enterprise).....	1,343	727	820	718	59	14	101	84.9	1,233.9	25.5	9.09
Long-term debt retired during fiscal year[5] (general and enterprise).....	271	234	172	186	231	219	290	15.8	-6.4	5.2	1.84

NOTE: Because of rounding, detail does not always add to total.
[1]Computed on the basis of amounts rounded to nearest thousand.
[2]Based on estimated resident population on July 1, 1949 (see table 11, footnote 1).
[3]Revised.
[4]Including death and gift, severance, poll, and other.
[5]Exclusive of refunding transactions.

Table 2.—GENERAL REVENUE AND BORROWINGS, BY STATE: 1950

(Amounts in thousands)

State	General revenue and borrowings	General borrowings	General revenue							
			Total			Taxes (table 3)		Aid received from other governments		Charges and miscellaneous
			1950	1949	Percent change	Total	Total, less unemployment compensation	Total	From Federal government	
Total.....	$13,190,521	$1,327,673	$11,862,848	[1]$10,986,367	8.0	$8,939,889	$7,911,856	$2,030,064	$1,960,114	$892,895
Alabama.....	191,212	56	191,156	178,916	6.8	128,028	116,115	34,718	32,868	28,410
Arizona.....	71,754	900	70,854	68,436	3.5	51,458	47,634	15,325	14,762	4,071
Arkansas.....	145,206	16,540	128,666	120,024	7.2	89,399	85,067	33,134	32,414	6,133
California.....	1,286,049	75,000	1,211,049	1,102,016	9.9	934,756	806,300	181,836	179,028	94,457
Colorado.....	140,589	1,872	138,717	132,212	4.9	92,805	89,315	34,006	34,006	11,906
Connecticut.....	233,792	83,650	150,142	127,462	17.8	118,575	105,290	20,999	19,046	10,568
Delaware.....	63,890	29,872	34,018	22,939	48.3	27,166	25,708	4,404	4,398	2,448
Florida.....	231,622	1,350	230,272	194,920	18.1	177,865	170,323	44,517	42,579	7,890
Georgia.....	201,594	5	201,589	176,784	14.0	137,988	124,975	51,652	49,782	11,949
Idaho.....	50,927	.....	50,927	49,599	2.7	33,834	29,571	11,740	11,121	5,353
Illinois.....	553,743	3,395	550,348	540,517	1.8	435,796	379,765	95,764	93,604	18,788
Indiana.....	288,710	2,411	286,299	249,046	15.0	220,578	202,422	38,098	37,208	27,623
Iowa.....	264,946	36,488	228,458	209,778	8.9	156,908	146,060	40,213	38,696	31,337
Kansas.....	171,668	250	171,418	148,861	15.2	125,257	119,291	34,525	33,727	11,636
Kentucky.....	168,346	378	167,968	155,108	8.3	122,496	107,663	36,361	36,289	9,111
Louisiana.....	385,266	21,500	363,766	341,036	6.7	257,003	241,653	79,597	78,764	27,166
Maine.....	71,438	.....	71,438	68,011	5.0	47,233	41,060	14,909	13,594	9,296
Maryland.....	208,062	29,487	178,575	165,562	7.9	143,302	131,008	19,194	18,616	16,079
Massachusetts.....	387,742	25,350	362,392	340,089	6.6	282,977	233,959	61,924	59,891	17,491
Michigan.....	617,819	8,992	608,827	608,487	0.1	460,962	392,123	80,559	75,753	67,306
Minnesota.....	361,435	99,112	262,323	240,714	9.0	196,302	187,118	43,226	41,550	22,795
Mississippi.....	138,177	7,521	130,656	130,468	0.1	91,359	87,241	30,258	29,844	9,039
Missouri.....	273,599	368	273,231	253,572	7.8	185,031	161,704	77,140	77,140	11,060
Montana.....	62,573	5,300	57,273	52,817	8.4	33,975	29,797	16,689	15,295	6,609
Nebraska.....	87,533	435	87,098	75,409	15.5	56,794	54,070	19,958	19,087	10,346
Nevada.....	21,220	200	21,020	18,602	13.0	12,469	10,954	7,523	7,032	1,028
New Hampshire.....	47,084	8,250	38,834	37,505	3.5	24,302	19,764	7,832	6,447	6,700
New Jersey.....	243,998	.....	243,998	[1]241,441	1.1	191,557	147,956	37,461	32,033	14,980
New Mexico.....	79,545	3,531	76,014	67,277	13.0	55,226	51,168	15,463	15,042	5,325
New York.....	1,331,077	55,983	1,275,094	1,051,927	21.2	1,096,549	888,322	127,274	127,131	51,271
North Carolina.....	419,447	132,500	286,947	279,801	2.6	230,369	212,382	43,026	41,630	13,552
North Dakota.....	59,395	800	58,595	55,038	6.5	40,891	39,022	13,760	12,719	3,944
Ohio.....	545,846	383	545,463	500,795	8.9	423,425	379,396	85,728	80,306	36,310
Oklahoma.....	311,044	67,500	243,544	225,428	8.0	165,473	158,163	64,339	64,339	13,732
Oregon.....	170,948	6,700	164,248	159,752	2.8	111,972	99,184	28,145	22,400	24,131
Pennsylvania.....	1,098,501	427,800	670,701	669,644	0.2	496,485	438,548	96,998	94,534	77,218
Rhode Island.....	71,032	10,800	60,232	57,892	4.0	49,207	38,280	8,480	8,480	2,545
South Carolina.....	139,266	10,000	129,266	128,645	0.5	97,292	89,915	25,379	24,991	6,595
South Dakota.....	78,423	21,000	57,423	48,919	17.4	39,244	37,876	14,307	13,406	3,872
Tennessee.....	233,233	11,150	222,083	207,148	7.2	162,166	149,770	50,246	46,893	9,671
Texas.....	514,103	28,772	485,331	463,227	4.8	343,939	317,012	113,892	110,939	27,500
Utah.....	68,664	49	68,615	67,515	1.6	46,480	43,384	12,708	12,438	9,427
Vermont.....	34,480	4,334	30,146	28,177	7.0	21,912	20,343	6,541	6,022	1,693
Virginia.....	217,225	1,320	215,905	197,853	9.1	154,641	145,997	21,682	21,163	39,582
Washington.....	380,064	73,200	306,864	284,194	8.0	235,596	200,840	46,597	43,976	24,671
West Virginia.....	153,988	12,000	141,988	151,620	-6.4	103,534	93,930	24,683	24,683	13,771
Wisconsin.....	279,095	98	278,997	261,284	6.8	210,006	196,784	45,041	42,399	23,950
Wyoming.....	35,151	1,071	34,080	29,900	14.0	19,307	17,634	12,213	12,049	2,560

[1]Revised.

Table 3.--STATE TAX REVENUE, BY SOURCE AND BY STATE: 1950

(Amounts in thousands)

State	Total[1]			Sales and gross receipts			License and privilege		Individual income	Corporation income	Unemployment compensation
	1950	1949	Percent change	Total[2]	General	Motor vehicle fuels	Total[2]	Motor vehicles and operators			
Total.....	$8,939,889	[3]$8,348,656	7.1	$4,670,274	$1,670,161	$1,544,474	$1,203,439	$756,044	$724,378	$585,795	$1,028,033
Alabama.....	128,028	119,291	7.3	77,942	32,662	29,881	12,890	6,902	[4]14,314	[4]865	11,913
Arizona.....	51,458	50,509	1.9	32,381	16,138	10,156	4,198	3,045	2,669	2,897	3,824
Arkansas.....	89,399	87,873	1.7	58,149	23,147	22,899	10,833	7,834	4,343	7,857	4,332
California.....	934,756	865,475	8.0	528,751	321,560	137,826	72,722	53,820	60,500	74,546	128,456
Colorado.....	92,805	90,764	2.2	52,816	25,901	20,559	10,640	6,161	11,284	5,987	3,490
Connecticut.....	118,575	101,559	16.8	71,496	23,689	18,682	15,354	10,487	.....	12,200	13,285
Delaware.....	27,166	17,019	59.6	7,974	13	4,201	7,342	1,685	7,379	.....	1,458
Florida.....	177,865	146,375	21.5	125,181	23,569	51,205	34,711	22,819	.....	.....	7,542
Georgia.....	137,988	120,546	14.5	81,816	.....	47,376	9,586	5,642	10,884	14,589	13,013
Idaho.....	33,834	33,779	0.2	15,081	.....	10,168	3,340	845	5,374	3,297	4,263
Illinois.....	435,796	439,303	-0.8	320,890	166,951	56,339	51,295	41,248	.....	.....	56,031
Indiana.....	220,578	189,980	16.1	156,957	86,550	40,040	30,563	22,844	.....	.....	18,156
Iowa.....	156,908	148,896	5.4	96,094	55,741	27,325	25,384	22,680	15,812	2,648	10,848
Kansas.....	125,257	108,896	15.0	76,982	37,430	26,122	17,187	14,340	8,313	3,456	5,966
Kentucky.....	122,496	115,251	6.3	63,206	.....	35,152	12,549	8,042	11,025	8,305	14,833
Louisiana.....	257,003	240,207	7.0	139,209	45,003	42,788	17,717	6,797	[5]18,768	([5])	15,350
Maine.....	47,233	46,252	2.1	24,105	.....	12,589	9,409	6,316	.....	.....	6,173
Maryland.....	143,302	134,670	6.4	76,262	28,377	23,117	17,645	13,134	18,267	10,463	12,294
Massachusetts...	282,977	268,064	5.6	92,160	.....	27,900	[6]67,561	11,184	44,722	[6]19,450	49,018
Michigan.....	460,962	456,768	0.9	294,350	204,864	46,871	64,444	42,235	.....	.....	68,839
Minnesota.....	196,302	176,987	10.9	78,881	.....	34,193	26,346	21,687	37,351	15,567	9,184
Mississippi.....	91,359	92,748	-1.5	61,301	24,540	23,361	6,337	2,896	4,487	7,637	4,118
Missouri.....	185,031	177,263	4.4	104,039	72,084	19,800	24,588	17,019	[5]25,239	([5])	23,327
Montana.....	33,975	29,615	14.7	14,465	.....	9,847	4,884	1,933	3,687	1,678	4,178
Nebraska.....	56,794	46,220	22.9	31,362	.....	23,439	6,054	4,559	.....	.....	2,724
Nevada.....	12,469	10,633	17.3	6,307	.....	3,618	2,515	1,458	.....	.....	1,515
New Hampshire...	24,302	23,801	2.1	11,354	.....	4,983	5,196	3,816	1,119	.....	4,538
New Jersey.....	191,557	[3]191,811	-0.1	84,988	.....	32,672	50,457	36,215	.....	.....	43,601
New Mexico.....	55,226	48,250	14.5	35,808	17,384	13,345	6,752	5,151	1,546	1,255	4,058
New York.....	1,096,549	896,549	22.3	284,040	.....	90,095	116,872	78,558	262,916	180,664	208,227
North Carolina..	230,369	231,011	-0.3	118,894	41,848	52,836	32,266	18,087	24,397	30,015	17,987
North Dakota....	40,891	37,837	8.1	23,136	11,563	4,776	7,123	5,928	3,697	1,306	1,869
Ohio.....	423,425	398,307	6.3	291,481	133,068	76,197	66,429	45,048	.....	.....	44,029
Oklahoma.....	165,473	152,271	8.7	95,949	34,839	36,393	24,010	19,405	7,260	7,893	7,310
Oregon.....	111,972	112,181	-0.2	30,075	.....	25,454	20,622	15,286	29,460	17,017	12,788
Pennsylvania....	496,485	509,018	-2.5	224,225	.....	100,399	126,170	53,932	.....	64,199	57,937
Rhode Island....	49,207	47,579	3.4	25,644	5,799	6,224	6,698	4,562	.....	4,382	10,927
South Carolina..	97,292	100,226	-2.9	53,937	.....	25,248	8,758	4,776	10,292	14,487	7,377
South Dakota....	39,244	31,327	25.3	31,426	17,048	6,588	3,952	2,040	.....	143	1,368
Tennessee.....	162,166	155,231	4.5	106,567	42,505	41,685	24,929	12,372	3,045	10,443	12,396
Texas.....	343,939	334,785	2.7	144,764	.....	76,432	40,462	26,205	.....	.....	26,927
Utah.....	46,480	46,590	-0.2	24,642	14,014	7,696	3,752	2,584	4,111	2,584	3,096
Vermont.....	21,912	20,492	6.9	10,314	.....	4,652	4,660	3,948	3,057	1,172	1,569
Virginia.....	154,641	138,428	11.7	65,725	.....	42,728	24,143	12,753	23,993	18,458	8,644
Washington.....	235,596	221,915	6.2	166,167	104,771	37,333	19,465	12,283	.....	.....	34,756
West Virginia...	103,534	117,110	-11.6	79,232	51,911	16,878	12,925	9,140	.....	.....	9,604
Wisconsin.....	210,006	201,571	4.2	60,562	.....	31,455	28,473	24,123	45,067	40,315	13,222
Wyoming.....	19,307	17,423	10.8	13,187	7,192	4,951	3,231	2,220	.....	.....	1,673

NOTE: For more detailed preliminary data by source, see the Census Bureau reports, State Tax Collections in 1950 and Sources of State Tax Revenue in 1950.

[1]Includes amounts for tax categories not shown separately (death and gift, property, severance, and miscellaneous taxes) as follows: 1950, $727,970 thousand; 1949, $687,626 thousand.

[2]Includes amounts for categories not shown separately.

[3]Revised.

[4]Corporation income tax, except that on financial institutions, included with individual income tax; segregation not available.

[5]Corporation income tax included with individual income tax; segregation not available.

[6]Amount shown for license and privilege taxes includes $43,664 thousand, corporation excise tax and surtax measured in part by net income and in part by corporate excess.

Table 4.--GENERAL EXPENDITURE, BY CHARACTER AND BY STATE: 1950

(Amounts in thousands)

State	Total			Provision for debt retirement	Total less provision for debt retirement	Operation (table 5)	Capital outlay (table 6)	Aid paid to local governments (table 6)	Interest[1]	Contributions to trust funds and enterprises	
	1950	1949	Percent change							Total	To unemployment compensation funds
Total.....	$13,182,735	$11,782,420	11.9	$275,498	$12,907,237	$5,457,049	$2,111,864	$4,011,471	$87,788	$1,239,065	$1,028,033
Alabama.....	190,119	199,954	-4.9	1,094	189,025	50,423	24,600	96,440	2,039	15,523	11,913
Arizona.....	75,749	71,317	6.2	138	75,611	31,942	16,453	22,908	102	4,206	3,824
Arkansas.....	141,744	120,036	18.1	5,881	135,863	64,304	24,133	37,982	4,005	5,439	4,332
California.....	1,367,576	1,170,053	16.9	9,465	1,358,111	496,978	205,643	497,009	2,461	156,020	128,456
Colorado.....	139,416	135,319	3.0	2,247	137,169	39,362	23,455	69,427	377	4,548	3,490
Connecticut.....	170,263	152,595	11.6	1,242	169,021	96,177	34,318	21,982	210	16,334	13,285
Delaware.....	42,172	28,070	50.2	398	41,774	24,398	7,826	7,663	334	1,553	1,458
Florida.....	235,999	225,164	4.8	968	235,031	117,162	39,355	67,943	492	10,079	7,542
Georgia.....	204,047	181,950	12.1	118	203,929	88,498	40,548	58,404	65	16,414	13,013
Idaho.....	54,326	45,977	18.2	84	54,242	26,906	15,017	7,408	15	4,896	4,263
Illinois.....	609,161	681,475	-10.6	29,678	579,483	287,092	82,026	137,275	9,572	63,518	56,031
Indiana.....	282,989	246,221	14.9	1,716	281,273	97,882	42,339	116,377	251	24,424	18,156
Iowa.....	317,527	188,436	68.5	3,093	314,434	175,711	46,794	80,879	179	10,871	10,848
Kansas.....	160,012	132,385	20.9	952	159,060	55,516	34,094	63,015	228	6,207	5,966
Kentucky.....	172,039	148,268	16.0	347	171,692	92,414	36,531	25,766	273	16,708	14,833
Louisiana.....	370,150	385,235	-3.9	8,485	361,665	189,052	43,714	101,162	7,140	20,597	15,350
Maine.....	74,417	71,205	4.5	1,842	72,575	42,993	12,150	9,369	343	7,720	6,173
Maryland.....	205,744	174,967	17.6	6,857	198,887	61,491	41,958	78,147	665	16,626	12,294
Massachusetts...	432,788	322,479	34.2	26,628	406,160	131,092	40,704	179,056	2,741	52,567	49,018
Michigan.....	655,943	637,463	2.9	17,508	638,435	236,646	65,941	251,192	4,256	80,400	68,839
Minnesota.....	335,005	239,635	39.8	17,190	317,815	149,328	52,724	95,088	2,833	17,842	9,184
Mississippi.....	140,673	135,386	3.9	2,752	137,921	56,952	26,649	47,628	2,472	4,220	4,118
Missouri.....	275,135	255,483	7.7	6,849	268,286	155,099	38,829	49,077	1,890	23,391	23,327
Montana.....	60,550	53,945	12.2	2,368	58,182	30,245	15,153	6,940	416	5,428	4,178
Nebraska.....	84,216	77,390	8.8	152	84,064	33,692	15,899	29,680	18	4,775	2,724
Nevada.....	21,534	19,620	9.8	55	21,479	9,424	6,701	3,144	17	2,193	1,515
New Hampshire...	44,758	44,115	1.5	1,971	42,787	25,065	10,000	2,322	266	5,134	4,538
New Jersey.....	260,854	257,130	1.4	4,072	256,782	86,037	47,518	65,980	3,063	54,184	43,601
New Mexico.....	79,519	69,432	14.5	3,687	75,832	32,732	16,413	20,905	667	5,115	4,058
New York.....	1,375,275	1,242,259	10.7	46,083	1,329,192	348,989	161,384	572,912	17,766	228,141	208,227
North Carolina..	341,419	269,291	26.8	5,853	335,566	159,689	104,171	39,784	3,944	27,978	17,987
North Dakota....	88,021	47,740	84.4	9,938	78,083	51,067	15,342	9,545	189	1,940	1,869
Ohio.....	591,801	723,551	-18.2	8,499	583,302	212,800	88,105	230,018	4,348	48,031	44,029
Oklahoma.....	262,809	225,732	16.4	869	261,940	142,308	44,347	65,860	921	8,504	7,310
Oregon.....	169,606	154,807	9.6	711	168,895	82,766	36,198	33,946	653	15,332	12,788
Pennsylvania....	962,283	679,997	41.5	6,793	955,490	552,377	179,382	142,359	3,811	77,561	57,937
Rhode Island....	67,986	57,602	18.0	1,818	66,168	32,334	7,920	12,669	1,101	12,144	10,927
South Carolina..	150,801	146,438	3.0	6,275	144,526	56,347	27,514	46,946	1,498	12,221	7,377
South Dakota....	77,531	49,020	58.2	9,498	68,033	47,444	13,776	4,411	557	1,845	1,368
Tennessee.....	236,881	223,380	6.0	8,453	228,428	88,082	51,880	70,619	2,737	15,110	12,396
Texas.....	478,121	441,915	8.2	1,886	476,235	222,440	91,613	124,134	872	37,176	26,927
Utah.....	67,600	69,133	-2.2	29	67,571	34,395	10,689	18,306	4	4,177	3,096
Vermont.....	31,537	32,065	-1.7	263	31,274	18,259	4,620	5,944	42	2,409	1,569
Virginia.....	211,341	183,345	15.3	486	210,855	87,575	49,885	58,550	189	14,656	8,644
Washington.....	384,385	325,148	18.2	3,225	381,160	172,096	36,212	132,551	20	40,281	34,756
West Virginia...	170,371	150,848	12.9	6,398	163,973	77,092	25,728	46,838	1,552	12,763	9,604
Wisconsin.....	272,753	258,461	5.5	290	272,463	74,727	40,928	136,538	141	20,129	13,222
Wyoming.....	37,789	30,983	22.0	294	37,495	11,649	14,685	9,373	53	1,735	1,673

[1]Does not include $7,607 thousand paid on general debt from accumulated assets of sinking and trust funds, and $12,663 thousand paid on enterprise debt.

Table 5.--GENERAL EXPENDITURE FOR OPERATION, BY FUNCTION AND BY STATE: 1950

(Amounts in thousands)

State	Total[1]			General control	Public safety	Highways	Natural resources	Health	Hospitals and institutions for the handicapped	Public welfare	Correction	Schools
	1950	1949	Percent change									
Total.....	$5,457,049	$4,972,368	9.7	$309,726	$241,925	$567,333	$315,024	$126,218	$639,775	$1,577,583	$147,729	$828,796
Alabama.....	50,423	48,098	4.8	5,568	3,242	6,463	5,713	2,856	6,765	719	2,063	13,426
Arizona.....	31,942	29,092	9.8	1,470	1,459	3,195	2,765	709	1,656	12,902	762	5,687
Arkansas.....	64,304	49,397	30.2	2,870	1,183	9,138	4,634	1,805	6,016	27,325	639	8,669
California.....	496,978	412,925	20.4	34,307	28,562	24,909	42,880	7,125	36,139	202,588	14,214	82,688
Colorado.....	39,362	37,465	5.1	3,232	2,069	5,204	4,473	1,131	7,079	903	1,780	12,017
Connecticut.....	96,177	87,281	10.2	6,797	5,089	15,373	3,055	3,816	16,931	23,474	2,906	10,766
Delaware.....	24,398	14,575	67.4	1,311	896	1,831	898	540	3,010	1,358	334	5,706
Florida.....	117,162	106,942	9.6	5,762	4,902	7,706	13,386	4,897	7,936	50,098	1,876	16,525
Georgia.....	88,498	79,118	11.9	4,345	2,788	6,972	5,624	3,070	8,479	35,119	1,723	16,617
Idaho.....	26,906	24,794	8.5	1,095	1,185	3,961	3,313	659	1,434	9,968	511	3,798
Illinois.....	287,092	361,001	-20.5	15,250	15,112	16,683	10,435	4,814	38,385	113,266	10,116	40,722
Indiana.....	97,882	76,274	28.3	6,510	5,473	12,194	6,845	2,498	11,995	2,950	4,463	25,817
Iowa.....	175,711	88,484	98.6	3,694	3,190	5,760	6,124	1,524	11,494	36,263	2,032	18,829
Kansas.....	55,516	48,149	15.3	4,472	2,772	11,661	4,276	1,892	8,609	1,415	2,250	16,151
Kentucky.....	92,414	71,206	29.8	7,287	3,714	25,888	5,252	2,852	4,878	27,158	1,641	10,580
Louisiana.....	189,052	224,365	-15.7	7,414	3,881	16,283	10,219	2,108	18,371	105,949	2,232	18,955
Maine.....	42,993	41,282	4.1	1,702	1,905	10,582	4,357	761	4,285	13,081	890	3,915
Maryland.....	61,491	54,841	12.1	7,170	3,648	6,582	4,532	4,143	15,107	651	4,289	11,325
Massachusetts...	131,092	111,439	17.6	14,174	3,908	19,201	4,188	3,166	39,147	8,277	7,677	8,013
Michigan.....	236,646	214,217	10.5	10,347	9,572	14,008	10,855	4,602	41,232	89,061	9,483	35,279
Minnesota.....	149,328	78,555	90.1	4,675	4,407	12,449	10,225	1,727	15,562	3,258	2,636	24,527
Mississippi.....	56,952	48,415	17.6	3,544	1,451	4,727	6,453	3,156	4,448	20,578	913	9,408
Missouri.....	155,099	139,729	11.0	7,331	3,893	12,024	6,227	1,567	11,112	93,761	2,786	12,507
Montana.....	30,245	27,275	10.9	1,335	1,253	4,867	3,088	527	2,241	11,237	544	4,092
Nebraska.....	33,692	31,884	5.7	1,819	2,204	7,345	3,344	773	6,080	800	1,728	8,516
Nevada.....	9,424	9,080	3.8	591	309	2,175	1,107	304	316	1,928	299	1,676
New Hampshire...	25,065	25,340	-1.1	1,440	988	5,029	2,088	667	2,680	6,618	509	3,505
New Jersey.....	86,037	80,710	6.6	9,830	9,219	10,170	4,094	2,295	16,684	10,529	5,456	8,216
New Mexico.....	32,732	28,035	16.8	2,898	1,259	4,277	2,863	910	1,859	9,534	705	7,252
New York.....	348,989	456,411	-23.5	39,466	31,624	25,570	16,514	8,378	114,162	3,459	20,799	36,741
North Carolina..	159,689	150,008	6.5	4,438	5,091	22,136	8,477	1,926	10,783	2,874	1,570	98,167
North Dakota....	51,067	23,735	115.2	1,242	927	3,375	2,253	721	2,367	7,544	470	5,365
Ohio.....	212,800	384,497	-44.7	11,419	8,831	31,686	7,567	5,077	23,622	73,308	6,430	25,397
Oklahoma.....	142,308	134,601	5.7	4,640	2,703	12,671	5,229	1,935	8,862	81,288	2,045	20,604
Oregon.....	82,766	72,275	14.5	4,999	3,845	12,574	9,002	1,453	6,094	28,353	1,559	11,544
Pennsylvania....	552,377	317,507	74.0	0,049	19,187	37,496	14,941	10,545	48,308	158,984	8,183	30,375
Rhode Island....	32,334	30,246	6.9	3,300	1,258	2,249	894	759	4,998	11,491	955	2,980
South Carolina..	56,347	54,235	3.9	2,837	2,396	8,371	4,776	1,497	4,750	17,978	996	10,030
South Dakota....	47,444	25,282	87.7	977	743	4,745	2,366	530	1,807	8,048	466	4,234
Tennessee.....	88,082	70,061	25.7	3,531	2,801	8,592	5,109	3,866	4,781	40,657	1,865	12,597
Texas.....	222,440	193,300	15.1	9,979	7,890	24,929	8,693	3,631	15,077	103,007	3,405	39,984
Utah.....	34,395	36,868	-6.7	1,699	1,027	4,361	2,356	810	1,509	11,766	598	9,155
Vermont.....	18,259	17,570	3.9	1,219	940	4,851	1,652	535	1,750	4,264	707	1,509
Virginia.....	87,575	79,526	10.1	7,691	4,939	23,865	6,836	3,855	14,962	1,042	3,031	18,497
Washington.....	172,096	131,780	30.6	4,740	5,052	11,527	8,915	10,170	11,307	79,890	1,887	21,751
West Virginia...	77,092	63,186	22.0	3,097	3,634	26,343	3,866	1,645	5,434	20,014	1,285	9,427
Wisconsin.....	74,727	71,363	4.7	5,254	3,934	12,340	9,999	1,719	8,509	2,641	3,599	22,525
Wyoming.....	11,649	9,949	17.1	909	570	2,995	2,266	272	763	207	422	2,730

[1]Includes amounts for functions not shown separately. Totals of such amounts for 1950 and 1949 were as follows (in thousands): libraries, $5,414 and $4,897; recreation, $28,948 and $23,689; other and unallocable, $668,578 and $697,412. Of the latter, the following amounts (in thousands) represent bonus payments to veterans of World War II: in 1950--Connecticut, $726; Delaware, $7,716; Illinois, $7,425; Indiana, $14,034; Iowa, $84,542; Massachusetts, $889; Michigan, $2,087; Minnesota, $66,072; New Hampshire, $51; New York, $17,765; North Dakota, $25,988; Ohio, $9,401; Pennsylvania, $187,497; Rhode Island, $58; South Dakota, $22,706; Vermont, $48; and Washington, $10,177; and in 1949--Connecticut, $1,668; Illinois, $98,899; Louisiana, $58,727; Massachusetts, $2,643; Michigan, $5,409; New Hampshire, $125; New York, $141,369; Ohio, $194,194; Rhode Island, $70; South Dakota, $2,052; and Vermont, $94.

Table 6.--GENERAL EXPENDITURE FOR CAPITAL OUTLAY AND AID PAID TO LOCAL GOVERNMENTS, BY STATE: 1950

(Amounts in thousands)

State	Capital outlay				Aid paid to local governments							
	Total			High-ways only	Total			Purpose un-specified	Specified purposes			
	1950	1949	Per-cent change		1950	1949	Per-cent change		High-ways	Public welfare	Schools	Other
Total...	$2,111,864	$1,827,125	15.6	$1,437,803	$4,011,471	$3,544,253	13.2	$485,876	$576,342	$773,259	$1,982,137	$193,857
Alabama.....	24,600	25,520	-3.6	19,025	96,440	100,492	-4.0	8,183	14,721	26,014	46,046	1,476
Arizona.....	16,453	15,170	8.5	12,531	22,908	22,922	-0.1	8,622	3,047	.....	11,100	139
Arkansas.....	24,133	18,630	29.5	16,964	37,982	37,002	2.6	5,193	5,375	.....	26,982	432
California....	205,643	170,375	20.7	100,205	497,009	447,961	10.9	12,468	68,786	100,170	227,557	88,028
Colorado.....	23,455	21,271	10.3	18,076	69,427	67,465	2.9	227	10,811	47,224	9,882	1,283
Connecticut...	34,318	27,350	25.5	19,611	21,982	21,088	4.2	4,067	1,036	3,563	13,121	195
Delaware.....	7,826	5,970	31.1	5,226	7,663	5,705	34.3	.....	387	741	6,335	200
Florida.....	39,355	48,345	-18.6	25,938	67,943	59,326	14.5	2,897	12,413	.....	50,081	2,552
Georgia.....	40,548	40,403	0.4	35,007	58,404	47,230	23.7	.....	4,817	1,566	49,225	2,796
Idaho.....	15,017	9,019	66.5	8,699	7,408	7,504	-1.3	1,396	1,622	.....	4,390	.....
Illinois.....	82,026	84,037	-2.4	44,904	137,275	138,464	-0.9	.....	48,330	27,324	54,871	6,750
Indiana.....	42,339	44,868	-5.6	21,976	116,377	103,019	13.0	2,793	26,371	26,528	58,346	2,339
Iowa.....	46,794	30,313	54.4	36,580	80,879	59,123	36.8	25,318	30,084	.....	25,477	.....
Kansas.....	34,094	25,554	33.4	29,728	63,015	49,320	27.8	8,774	4,872	28,955	20,359	55
Kentucky.....	36,531	32,005	14.1	31,295	25,766	25,472	1.2	.....	1,235	.....	24,402	129
Louisiana.....	43,714	35,312	23.8	33,190	101,162	90,528	11.7	23,699	6,872	.....	67,614	2,977
Maine.....	12,150	11,821	2.8	9,103	9,369	8,160	14.8	313	2,177	608	5,985	286
Maryland.....	41,958	33,324	25.9	31,686	78,147	63,029	24.0	10,440	20,391	13,188	32,437	1,691
Massachusetts.	40,704	23,650	72.1	32,411	179,056	134,339	33.3	71,835	3,677	75,749	25,657	2,138
Michigan.....	65,941	77,940	-15.4	38,991	251,192	234,620	7.1	49,252	42,750	12,790	140,950	5,450
Minnesota.....	52,724	43,075	22.4	31,855	95,088	79,679	19.3	7,571	10,589	34,268	41,428	1,232
Mississippi...	26,649	32,289	-17.5	17,101	47,628	42,963	10.9	6,291	14,044	.....	24,855	2,438
Missouri.....	38,829	35,264	10.1	26,975	49,077	46,303	6.0	1,419	1,907	.....	44,532	1,219
Montana.....	15,153	16,057	-5.6	11,876	6,940	3,965	75.0	34	.....	420	6,361	125
Nebraska.....	15,899	15,028	5.8	12,991	29,680	26,971	10.0	.....	9,643	18,043	871	1,123
Nevada.....	6,701	6,122	9.5	6,084	3,144	2,326	35.2	114	746	.....	2,284	.....
New Hampshire.	10,000	8,375	19.4	7,911	2,322	3,785	-38.7	1,455	92	.....	728	47
New Jersey....	47,518	49,778	-4.6	43,758	65,980	62,061	6.3	752	16,468	16,664	26,824	5,272
New Mexico....	16,413	14,811	10.8	10,646	20,905	19,478	7.3	478	1,164	.....	18,919	344
New York.....	161,384	97,427	65.6	124,987	572,912	460,856	24.3	83,719	25,364	205,628	233,946	24,255
North Carolina	104,171	58,026	79.5	77,661	39,784	27,694	43.7	5,305	.....	20,741	11,728	2,010
North Dakota..	15,342	12,227	25.5	12,375	9,545	8,767	8.9	.....	3,871	106	5,464	104
Ohio.....	88,105	62,907	40.1	51,422	230,018	214,849	7.1	42,669	54,415	32,921	95,477	4,536
Oklahoma.....	44,347	34,358	29.1	29,673	65,860	47,234	39.4	.....	24,655	.....	40,083	1,122
Oregon.....	36,198	33,434	8.3	18,837	33,946	30,740	10.4	1,410	9,911	807	21,381	437
Pennsylvania..	179,382	147,578	21.6	105,455	142,359	130,244	9.3	5,759	20,757	1	111,521	4,321
Rhode Island..	7,920	4,997	58.5	3,053	12,669	11,035	14.8	5,086	83	3,909	3,391	200
South Carolina	27,514	29,654	-7.2	23,086	46,946	42,670	10.0	6,882	4,781	.....	31,496	3,787
South Dakota..	13,776	14,971	-8.0	11,230	4,411	3,965	11.2	928	770	210	2,395	108
Tennessee.....	51,880	55,396	-6.4	37,330	70,619	70,389	0.3	8,468	11,402	.....	49,158	1,591
Texas.....	91,613	94,746	-3.3	77,420	124,134	119,212	4.1	.....	7,932	.....	115,064	1,138
Utah.....	10,689	10,706	-0.2	6,962	18,306	17,575	4.2	1,001	2,036	.....	14,936	333
Vermont.....	4,620	5,734	-19.4	3,420	5,944	5,306	12.0	9	3,005	.....	2,890	40
Virginia.....	49,885	35,814	39.3	30,670	58,550	54,980	6.5	11,331	2,721	10,168	32,228	2,102
Washington....	36,212	50,993	-29.0	26,698	132,551	114,035	16.2	6,950	16,218	25,698	72,432	11,253
West Virginia.	25,728	24,527	4.9	16,466	46,838	37,321	25.5	.....	.....	1,779	45,055	4
Wisconsin.....	40,928	39,281	4.2	30,689	136,538	130,470	4.7	52,153	22,703	33,851	22,099	5,732
Wyoming.....	14,685	12,673	15.9	10,026	9,373	6,611	41.8	615	1,291	3,625	3,774	68

Table 7.—INCOME AND EXPENSE STATEMENT OF STATE-OPERATED ALCOHOLIC-BEVERAGE STORES, BY STATE: 1950

(In thousands)

State	Net sales of goods	Cost of goods sold	Gross profit on sales	Operating expense	Net operating revenue	Other income	Other expense	Net income
Total	$808,046	$607,942	$200,104	$43,668	$156,436	$999	$618	$156,817
Alabama	42,128	28,197	13,931	1,904	12,027	51	.....	12,078
Idaho	10,606	7,438	3,168	630	2,538	9	.....	2,547
Iowa	39,696	29,042	10,654	2,187	8,467	19	.....	8,486
Maine	17,744	12,825	4,919	1,019	3,900	253	.....	4,153
Michigan	120,476	90,373	30,103	3,479	26,624	109	.....	26,733
Montana	14,355	10,727	3,628	1,123	2,505	19	.....	2,524
New Hampshire	14,833	11,024	3,809	737	3,072	4	.....	3,076
Ohio	131,565	110,913	20,652	5,253	15,399	43	591	14,851
Oregon	36,537	25,699	10,838	1,800	9,038	7	.....	9,045
Pennsylvania	178,422	129,157	49,265	14,789	34,476	232	.....	34,708
Utah	11,746	7,582	4,164	765	3,399	35	.....	3,434
Vermont	5,549	5,131	418	263	155	1	.....	156
Virginia	83,048	64,215	18,833	3,543	15,290	124	13	15,401
Washington	56,285	41,730	14,555	2,976	11,579	39	14	11,604
West Virginia	38,461	28,086	10,375	3,008	7,367	54	.....	7,421
Wyoming	6,595	5,803	792	192	600	.....	.....	600

Table 8.—SELECTED TRANSACTIONS OF THE 16 STATE-OPERATED ALCOHOLIC-BEVERAGE MONOPOLY SYSTEMS, BY STATE: 1950

(In thousands)

State	Transfers to general funds (gross)	Contributions		General revenue and expenditure of alcoholic-beverage systems	
		To general funds[1] (net)	To retirement funds	Receipts from taxes, licenses, and permits[2]	Expenditure for licensing and enforcement[3]
Total	$182,527	$171,185	$947	$17,203	$5,861
Alabama	9,941	10,266	.....	.....	325
Idaho	3,000	2,997	.....	56	53
Iowa	10,370	10,067	42	353	50
Maine	6,566	4,158	49	2,522	114
Michigan	37,950	30,514	117	7,964	528
Montana	3,500	3,551	17	37	88
New Hampshire	3,102	3,076	26	41	15
Ohio	12,900	13,955	153	.....	1,055
Oregon	12,445	12,377	70	329	261
Pennsylvania	41,000	40,874	362	2,175	2,049
Utah	3,330	3,262	10	75	7
Vermont	87	152	8	.....	65
Virginia	15,312	15,569	63	270	527
Washington	13,200	11,025	30	2,812	637
West Virginia	8,500	8,585	.....	2	87
Wyoming	1,324	757	.....	567	.....

[1]Gross amounts transferred to general funds plus expenditure for alcoholic-beverage licensing and enforcement minus receipts from alcoholic-beverage taxes, licenses, and permits.

[2]Excluded from income and expense statement and from contributions, and included in tables 1, 2, and 3 as general revenue.

[3]Excluded from income and expense statement, but included in contributions to general funds and also included in tables 1, 4, and 5 as general expenditure for general control (finance) and public safety.

Table 9.—GENERAL AND ENTERPRISE DEBT OUTSTANDING AND LONG-TERM DEBT ISSUED AND RETIRED, BY CHARACTER OF LIABILITY AND BY STATE: 1950

(Amounts in thousands)

State	Debt outstanding at end of fiscal year									Long-term debt issued[1]	Long-term debt retired[1]	Sinking-fund offsets to total long-term debt
	Gross			Long-term			Short-term	Net long-term				
	1950	1949	Per-cent change	Total	Full faith and credit	Non-guar-anteed		Total	Full faith and credit			
Grand total..	$5,267,575	$4,089,954	28.8	$5,150,038	$4,266,920	$883,118	$117,537	$4,232,333	$3,438,257	$1,343,171	$271,434	$917,705
General...	4,696,037	3,621,576	29.7	4,578,500	4,137,708	440,792	117,537	3,734,246	3,320,981	1,222,546	255,619	844,254
Enterprise	571,538	468,378	22.0	571,538	129,212	442,326	.....	498,087	117,276	120,625	15,815	73,451
Alabama.....	59,233	61,336	-3.4	59,233	50,690	8,543	.....	41,344	33,204	56	2,149	17,889
General.....	48,618	50,241	-3.2	48,618	44,115	4,503	.....	30,729	26,629	56	1,669	17,889
Enterprise....	10,615	11,095	-4.3	10,615	6,575	4,040	.....	10,615	6,575	.....	480	.....
Arizona.....	3,538	2,808	26.0	3,538	776	2,762	.....	3,228	765	900	160	310
Arkansas.....	132,785	121,739	9.1	132,785	125,320	7,465	.....	121,548	114,937	16,540	5,388	11,237
California.....	263,372	205,779	28.0	263,372	243,504	19,868	.....	104,108	91,196	75,000	17,407	159,264
General.....	218,607	153,088	42.8	218,607	218,579	28	.....	74,767	74,739	75,000	9,481	143,840
Enterprise....	44,765	52,691	-15.1	44,765	24,925	19,840	.....	29,341	16,457	.....	7,926	15,424
Colorado.....	14,500	14,739	-1.6	13,510	437	13,073	990	12,884	430	1,189	2,111	626
Connecticut.....	158,509	82,530	92.1	84,039	84,039	.....	74,470	77,636	77,636	9,480	7,671	6,403
General.....	144,494	68,010	112.5	70,024	70,024	.....	74,470	65,310	65,310	9,480	7,166	4,714
Enterprise....	14,015	14,520	-3.5	14,015	14,015	.....	.....	12,326	12,326	.....	505	1,689
Delaware.....	78,588	48,218	63.0	76,838	35,000	41,838	1,750	76,838	35,000	28,122	398	.....
General.....	38,588	8,218	369.6	36,838	35,000	1,838	1,750	36,838	35,000	28,122	398	.....
Enterprise....	40,000	40,000	.....	40,000	.....	40,000	.....	40,000	.....	.....	.....	.....
Florida.....	16,520	15,539	6.3	16,520	.....	16,520	.....	15,040	.....	1,350	369	1,480
Georgia.....	2,829	3,332	-15.1	2,824	39	2,785	5	2,602	.....	.....	508	222
General.....	2,791	3,149	-11.4	2,786	1	2,785	5	2,602	.....	.....	363	184
Enterprise....	38	183	-79.2	38	38	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	145	38
Idaho.....	893	975	-8.4	893	17	876	.....	827	10	.....	82	66
Illinois.....	428,158	454,079	-5.7	428,158	421,069	7,089	.....	410,873	403,914	3,395	29,316	17,285
Indiana.....	14,946	13,389	11.6	14,946	.....	14,946	.....	11,027	.....	2,411	956	3,919
Iowa.....	35,462	1,953	(2)	35,462	33,272	2,190	.....	35,252	33,062	36,488	2,979	210
Kansas.....	5,500	6,347	-13.4	5,500	5,250	250	.....	4,483	4,233	250	1,097	1,017
Kentucky.....	9,129	9,169	-0.4	9,129	2,481	6,648	.....	8,714	2,481	378	395	415
General.....	8,279	8,234	0.5	8,279	2,481	5,798	.....	8,024	2,481	378	310	255
Enterprise....	850	935	-9.1	850	.....	850	.....	690	.....	.....	85	160
Louisiana.....	231,454	220,088	5.2	231,454	214,317	17,137	.....	222,186	208,086	21,500	10,134	9,268
General.....	208,657	195,758	6.6	208,657	191,520	17,137	.....	200,389	186,289	21,500	8,601	8,268
Enterprise....	22,797	24,330	-6.3	22,797	22,797	.....	.....	21,797	21,797	.....	1,533	1,000
Maine.....	9,130	10,954	-16.7	9,130	8,530	600	.....	8,771	8,371	.....	1,824	359
General.....	8,680	10,469	-17.1	8,680	8,080	600	.....	8,321	7,921	.....	1,789	359
Enterprise....	450	485	-7.2	450	450	.....	.....	450	450	.....	35	.....
Maryland.....	101,836	68,637	48.4	101,836	32,911	68,925	.....	95,409	28,585	35,912	2,719	6,427
General.....	57,911	31,137	86.0	57,911	32,911	25,000	.....	51,484	28,585	29,487	2,719	6,427
Enterprise....	43,925	37,500	17.1	43,925	.....	43,925	.....	43,925	.....	6,425	.....	.....
Massachusetts...	211,496	207,396	2.0	210,896	210,896	.....	600	204,372	204,372	34,550	21,800	6,524
General.....	163,526	165,711	-1.3	162,926	162,926	.....	600	156,452	156,452	25,350	18,885	6,474
Enterprise....	47,970	41,685	15.1	47,970	47,970	.....	.....	47,920	47,920	9,200	2,915	50
Michigan.....	241,951	249,076	-2.9	241,951	205,391	36,560	.....	238,556	205,256	8,992	16,717	3,395
Minnesota.....	140,375	52,573	167.0	140,375	138,305	2,070	.....	119,918	117,848	99,112	11,310	20,457
Mississippi.....	80,005	76,186	5.0	79,854	12,188	67,666	151	68,103	2,377	7,370	3,697	11,751
Missouri.....	44,708	51,385	-13.0	44,708	41,399	3,309	.....	37,439	34,399	368	7,045	7,269
Montana.....	25,088	20,580	21.9	25,088	7,351	17,737	.....	21,412	6,351	5,300	792	3,676
General.....	21,111	16,590	27.3	21,111	7,351	13,760	.....	17,477	6,351	5,300	779	3,634
Enterprise....	3,977	3,990	-0.3	3,977	.....	3,977	.....	3,935	.....	.....	13	42

See footnotes at end of table.

Table 9.—GENERAL AND ENTERPRISE DEBT OUTSTANDING AND LONG-TERM DEBT ISSUED AND RETIRED, BY CHARACTER OF LIABILITY AND BY STATE: 1950—Continued

(Amounts in thousands)

State	Debt outstanding at end of fiscal year									Long-term debt issued[1]	Long-term debt retired[1]	Sinking-fund offsets to total long-term debt
	Gross			Long-term			Short-term	Net long-term				
	1950	1949	Percent change	Total	Full faith and credit	Non-guaranteed		Total	Full faith and credit			
Nebraska	$1,023	$740	38.2	$1,023	.....	$1,023	.....	$1,023	.....	$435	$152	.....
Nevada	785	615	27.6	785	$785	.....	.....	740	$740	200	30	$45
New Hampshire	23,359	19,725	18.4	11,859	10,699	1,160	$11,500	10,460	9,300	.....	1,680	1,399
General	20,469	13,707	49.3	8,969	8,969	.....	11,500	7,773	7,773	.....	1,552	1,196
Enterprise	2,890	6,018	-52.0	2,890	1,730	1,160	.....	2,687	1,527	.....	128	203
New Jersey	104,851	106,808	-1.8	104,851	104,851	.....	.....	82,244	82,244	.....	1,956	22,607
New Mexico	29,886	29,717	0.6	29,886	22,153	7,733	.....	28,634	21,080	3,531	3,363	1,252
New York	844,736	836,157	1.0	824,327	824,250	77	20,409	514,503	514,426	43,365	47,404	309,824
North Carolina	202,323	77,150	162.2	194,823	193,710	1,113	7,500	134,030	133,022	125,000	7,326	60,793
North Dakota	43,571	46,354	-6.0	43,571	40,978	2,593	.....	19,476	17,346	800	2,491	24,095
Ohio	197,988	203,136	-2.5	197,988	195,993	1,995	.....	191,286	189,386	383	13,173	6,702
General	197,588	202,461	-2.4	197,588	195,993	1,595	.....	190,981	189,386	383	12,898	6,607
Enterprise	400	675	-40.8	400	.....	400	.....	305	.....	.....	275	95
Oklahoma	104,173	38,513	170.5	104,173	49,763	54,410	.....	88,301	35,184	67,500	4,807	15,872
Oregon	36,710	31,967	14.8	36,710	29,527	7,183	.....	9,273	2,742	6,700	2,000	27,437
Pennsylvania	804,715	301,415	167.0	804,715	486,829	317,886	.....	713,958	449,152	513,800	10,500	90,757
General	539,629	122,329	341.1	539,629	478,329	61,300	.....	501,952	440,652	427,800	10,500	37,677
Enterprise	265,086	179,086	48.0	265,086	8,500	256,586	.....	212,006	8,500	86,000	.....	53,080
Rhode Island	51,957	42,857	21.2	51,957	51,957	.....	.....	46,952	46,952	10,800	1,700	5,005
General	51,095	41,995	21.7	51,095	51,095	.....	.....	46,578	46,578	10,800	1,700	4,517
Enterprise	862	862	.....	862	862	.....	.....	374	374	.....	.....	488
South Carolina	99,415	96,983	2.5	99,265	70,251	29,014	150	90,833	62,150	10,000	7,568	8,432
General	70,401	67,969	3.6	70,251	70,251	.....	150	62,150	62,150	10,000	7,568	8,101
Enterprise	29,014	29,014	.....	29,014	.....	29,014	.....	28,683	.....	.....	.....	331
South Dakota	37,154	17,603	111.1	37,154	36,774	380	.....	22,048	21,668	21,000	1,449	15,106
General	35,804	16,103	122.3	35,804	35,424	380	.....	20,698	20,318	21,000	1,299	15,106
Enterprise	1,350	1,500	-10.0	1,350	1,350	.....	.....	1,350	1,350	.....	150	.....
Tennessee	101,971	97,469	4.6	101,971	99,224	2,747	.....	90,576	87,829	11,150	6,648	11,395
Texas	52,259	24,404	114.1	52,247	15,727	36,520	12	49,719	15,346	28,772	901	2,528
Utah	993	1,113	-10.8	993	812	181	.....	158	.....	49	169	835
Vermont	6,291	2,220	183.4	6,291	6,291	.....	.....	6,291	6,291	4,334	263	.....
Virginia	38,045	18,516	105.5	38,045	12,754	25,291	.....	25,030	391	20,320	791	13,015
General	19,045	18,516	2.9	19,045	12,754	6,291	.....	6,030	391	1,320	791	13,015
Enterprise	19,000	.....	.....	19,000	.....	19,000	.....	19,000	.....	19,000	.....	.....
Washington	97,694	25,318	285.9	97,694	72,288	25,406	.....	91,846	66,846	73,200	2,174	5,848
General	76,194	4,008	([2])	76,194	72,288	3,906	.....	70,683	66,846	73,200	1,014	5,511
Enterprise	21,500	21,310	0.9	21,500	.....	21,500	.....	21,163	.....	.....	1,160	337
West Virginia	70,386	65,651	7.2	70,386	67,102	3,284	.....	65,097	62,629	12,000	7,265	5,289
General	68,352	63,152	8.2	68,352	67,102	1,250	.....	63,577	62,629	12,000	6,800	4,775
Enterprise	2,034	2,499	-18.6	2,034	.....	2,034	.....	1,520	.....	.....	465	514
Wisconsin	4,351	4,543	-4.2	4,351	.....	4,351	.....	4,351	.....	98	290	.....
Wyoming	2,934	2,173	35.0	2,934	1,020	1,914	.....	2,934	1,020	1,071	310	.....

NOTE: For States for which no segregation of debt between general and enterprise is shown, all debt was general.
[1]Exclusive of refunding transactions.
[2]Not computed.

Table 10.—PER CAPITA GENERAL REVENUE, GENERAL EXPENDITURE, AND TOTAL DEBT, BY STATE: 1950

State	General revenue					General expenditure							Debt outstanding at end of fiscal year (general and enterprise)	
	Total	Taxes, total	Total taxes, less unemployment compensation	Aid received from other governments	Charges and miscellaneous	Total	Total less provision for debt retirement	Operation[1]	Capital outlay	Aid paid to local governments	Interest	Contributions to trust funds and enterprises	Gross	Net long-term
48—State average..	$80.31	$60.52	$53.56	$13.74	$6.04	$89.24	$87.38	$36.94	$14.30	$27.16	$.59	$8.39	$35.66	$28.65
Alabama	63.63	42.62	38.65	11.56	9.46	63.29	62.92	16.79	8.19	32.10	.68	5.17	19.72	13.76
Arizona	97.60	70.88	65.61	21.11	5.61	104.34	104.15	44.00	22.66	31.55	.14	5.79	4.87	4.45
Arkansas	70.12	48.72	46.36	18.06	3.34	77.24	74.04	35.04	13.15	20.70	2.18	2.96	72.36	66.24
California	115.35	89.03	76.80	17.32	9.00	130.26	129.36	47.34	19.59	47.34	.23	14.86	25.09	9.92
Colorado	111.06	74.30	71.51	27.23	9.53	111.62	109.82	31.51	18.78	55.59	.30	3.64	11.61	10.32
Connecticut	74.85	59.11	52.49	10.47	5.27	84.88	84.26	47.94	17.11	10.96	.10	8.14	79.02	38.70
Delaware	106.64	85.16	80.59	13.81	7.67	132.20	130.95	76.48	24.53	24.02	1.05	4.87	246.36	240.87
Florida	85.95	66.39	63.58	16.62	2.95	88.09	87.73	43.73	14.69	25.36	.18	3.76	6.17	5.61
Georgia	60.00	41.07	37.19	15.37	3.56	60.73	60.69	26.34	12.07	17.38	.02	4.89	.84	.77
Idaho	89.03	59.15	51.70	20.52	9.36	94.98	94.83	47.04	26.25	12.95	.03	8.56	1.56	1.45
Illinois	63.80	50.52	44.03	11.10	2.18	70.62	67.18	33.28	9.51	15.91	1.11	7.36	49.64	47.63
Indiana	73.49	56.62	51.96	9.78	7.09	72.64	72.20	25.12	10.87	29.87	.06	6.27	3.84	2.83
Iowa	89.56	61.51	57.26	15.76	12.28	124.47	123.26	68.88	18.34	31.70	.07	4.26	13.90	13.82
Kansas	92.01	67.23	64.03	18.53	6.25	85.89	85.38	29.80	18.30	33.82	.12	3.33	2.95	2.41
Kentucky	58.69	42.80	37.62	12.70	3.18	60.11	59.99	32.29	12.76	9.00	.10	5.84	3.19	3.04
Louisiana	138.16	97.61	91.78	30.23	10.32	140.58	137.36	71.80	16.60	38.42	2.71	7.82	87.91	84.39
Maine	79.02	52.25	45.42	16.49	10.28	82.32	80.28	47.56	13.44	10.36	.38	8.54	10.10	9.70
Maryland	76.35	61.27	56.01	8.21	6.87	87.96	85.03	26.29	17.94	33.41	.28	7.11	43.54	40.79
Massachusetts	75.94	59.30	49.03	12.98	3.67	90.69	85.11	27.47	8.53	37.52	.57	11.02	44.32	42.83
Michigan	97.10	73.52	62.54	12.85	10.73	104.62	101.82	37.74	10.52	40.06	.68	12.82	38.59	38.05
Minnesota	89.96	67.32	64.17	14.82	7.82	114.89	108.99	51.21	18.08	32.61	.97	6.12	48.14	41.12
Mississippi	62.94	44.01	42.02	14.58	4.35	67.76	66.44	27.43	12.84	22.94	1.19	2.03	38.54	32.80
Missouri	69.93	47.36	41.39	19.74	2.83	70.42	68.67	39.70	9.94	12.56	.48	5.99	11.44	9.58
Montana	101.91	60.45	53.02	29.70	11.76	107.74	103.53	53.82	26.96	12.35	.74	9.66	44.64	38.10
Nebraska	67.83	44.23	42.11	15.54	8.06	65.59	65.47	26.24	12.38	23.12	.01	3.72	.80	.80
Nevada	132.20	78.42	68.89	47.31	6.47	135.43	135.09	59.27	42.14	19.77	.11	13.79	4.94	4.65
New Hampshire	74.25	46.47	37.79	14.98	12.81	85.58	81.81	47.93	19.12	4.44	.51	9.82	44.66	20.00
New Jersey	50.96	40.01	30.90	7.82	3.13	54.48	53.63	17.97	9.92	13.78	.64	11.32	21.90	17.18
New Mexico	120.28	87.38	80.96	24.47	8.43	125.82	119.99	51.79	25.97	33.08	1.06	8.09	47.29	45.31
New York	86.47	74.36	60.24	8.63	3.48	93.26	90.14	23.67	10.94	38.85	1.20	15.47	57.29	34.89
North Carolina	72.76	58.41	53.85	10.91	3.44	86.57	85.08	40.49	26.41	10.09	1.00	7.09	51.30	33.98
North Dakota	100.51	70.14	66.93	23.60	6.77	150.98	133.93	87.59	26.32	16.37	.32	3.33	74.74	33.41
Ohio	68.23	52.96	47.45	10.72	4.54	74.02	72.96	26.62	11.02	28.77	.54	6.01	24.76	23.93
Oklahoma	114.61	77.87	74.43	30.28	6.46	123.67	123.27	66.97	20.87	30.99	.43	4.00	49.02	41.55
Oregon	110.01	75.00	66.43	18.85	16.16	113.60	113.12	55.44	24.25	22.74	.44	10.27	24.59	6.21
Pennsylvania	64.43	47.69	42.13	9.32	7.42	92.44	91.79	53.06	17.23	13.68	.37	7.45	77.30	68.58
Rhode Island	76.15	62.21	48.39	10.72	3.22	85.95	83.65	40.88	10.01	16.02	1.39	15.35	65.69	59.36
South Carolina	64.50	48.55	44.87	12.66	3.29	75.25	72.12	28.12	13.73	23.43	.75	6.10	49.61	45.33
South Dakota	92.92	63.50	61.29	23.15	6.27	125.45	110.09	76.77	22.29	7.14	.90	2.99	60.12	35.68
Tennessee	67.98	49.64	45.84	15.38	2.96	72.51	69.92	26.96	15.88	21.62	.84	4.63	31.21	27.72
Texas	63.25	44.82	41.32	14.84	3.58	62.31	62.07	28.99	11.94	16.18	.11	4.85	6.81	6.48
Utah	101.35	68.66	64.08	18.77	13.92	99.85	99.81	50.81	15.79	27.04	.01	6.17	1.47	.23
Vermont	82.14	59.71	55.43	17.82	4.61	85.93	85.22	49.75	12.59	16.20	.11	6.56	17.14	17.14
Virginia	65.49	46.90	44.28	6.58	12.01	64.10	63.95	26.56	15.13	17.76	.06	4.45	11.54	7.59
Washington	129.31	99.28	84.64	19.64	10.40	161.98	160.62	72.52	25.26	55.86	.01	16.97	41.17	38.70
West Virginia	73.27	53.42	48.47	12.74	7.11	87.91	84.61	39.78	13.28	24.17	.80	6.59	36.32	33.59
Wisconsin	83.88	63.14	59.17	13.54	7.20	82.01	81.92	22.47	12.31	41.05	.04	6.05	1.31	1.31
Wyoming	123.48	69.95	63.89	44.25	9.28	136.92	135.85	42.21	53.21	33.96	.19	6.29	10.63	10.63

NOTE: Per capita amounts are based on estimated resident population on July 1, 1949 (see table 11, footnote 1).
[1]Includes bonus payments to veterans; see footnote 1, table 5.

Table 11.--FISCAL YEAR, POPULATION, AND INCOME PAYMENTS, BY STATE

State	Date of close of fiscal year	Total resident population[1]		Income payments to individuals[2]				State taxes as percent of State and local taxes: 1942
				1949		1948		
		July 1, 1949	July 1, 1948	Amount (millions)	Per capita	Amount (millions)	Per capita	
48--State total	.....	[3]147,719,000	[3]145,165,000	[3]$195,612	[3]$1,328	[3]$200,560	[3]$1,385	51.8
Alabama	Sept. 30, 1949	3,004,000	2,986,000	2,313	773	2,486	834	68.5
Arizona	June 30, 1950	726,000	712,000	839	1,165	835	1,179	71.8
Arkansas	June 30, 1950	1,835,000	1,811,000	1,443	778	1,593	863	75.9
California	June 30, 1950	10,499,000	10,467,000	17,005	1,665	17,003	1,743	56.8
Colorado	June 30, 1950	1,249,000	1,201,000	1,703	1,386	1,729	1,459	50.1
Connecticut	June 30, 1950	2,006,000	1,979,000	3,213	1,591	3,301	1,680	49.1
Delaware	June 30, 1950	319,000	317,000	541	1,675	513	1,618	74.3
Florida	June 30, 1950	2,679,000	2,606,000	2,948	1,102	2,817	1,129	55.3
Georgia	June 30, 1950	3,360,000	3,272,000	2,928	876	2,990	919	63.6
Idaho	June 30, 1950	572,000	553,000	707	1,221	735	1,283	46.6
Illinois	June 30, 1950	8,626,000	8,488,000	14,107	1,618	15,002	1,722	47.4
Indiana	June 30, 1950	3,896,000	3,820,000	5,097	1,290	5,387	1,389	54.5
Iowa	June 30, 1950	2,551,000	2,487,000	3,301	1,292	3,788	1,507	49.2
Kansas	June 30, 1950	1,863,000	1,795,000	2,291	1,210	2,368	1,270	45.3
Kentucky	June 30, 1950	2,862,000	2,822,000	2,476	865	2,580	910	61.6
Louisiana	June 30, 1950	2,633,000	2,599,000	2,647	1,002	2,522	961	69.6
Maine	June 30, 1950	904,000	880,000	1,004	1,087	1,058	1,162	51.5
Maryland	June 30, 1950	2,339,000	2,295,000	3,081	1,401	3,069	1,485	52.0
Massachusetts	June 30, 1950	4,772,000	4,719,000	6,892	1,417	6,904	1,468	42.2
Michigan	June 30, 1950	6,270,000	6,175,000	9,013	1,443	9,155	1,493	57.5
Minnesota	June 30, 1950	2,916,000	2,850,000	3,603	1,227	3,875	1,340	50.1
Mississippi	June 30, 1950	2,076,000	2,056,000	1,317	634	1,531	753	60.3
Missouri	June 30, 1950	3,907,000	3,832,000	5,052	1,286	5,213	1,339	51.2
Montana	June 30, 1950	562,000	535,000	787	1,390	897	1,696	40.1
Nebraska	June 30, 1950	1,284,000	1,243,000	1,653	1,294	1,848	1,468	37.6
Nevada	June 30, 1950	159,000	159,000	277	1,731	279	1,594	48.3
New Hampshire	June 30, 1950	523,000	508,000	621	1,195	634	1,254	46.2
New Jersey	June 30, 1950	4,788,000	4,657,000	7,018	1,546	7,038	1,594	40.7
New Mexico	June 30, 1950	632,000	592,000	665	1,033	614	995	75.0
New York	March 31, 1950	14,746,000	14,391,000	26,340	1,758	26,633	1,803	42.0
North Carolina	June 30, 1950	3,944,000	3,836,000	3,349	854	3,439	887	70.8
North Dakota	June 30, 1950	583,000	562,000	703	1,202	862	1,528	43.6
Ohio	[4]June 30, 1950	7,995,000	7,949,000	11,443	1,436	12,032	1,534	59.1
Oklahoma	June 30, 1950	2,125,000	2,114,000	2,297	1,068	2,299	1,035	65.6
Oregon	June 30, 1950	1,493,000	1,482,000	2,095	1,448	2,143	1,562	52.2
Pennsylvania	May 31, 1950	10,410,000	10,217,000	14,468	1,416	14,797	1,454	53.4
Rhode Island	June 30, 1950	791,000	784,000	1,117	1,403	1,145	1,435	50.6
South Carolina	June 30, 1950	2,004,000	1,968,000	1,584	787	1,681	844	65.5
South Dakota	June 30, 1950	618,000	591,000	734	1,174	939	1,592	37.4
Tennessee	June 30, 1950	3,267,000	3,236,000	2,858	873	2,946	906	56.3
Texas	Aug. 31, 1949	7,673,000	7,578,000	9,265	1,205	8,716	1,137	51.3
Utah	June 30, 1950	677,000	663,000	825	1,213	816	1,220	59.1
Vermont	June 30, 1950	367,000	358,000	400	1,075	421	1,153	54.6
Virginia	June 30, 1950	3,297,000	3,257,000	3,221	1,039	3,244	1,088	62.4
Washington	March 31, 1950	2,373,000	2,326,000	3,529	1,469	3,545	1,441	70.2
West Virginia	June 30, 1950	1,938,000	1,909,000	1,928	998	2,090	1,085	69.2
Wisconsin	June 30, 1950	3,326,000	3,261,000	4,495	1,329	4,633	1,400	51.2
Wyoming	Sept. 30, 1949	276,000	269,000	419	1,481	415	1,493	49.0

[1]Includes members of armed services stationed in the States, but excludes those overseas. Source: Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-25, No. 47. These provisional estimates supersede previously published estimates.

[2]Source: Department of Commerce, Survey of Current Business, August 1950, pages 19 and 20. Estimated income payments are for calendar years. Derivation of the per capita amounts is explained on page 23 of the cited source.

[3]Does not include data for the District of Columbia.

[4]Fiscal year changed to July 1-June 30 basis effective July 1, 1949.

DEFINITIONS OF SELECTED TERMS

AID PAID TO LOCAL GOVERNMENTS--Payments, other than loans, by a State to local governments for the support of specified functions or for general financial support. Included are grants from unspecified sources and from Federal aid and other earmarked State revenues and local shares of State imposed taxes, except any amounts locally collected and retained. Does not include the value of aid in kind rather than cash. Excluded here, and treated as "operation" expenditure, are payments to reimburse local governments for contractual services rendered at the instance of the State government. Also excluded are Federal grants or shared revenues merely channeled through the State to particular local governments and not involving State discretion as to distribution. See also "AID RECEIVED FROM OTHER GOVERNMENTS."

AID RECEIVED FROM OTHER GOVERNMENTS--Amounts received by a State from the Federal Government for support of specified functions and amounts received in lieu of taxes and as shared Federal revenues, including sums reapportioned by the State to local governments; and any amounts similarly received by a State from local governments. Excluded, however, are Federal grants or shared revenues merely channeled through the State to particular local governments and not involving State discretion as to distribution. Does not include loans or the value of aid in kind rather than cash. Reimbursements received for contractual services rendered to other governments by the State are reported under "charges for current services," rather than as aid received.

CAPITAL OUTLAY--Expenditure--including that financed from borrowing--for purchase or construction of assets in the form of land, permanent improvements, and durable equipment, including additions, replacements, and major alterations.

CHARGES AND MISCELLANEOUS GENERAL REVENUE--All nontax general revenue other than aid received from other governments. Charges comprise fees and other amounts received in payment for services performed for individuals and for other governments. Revenue derived from auxiliary activities incident to particular functions (e.g., university dormitories) comprises only the excess of receipts over expenditures. Miscellaneous nontax revenue includes revenue from fines, forfeits, and unclaimed monies; interest, rent of miscellaneous property, and royalties; contributions from enterprises (largely from alcoholic-beverage monopoly systems in the States operating such systems); and unclassified nontax revenue.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO ENTERPRISES--The sum of the net contributions made by a State to its enterprises. Such a net contribution, for each enterprise, consists of the excess of taxes and other general revenue paid to or on behalf of the enterprise (e.g., for operating deficit, capital improvements, or debt service) over payments by the enterprise to or on behalf of the State general government.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO TRUST FUNDS--Taxes or other general revenue credited or amounts transferred from general-government funds to trust funds. Consists largely of pay roll tax collections deposited in the unemployment compensation trust fund of the U. S. Treasury to the credit of the individual State. See also "TRUST FUNDS."

DEBT --All long-term credit obligations incurred and outstanding in the name of the State or its agencies whether backed by the State's full faith and credit or nonguaranteed, and all interest-bearing short-term credit obligations.

ENTERPRISES --Undertakings of the State--other than those incident to performance of general governmental functions--which involve selling, or producing for sale, to the general public goods or services which are usually or commonly sold or produced for profit under private auspices. Comprises alcoholic-beverage monopoly systems, water and power projects, and other undertakings involving significant amounts and for which separate and relatively complete accounts are maintained.

ENTERPRISE DEBT --Debt incurred to finance enterprise activities. Includes any amounts payable from tax revenue or other general-government resources, as well as amounts payable from enterprise earnings. See "ENTERPRISES."

EXPENDITURE--See "GENERAL EXPENDITURE."

GENERAL BORROWINGS--Long-term general debt incurred other than for funding or refunding of existing debt, plus any excess of issuance over redemption (i.e., retirement other than by funding) of short-term general debt.

GENERAL DEBT --Debt incurred to finance general government (q.v.) activities as distinguished from enterprises.

GENERAL EXPENDITURE--All charges arising in a particular fiscal period from the conduct of general government (q.v.) including provision for retirement of general debt. Expenditures are reported on the basis most readily available from official sources (i.e., accrued charges, audited claims, or disbursements).

GENERAL GOVERNMENT--All activities of a State including its dependent agencies, boards, and commissions, except the conduct of enterprises and transactions of sinking and trust funds. Includes general-government activities financed through "the general fund", special revenue funds, bond funds, and all other funds, however named.

GENERAL REVENUE--All revenue from general-government sources. Revenue comprises all cash receipts other than from borrowing, disposal of assets, recovery of amounts previously expended, or agency transactions, but net of refunds of amounts previously received. General government

sources consist of all taxes, all aid received from other governments (except amounts directly for enterprises) and charges and miscellaneous revenue arising from general government activities. General revenue includes net contributions from enterprises. Any amounts of taxes or other revenue from general government sources credited directly to sinking, trust, or enterprise funds are classified as general revenue.

GROSS DEBT --Total of outstanding long- and short-term, general and enterprise debt.

INTEREST-- Charges for the use of borrowed money (without adjustment for premium or discount on debt issued or retired), including all interest paid by any fund on both long- and short-term indebtedness. General expenditure for interest comprises interest on general debt, including direct payments from general funds plus payments into sinking funds up to the amount of any interest on general debt paid during the same period by sinking funds. Total interest payments--not shown in this report--comprise all interest paid on general and enterprise debt, including interest paid from accumulated assets and earnings of sinking and trust funds.

LICENSE AND PRIVILEGE TAXES --Taxes exacted from corporations or individuals as a condition to the exercise of a business or nonbusiness privilege. The tax may be at a flat rate or measured by such bases as capital stock, capital surplus, number of units, or capacity, but not directly by transactions, gross or net income, or value of property.

LONG-TERM DEBT --Debt payable more than one year after date of issue, including bonds, mortgages, debt to trust funds, judgments and the like. Tax anticipation warrants outstanding more than one year are considered short-term debt if they are payable from a specific tax levy.

NET LONG-TERM DEBT --Long-term debt less sinking-fund offsets to such debt.

OPERATION--Expenditure arising from direct performance of general government functions in the current fiscal period and resulting in no addition to capital assets.

PROVISION FOR DEBT RETIREMENT--Direct debt redemption plus payments into sinking funds of amounts dedicated to debt retirement, including taxes or other general revenue credited directly therefor to sinking funds. Excludes debt retirement by payments from sinking funds and by funding or refunding. General expenditure for provision for debt retirement relates only to general debt (as distinguished from enterprise debt).

REVENUE--See "GENERAL REVENUE."

SALES AND GROSS RECEIPTS TAXES --Taxes including licenses) based upon the volume or value of transfers of goods or services, upon receipts therefrom, or upon gross income; and related taxes based upon use, storage, or consumption of goods. Excluded are distinctively imposed severance taxes.

SINKING-FUND OFFSETS--All assets of reserve funds specifically held for redemption of long-term debt, including deposits in the hands of fiscal agents for redemption of uncanceled debt and balances in refunding bond accounts held pending completion of refunding transactions. Also includes assets of certain credit funds which offset debt incurred to finance loan activities of those funds. Excludes amounts of sinking-fund assets in excess of the specific debt for which they were accumulated and any separately recorded amounts held for future payments.

TAXES--Compulsory contributions exacted for public purposes. Tax figures represent amounts of collections, current and delinquent with penalties and interest, and before deduction of administrative costs but after deduction of refunds. Included are local shares of State-imposed taxes except any amounts locally collected and retained. (For detailed preliminary data by source, see the Census Bureau reports, State Tax Collections in 1950 and Sources of State Tax Revenue in 1950.)

TRUST FUNDS --Funds that accumulate and administer assets over a period of years to finance contingent needs (e.g., employee retirement, unemployment compensation) and funds that receive grants and donations or bequests the principal of which must be held intact by the State as trustee with the income to be administered for specifically designated public purposes. Taxes or other general revenue credited to trust funds are shown first as general revenue, and then as general expenditure for contributions to trust funds.

CENSUS BUREAU REPORTS ON GOVERNMENTS

RECOMMENDED COMPLETE CITATION FOR THIS REPORT:

U. S. Bureau of the Census, Summary of State Government Finances in 1950 (State Finances: 1950, No. 1), Washington, D. C. April 1951, 18 pp. tables.

REPORTS IN THE SERIES "STATE FINANCES: 1950":

No. 1. Summary of State Government Finances in 1950--basic items of State government financing, on a preliminary basis. (Published April 1951)

No. 2. Compendium of State Government Finances in 1950--final report of detailed basic financial data. (To be published June 1951)

No. 3. Revenue and Expenditure of Selected States in 1950--preliminary summary data, for about half the State governments, issued before figures are available for all 48. (Published February 1951)

No. 4. State Tax Collections in 1950--prompt report of preliminary current-year data, by type of tax. (Published August 1950)

No. 5. Sources of State Tax Revenue in 1950--providing a detailed breakdown of data summarized by major category in the "Tax Collections" (No. 4) report. (Published November 1950)

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J.R.C. State Govt 17

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE OF SELECTED STATES IN 1950

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
CHARLES SAWYER, *Secretary*

BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
ROY V. PEEL, *Director*

GOVERNMENTS DIVISION
Allen D. Manvel, Chief

G-SF50-No.3 · Washington 25, D. C. February 1951

Both revenue and expenditure of State governments were substantially higher in fiscal 1950 than in the preceding year.[1] Figures now at hand indicate that the rise in expenditure was somewhat greater than that of revenue.

Spending by the 30 States for which 1950 figures have been first compiled was up 9 percent from the 1949 level. This would suggest that total expenditure of the 48 States in 1950 was about $12.8 billion, as compared with $11.8 billion in 1949 and only $6.4 billion in 1946.

NATURE OF THIS REPORT

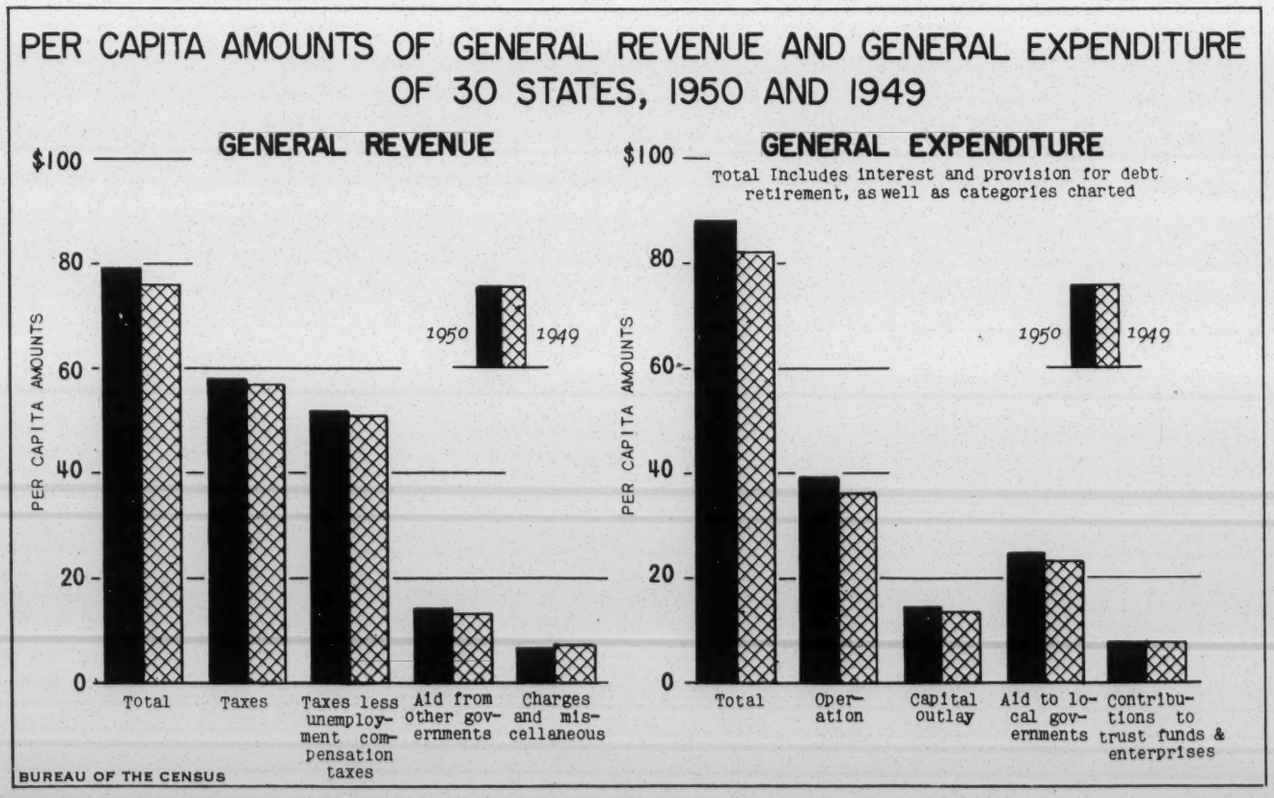
The continuing upward trend in State expenditure has been anticipated generally in Census Bureau reports on governmental employment. Preliminary 1950 statistics on tax revenue and debt of all 48 State governments have been issued in other Census publications.[2] The present publication, however, is the first to provide uniformly classified statistics on State expenditure as such in fiscal 1950, as well as on State nontax revenue and general borrowing.

The Census Bureau report, Summary of State Government Finances in 1950, will provide statistics for all 48 States. Pending the availability of such over-all information, about 3 months hence, the 30-State figures in the present report must be used cautiously in attempting to ascertain Nation-wide trends.

The States covered by this advance report were not selected as a representative group; rather, they are the States for which 1950 information could be most promptly compiled. As indicated by table 1, these States accounted for about 54 percent of all State government revenue and expenditure in fiscal 1949.

[1] Data contained in the Census Bureau's annual series on "State Finances" are for State fiscal years that end on June 30, except for 6 States with earlier closing dates (3 in the spring and 3 between the preceding August and December), as shown in table 7.

[2] Bureau of the Census, State Employment in 1950 (August 1950), State Tax Collections in 1950 (August 1950), and Governmental Debt in 1950 (December 1950).



GENERAL REVENUE AND BORROWING

Total general revenue of the 30 States here reported was 5.4 percent greater in 1950 than in 1949. Although a major part of this increase came from taxes (up 3.9 percent), Federal aid rose much more sharply (14.1 percent).

One State--West Virginia--experienced a decrease in total general revenue. In 10 other States, there was a revenue increase of less than 5 percent from the 1949 level. An increase of from 5 percent up to 17.4 percent (South Dakota) appears for the other States.

Total borrowing by these States for general government purposes amounted to $771 million in 1950 as compared with $388 million in 1949.

GENERAL EXPENDITURE

Total general expenditure of the 30 States together rose 9.0 percent from 1949 to 1950. In per capita terms, the change was from $82.27 to $88.10.

These States differed widely in rate of change in expenditure between 1949 and 1950, as indicated by the following distribution of the 30 States:

Percent change, 1949 to 1950	Total general expenditure	Operation	Capital outlay	Aid paid to local governments
Decrease.....	5	5	10	3
Increase of:				
Less than 10.....	10	8	6	12
10-20.....	9	7	5	10
20-30.....	2	4	5	2
30-40.....	1	2	1	1
40 or over.....	3	4	3	2

Capital outlay continued at relatively high levels in most of the States here reported, with an over-all 1949-50 increase of 7.7 percent. About two-thirds of all capital outlay by these 30 States was for highways.

Aid paid to local governments also rose materially between 1949 and 1950 in most of these States. The over-all rate of increase was 8.7 percent. A major portion of the additional aid provided was for school purposes.

Operation spending (including direct public assistance and veterans' bonus payments) remained the largest major category of general expenditure of these 30 States in 1950, and was up by 10.5 percent from the previous year. As indicated by table 1, operation spending rose for every major function.

SOURCES AND TERMINOLOGY, AND LIMITATIONS

Data for this report were compiled by trained representatives of the Census Bureau from official records and reports of the 30 States covered. The figures were classified according to standard Census categories for reporting of State finances, and subjected to careful review as so classified. The kindness of State officials in providing information for this report is gratefully acknowledged.

Census provision of comparative and aggregate financial statistics calls for presentation of data in terms of uniform categories whereby, for example, expenditure amounts for similar purposes are combined regardless of the number of funds involved. Figures in this report are, therefore, unlikely to agree directly with specific amounts in official State records and reports, except where particular segments of such sources conform explicitly with standard Census categories. A leaflet discussing the "Relation of Census Statistics on Governmental Finances to Original Sources" is available from the Bureau of the Census upon request.

Caution must be used in attempting to draw conclusions from direct comparison of financial amounts for individual State governments. The States vary widely in the scope and intensity of their responsibilities. Such variations reflect differences in State and local traditions as to the extent and quality of public services; in economic ability to support such services; and in the pattern for distribution of responsibility, as between the State and local levels, for performing and financing particular governmental functions. Some State governments directly administer certain activities which elsewhere are undertaken by local governments, with or without State fiscal aid.

The fraction which State government amounts make up of total State and local finances therefore differs materially from one State area to another. Percentage figures illustrating this variation, in terms of 1942 tax revenue data, are presented in table 7. No more recent figures of this nature are available.

Definitions of some of the terms used in this and other Census Bureau reports on "State Finances" are presented on pages 10-11. A comprehensive glossary appears in the "Compendium" report of this annual series.

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REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE OF SELECTED STATES IN 1950

Table 1.--SUMMARY OF GENERAL REVENUE AND GENERAL EXPENDITURE OF 30 SELECTED STATES: 1950 and 1949

Item	30-State totals							48-State totals, 1949	
	Amount (in millions)			Ratio of 30-State amount to 48-State amount 1949	Per Capita[2]			Amount (in millions)	Per capita[2]
	1950	1949	Percent change[1]		1950	1949	Percent change		
Total general revenue and borrowings	$6,977	$6,278	11.1	54.2	$88.80	$81.30	9.2	[3]$11,574	$79.73
General borrowings	771	388	99.0	66.0	9.81	5.02	95.4	588	4.05
Total general revenue	6,206	5,890	5.4	53.6	78.98	76.28	3.5	[3]10,986	75.68
Taxes, total	4,569	4,396	3.9	52.7	58.15	56.93	2.1	[3]8,349	57.51
Total, less unemployment compensation	4,113	3,922	4.9	53.2	52.34	50.80	3.0	[3]7,376	50.81
Aid received from other governments	1,129	984	14.7	55.9	14.37	12.75	12.7	1,760	12.12
From Federal Government	1,082	949	14.1	55.6	13.77	12.29	12.0	1,705	11.75
Charges and miscellaneous	508	510	-0.3	58.1	6.47	6.60	-2.0	878	6.05
Total general expenditure	6,923	6,352	9.0	53.9	88.10	82.27	7.1	11,782	81.17
Provision for debt retirement	152	128	19.1	56.6	1.94	1.66	16.9	226	1.56
General expenditure less provision for debt retirement	6,770	6,225	8.8	53.9	86.17	80.61	6.9	11,557	79.61
Operation	3,090	2,796	10.5	56.2	39.33	36.21	8.6	4,972	34.25
General control	145	141	2.9	48.4	1.85	1.83	1.1	292	2.01
Public safety	118	108	9.4	48.0	1.50	1.40	7.1	224	1.55
Highways	350	326	7.3	59.6	4.45	4.22	5.5	547	3.77
Natural resources	167	152	9.8	52.5	2.13	1.97	8.1	290	2.00
Health	70	57	22.2	52.4	.89	.74	20.3	109	.75
Hospitals and institutions for the handicapped	307	278	10.5	47.9	3.91	3.60	8.6	581	4.00
Public welfare	975	818	19.2	62.6	12.40	10.59	17.1	1,306	9.00
Correction	72	70	3.0	49.3	.92	.91	1.1	142	.98
Schools	425	382	11.3	50.6	5.41	4.95	9.3	754	5.20
Bonus payments to veterans	346	360	-3.9	71.2	4.40	4.66	-5.6	505	3.48
Other and unallocable	115	104	11.1	47.0	1.47	1.34	9.7	221	1.52
Capital outlay	1,113	1,034	7.7	56.6	14.17	13.39	5.8	1,827	12.59
Highways only	746	747	-0.2	56.2	9.49	9.67	-1.9	1,330	9.16
Aid paid to local governments	1,954	1,798	8.7	50.7	24.87	23.29	6.8	3,544	24.42
Highways	327	340	-3.7	60.4	4.16	4.40	-5.5	563	3.88
Public welfare	299	251	19.0	39.1	3.80	3.25	16.9	642	4.42
Schools	1,049	929	13.0	53.8	13.36	12.03	11.1	1,728	11.90
Other and unspecified	279	279	0.1	45.6	3.55	3.61	-1.7	612	4.22
Interest	47	40	16.2	52.7	.60	.52	15.4	76	.53
Contributions to trust funds and enterprises	566	556	1.8	48.9	7.20	7.20	.....	1,136	7.83
To unemployment compensation trust funds	456	473	-3.7	48.7	5.80	6.13	-5.4	973	6.70
Selected categories of general expenditure exclusive of bonus payments to veterans:									
Total	6,577	5,993	9.7	53.1	83.71	77.61	7.9	11,277	77.69
Total less provision for debt retirement	6,425	5,865	9.5	53.1	81.77	75.96	7.6	11,051	76.13
Operation	2,745	2,436	12.7	54.5	34.93	31.55	10.7	4,467	30.77

NOTE: Because of rounding, detail does not always add to total.

[1]Computed on basis of absolute amounts rounded to the nearest thousand.

[2]Based on estimated resident population on July 1, 1949 (for 1950 data), and on July 1, 1948 (for 1949 data); see footnote 1, table 7. Computed on basis of absolute amounts rounded to the nearest thousand.

[3]Revised.

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STATE FINANCES: 1950

Table 2.--GENERAL REVENUE AND BORROWINGS, BY STATE: 1950

Amounts in thousands

State	General revenue and borrowings	General borrowings	General revenue							
			Total			Taxes[1]		Aid received from other governments		Charges and miscellaneous
			1950	1949	Percent change	Total	Total less unemployment compensation	Total	From Federal Government	
30-State total.....	$6,977,033	$771,173	$6,205,860	$5,890,330	5.4	$4,568,753	$4,112,804	$1,128,723	$1,082,177	$508,384
Arkansas.....	145,206	16,540	128,666	120,024	7.2	89,399	85,067	33,134	32,414	6,133
Colorado.....	140,589	1,872	138,717	132,212	4.9	92,805	89,315	34,006	34,006	11,906
Idaho.....	50,905	.....	50,905	49,599	2.6	33,812	29,571	11,740	11,121	5,353
Illinois.....	553,743	3,395	550,348	540,517	1.8	435,796	379,765	95,764	93,604	18,788
Indiana.....	288,710	2,411	286,299	249,046	15.0	220,578	202,422	38,098	37,208	27,623
Kansas.....	171,668	250	171,418	148,861	15.2	125,257	119,291	34,525	33,727	11,636
Kentucky.....	168,346	378	167,968	155,108	8.3	122,496	107,663	36,361	36,289	9,111
Louisiana.....	385,446	21,500	363,946	341,036	6.7	257,183	241,653	79,597	78,764	27,166
Maine.....	71,438	.....	71,438	68,011	5.0	47,233	41,060	14,909	13,594	9,296
Michigan.....	617,819	8,992	608,827	608,487	0.1	460,962	392,123	80,559	75,753	67,306
Minnesota.....	361,435	99,112	262,323	240,714	9.0	196,302	187,118	43,226	41,550	22,795
Montana.....	63,423	6,150	57,273	52,817	8.4	33,975	29,797	16,689	15,295	6,609
Nebraska.....	87,533	435	87,098	75,409	15.5	56,794	54,070	19,958	19,087	10,346
Nevada.....	21,220	200	21,020	18,602	13.0	12,469	10,954	7,523	7,032	1,028
New Hampshire..	47,084	8,250	38,834	37,505	3.5	24,302	19,764	7,832	6,447	6,700
New Mexico.....	79,545	3,531	76,014	67,277	13.0	55,226	51,168	15,463	15,042	5,325
North Dakota...	59,395	800	58,595	55,038	6.5	40,891	39,022	13,760	12,719	3,944
Ohio.....	545,846	383	545,463	500,795	8.9	423,425	379,396	85,728	80,306	36,310
Oregon.....	170,948	6,700	164,248	159,752	2.8	111,972	99,184	28,145	22,400	24,131
Pennsylvania...	1,098,501	427,800	670,701	669,644	0.2	496,485	438,548	96,998	94,534	77,218
Rhode Island...	71,032	10,800	60,232	57,892	4.0	49,207	38,280	8,480	8,480	2,545
South Dakota...	78,423	21,000	57,423	48,919	17.4	39,244	37,876	14,307	13,406	3,872
Tennessee.....	233,233	11,150	222,083	207,148	7.2	162,166	149,770	50,246	46,893	9,671
Texas.....	514,103	28,772	485,331	463,227	4.8	343,939	317,012	113,892	110,939	27,500
Utah.....	68,664	49	68,615	67,515	1.6	46,480	43,384	12,708	12,438	9,427
Vermont.....	34,480	4,334	30,146	28,177	7.0	21,912	20,343	6,541	6,022	1,693
Washington.....	380,064	73,200	306,864	284,194	8.0	235,596	200,840	46,597	43,976	24,671
West Virginia..	153,988	12,000	141,988	151,620	-6.4	103,534	93,930	24,683	24,683	13,771
Wisconsin.....	279,095	98	278,997	261,284	6.8	210,006	196,784	45,041	42,399	23,950
Wyoming.....	35,151	1,071	34,080	29,900	14.0	19,307	17,634	12,213	12,049	2,560

[1]For detailed preliminary data, by source, see the Census Bureau reports, State Tax Collections in 1950 and Sources of State Tax Revenue in 1950.

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REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE OF SELECTED STATES IN 1950

Table 3.--GENERAL EXPENDITURE, BY CHARACTER AND BY STATE: 1950

Amounts in thousands

State	Total			Provision for debt retirement	Total less provision for debt retirement	Operation (table 4)	Capital outlay (table 5)	Aid paid to local governments (table 5)	Interest	Contributions to trust funds and enterprises	
	1950	1949	Percent change							Total	To unemployment compensation funds
30-State total....	$6,922,602	$6,352,371	9.0	$152,258	$6,770,344	$3,090,181	$1,113,368	$1,954,303	$46,757	$565,735	$455,949
Arkansas.....	141,744	120,036	18.1	5,881	135,863	64,304	24,133	37,982	4,005	5,439	4,332
Colorado.....	139,416	135,319	3.0	2,247	137,169	39,362	23,455	69,427	377	4,548	3,490
Idaho.....	54,304	45,977	18.1	84	54,220	26,906	15,017	7,408	15	4,874	4,241
Illinois.....	609,161	681,475	-10.6	29,678	579,483	287,092	82,026	137,275	9,572	63,518	56,031
Indiana.....	282,989	246,221	14.9	1,716	281,273	97,882	42,339	116,377	251	24,424	18,156
Kansas.....	160,012	132,385	20.9	952	159,060	55,516	34,094	63,015	228	6,207	5,966
Kentucky.....	172,039	148,268	16.0	347	171,692	92,414	36,531	25,766	273	16,708	14,833
Louisiana.....	370,330	385,235	-3.9	8,485	361,845	189,052	43,714	101,162	7,140	20,777	15,530
Maine.....	74,417	71,205	4.5	1,842	72,575	42,993	12,150	9,369	343	7,720	6,173
Michigan.....	655,943	637,463	2.9	17,508	638,435	236,646	65,941	251,192	4,256	80,400	68,839
Minnesota.....	335,005	239,635	39.8	17,190	317,815	149,328	52,724	95,088	2,833	17,842	9,184
Montana.....	60,550	53,945	12.2	2,368	58,182	30,245	15,153	6,940	416	5,428	4,178
Nebraska.....	84,216	77,390	8.8	152	84,064	33,692	15,899	29,680	18	4,775	2,724
Nevada.....	21,534	19,620	9.8	55	21,479	9,424	6,701	3,144	17	2,193	1,515
New Hampshire.	44,758	44,115	1.5	1,971	42,787	25,065	10,000	2,322	266	5,134	4,538
New Mexico....	79,519	69,432	14.5	3,687	75,832	32,732	16,413	20,905	667	5,115	4,058
North Dakota..	88,021	47,740	84.4	9,938	78,083	51,067	15,342	9,545	189	1,940	1,869
Ohio.....	591,801	723,551	-18.2	8,499	583,302	212,800	88,105	230,018	4,348	48,031	44,029
Oregon.....	169,606	154,807	9.6	711	168,895	82,766	36,198	33,946	653	15,332	12,788
Pennsylvania..	962,283	679,997	41.5	6,793	955,490	552,377	179,382	142,359	3,811	77,561	57,937
Rhode Island..	67,986	57,602	18.0	1,818	66,168	32,334	7,920	12,669	1,101	12,144	10,927
South Dakota..	77,531	49,020	58.2	9,498	68,033	47,444	13,776	4,411	557	1,845	1,368
Tennessee.....	236,881	223,380	6.0	8,453	228,428	88,082	51,880	70,619	2,737	15,110	12,396
Texas.....	478,121	441,915	8.2	1,886	476,235	222,440	91,613	124,134	872	37,176	26,927
Utah.....	67,600	69,133	-2.2	29	67,571	34,395	10,689	18,306	4	4,177	3,096
Vermont.....	31,537	32,065	-1.7	263	31,274	18,259	4,620	5,944	42	2,409	1,569
Washington....	384,385	325,148	18.2	3,225	381,160	172,096	36,212	132,551	20	40,281	34,756
West Virginia.	170,371	150,848	12.9	6,398	163,973	77,092	25,728	46,838	1,552	12,763	9,604
Wisconsin.....	272,753	258,461	5.5	290	272,463	74,727	40,928	136,538	141	20,129	13,222
Wyoming.....	37,789	30,983	22.0	294	37,495	11,649	14,685	9,373	53	1,735	1,673

Table 4.--GENERAL EXPENDITURE FOR OPERATION, BY FUNCTION AND BY STATE: 1950

Amounts in thousands

State	Total[1]			General control	Public safety	Highways	Natural resources	Health	Hospitals and institutions for the handicapped	Public welfare	Correction	Schools
	1950	1949	Percent change									
30-State total...	$3,090,181	$2,795,938	10.5	$145,351	$117,925	$349,807	$167,253	$69,763	$307,348	$974,625	$72,257	$425,044
Arkansas.....	64,304	49,397	30.2	2,870	1,183	9,138	4,634	1,805	6,016	27,325	639	8,669
Colorado.....	39,362	37,465	5.1	3,232	2,069	5,204	4,473	1,131	7,079	903	1,780	12,017
Idaho.....	26,906	24,794	8.5	1,095	1,185	3,961	3,313	659	1,434	9,968	511	3,798
Illinois.....	287,092	361,001	-20.5	15,250	15,112	16,683	10,435	4,814	38,385	113,266	10,116	40,722
Indiana.....	97,882	76,274	28.3	6,510	5,473	12,194	6,845	2,498	11,995	2,950	4,463	25,817
Kansas.....	55,516	48,149	15.3	4,472	2,772	11,661	4,276	1,892	8,609	1,415	2,250	16,151
Kentucky.....	92,414	71,206	29.8	7,287	3,714	25,888	5,252	2,852	4,878	27,158	1,641	10,580
Louisiana....	189,052	224,365	-15.7	7,414	3,881	16,283	10,219	2,108	18,371	105,949	2,232	18,955
Maine.....	42,993	41,282	4.1	1,702	1,905	10,582	4,357	761	4,285	13,081	890	3,915
Michigan.....	236,646	214,217	10.5	10,347	9,572	14,008	10,855	4,602	41,232	89,061	9,483	35,279
Minnesota....	149,328	78,555	90.1	4,675	4,407	12,449	10,225	1,727	15,562	3,258	2,636	24,527
Montana.....	30,245	27,275	10.9	1,335	1,253	4,867	3,088	527	2,241	11,237	544	4,092
Nebraska.....	33,692	31,884	5.7	1,819	2,204	7,345	3,344	773	6,080	800	1,728	8,516
Nevada.....	9,424	9,080	3.8	591	309	2,175	1,107	304	316	1,928	299	1,676
New Hampshire	25,065	25,340	-1.1	1,440	988	5,029	2,088	667	2,680	6,618	509	3,505
New Mexico...	32,732	28,035	16.8	2,898	1,259	4,277	2,863	910	1,859	9,534	705	7,252
North Dakota.	51,067	23,735	115.2	1,242	927	3,375	2,253	721	2,367	7,544	470	5,365
Ohio.....	212,800	384,497	-44.7	11,419	8,831	31,686	7,567	5,077	23,622	73,308	6,430	25,397
Oregon.....	82,766	72,275	14.5	4,999	3,845	12,574	9,002	1,453	6,094	28,353	1,559	11,544
Pennsylvania.	552,377	317,507	74.0	20,049	19,187	37,496	14,941	10,545	48,308	158,984	8,183	30,375
Rhode Island.	32,334	30,246	6.9	3,300	1,258	2,249	894	759	4,998	11,491	955	2,980
South Dakota.	47,444	25,282	87.7	977	743	4,745	2,366	530	1,807	8,048	466	4,234
Tennessee....	88,082	70,061	25.7	3,531	2,801	8,592	5,109	3,866	4,781	40,657	1,865	12,597
Texas.....	222,440	193,300	15.1	9,979	7,890	24,929	8,693	3,631	15,077	103,007	3,405	39,984
Utah.....	34,395	36,868	-6.7	1,699	1,027	4,361	2,356	810	1,509	11,766	598	9,155
Vermont.....	18,259	17,570	3.9	1,219	940	4,851	1,652	535	1,750	4,264	707	1,509
Washington...	172,096	131,780	30.6	4,740	5,052	11,527	8,915	10,170	11,307	79,890	1,887	21,751
West Virginia	77,092	63,186	22.0	3,097	3,634	26,343	3,866	1,645	5,434	20,014	1,285	9,427
Wisconsin....	74,727	71,363	4.7	5,254	3,934	12,340	9,999	1,719	8,509	2,641	3,599	22,525
Wyoming.....	11,649	9,949	17.1	909	570	2,995	2,266	272	763	207	422	2,730

[1]Includes amounts for functions not shown separately. Totals of such amounts for 1950 and 1949 were as follows (in thousands): libraries, $2,700 and $2,310; recreation, $11,583 and $9,836; other and unallocable, $446,525 and $451,201. Of the latter, the following amounts (in thousands) represent bonus payments to veterans of World War II: in 1950 -- Illinois, $7,425; Indiana, $14,034; Michigan, $2,087; Minnesota, $66,072; New Hampshire, $51; North Dakota, $25,988; Ohio, $9,401; Pennsylvania, $187,497; Rhode Island, $58; South Dakota, $22,706; Vermont, $48; Washington, $10,177; and in 1949 -- Illinois, $98,899; Louisiana, $58,727; Michigan, $5,409; New Hampshire, $125; Ohio, $194,194; Rhode Island, $70; South Dakota, $2,052; and Vermont, $94.

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE OF SELECTED STATES IN 1950

Table 5.--GENERAL EXPENDITURE FOR CAPITAL OUTLAY AND AID PAID TO LOCAL GOVERNMENTS, BY STATE: 1950

Amounts in thousands

State	Capital outlay				Aid paid to local governments							
	Total			High-ways only	Total			Purpose unspecified	Specified purposes			
	1950	1949	Per-cent change		1950	1949	Per-cent change		High-ways	Public welfare	Schools	Other
30-State total...	$1,113,368	$1,034,095	7.7	$745,672	$1,954,303	$1,798,277	8.7	$226,347	$327,043	$298,709	$1049,409	$52,795
Arkansas.....	24,133	18,630	29.5	16,964	37,982	37,002	2.6	5,193	5,375	.....	26,982	432
Colorado.....	23,455	21,271	10.3	18,076	69,427	67,465	2.9	227	10,811	47,224	9,882	1,283
Idaho.....	15,017	9,019	66.5	8,699	7,408	7,504	-1.3	1,396	1,622	.....	4,390	.....
Illinois.....	82,026	84,037	-2.4	44,904	137,275	138,464	-0.9	.....	48,330	27,324	54,871	6,750
Indiana.....	42,339	44,868	-5.6	21,976	116,377	103,019	13.0	2,793	26,371	26,528	58,346	2,339
Kansas.....	34,094	25,554	33.4	29,728	63,015	49,320	27.8	8,774	4,872	28,955	20,359	55
Kentucky.....	36,531	32,005	14.1	31,295	25,766	25,472	1.2	.....	1,235	.....	24,402	129
Louisiana....	43,714	35,312	23.8	33,190	101,162	90,528	11.7	23,699	6,872	.....	67,614	2,977
Maine.....	12,150	11,821	2.8	9,103	9,369	8,160	14.8	313	2,177	608	5,985	286
Michigan.....	65,941	77,940	-15.4	38,991	251,192	234,620	7.1	49,252	42,750	12,790	140,950	5,450
Minnesota....	52,724	43,075	22.4	31,855	95,088	79,679	19.3	7,571	10,589	34,268	41,428	1,232
Montana.....	15,153	16,057	-5.6	11,876	6,940	3,965	75.0	34	.....	420	6,361	125
Nebraska.....	15,899	15,028	5.8	12,991	29,680	26,971	10.0	.....	9,643	18,043	871	1,123
Nevada.....	6,701	6,122	9.5	6,084	3,144	2,326	35.2	114	746	.....	2,284	.....
New Hampshire	10,000	8,375	19.4	7,911	2,322	3,785	-38.7	1,455	92	.....	728	47
New Mexico...	16,413	14,811	10.8	10,646	20,905	19,478	7.3	478	1,164	.....	18,919	344
North Dakota.	15,342	12,227	25.5	12,375	9,545	8,767	8.9	.....	3,871	106	5,464	104
Ohio.....	88,105	62,907	40.1	51,422	230,018	214,849	7.1	42,669	54,415	32,921	95,477	4,536
Oregon.....	36,198	33,434	8.3	18,837	33,946	30,740	10.4	1,410	9,911	807	21,381	437
Pennsylvania.	179,382	147,578	21.6	105,455	142,359	130,244	9.3	5,759	20,757	1	111,521	4,321
Rhode Island.	7,920	4,997	58.5	3,053	12,669	11,035	14.8	5,086	83	3,909	3,391	200
South Dakota.	13,776	14,971	-8.0	11,230	4,411	3,965	11.2	928	770	210	2,395	108
Tennessee....	51,880	55,396	-6.4	37,330	70,619	70,389	0.3	8,468	11,402	.....	49,158	1,591
Texas.....	91,613	94,746	-3.3	77,420	124,134	119,212	4.1	.....	7,932	.....	115,064	1,138
Utah.....	10,689	10,706	-0.2	6,962	18,306	17,575	4.2	1,001	2,036	.....	14,936	333
Vermont.....	4,620	5,734	-19.4	3,420	5,944	5,306	12.0	9	3,005	.....	2,890	40
Washington...	36,212	50,993	-29.0	26,698	132,551	114,035	16.2	6,950	16,218	25,698	72,432	11,253
West Virginia	25,728	24,527	4.9	16,466	46,838	37,321	25.5	.....	.....	1,779	45,055	4
Wisconsin....	40,928	39,281	4.2	30,689	136,538	130,470	4.7	52,153	22,703	33,851	22,099	5,732
Wyoming.....	14,685	12,673	15.9	10,026	9,373	6,611	41.8	615	1,291	3,267	3,774	426

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Table 6.--PER CAPITA GENERAL REVENUE AND GENERAL EXPENDITURE, BY STATE: 1950

State	General revenue					General expenditure						
	Total	Taxes, total	Total taxes, less unemployment compensation	Aid received from other governments	Charges and miscellaneous	Total	Total less provision for debt retirement	Operation[1]	Capital outlay	Aid paid to local governments	Interest	Contributions to trust funds and enterprises
30-State average	$78.98	$58.15	$52.34	$14.37	$6.47	$88.10	$86.17	$39.33	$14.17	$24.87	$.60	$7.20
Arkansas.....	70.12	48.72	46.36	18.06	3.34	77.24	74.04	35.04	13.15	20.70	2.18	2.96
Colorado.....	111.06	74.30	71.51	27.23	9.53	111.62	109.82	31.51	18.78	55.59	.30	3.64
Idaho.....	88.99	59.11	51.70	20.52	9.36	94.94	94.79	47.04	26.25	12.95	.03	8.52
Illinois.....	63.80	50.52	44.03	11.10	2.18	70.62	67.18	33.28	9.51	15.91	1.11	7.36
Indiana.....	73.49	56.62	51.96	9.78	7.09	72.64	72.20	25.12	10.87	29.87	.06	6.27
Kansas.....	92.01	67.23	64.03	18.53	6.25	85.89	85.38	29.80	18.30	33.82	.12	3.33
Kentucky.....	58.69	42.80	37.62	12.70	3.18	60.11	59.99	32.29	12.76	9.00	.10	5.84
Louisiana....	138.22	97.68	91.78	30.23	10.32	140.65	137.43	71.80	16.60	38.42	2.71	7.89
Maine.....	79.02	52.25	45.42	16.49	10.28	82.32	80.28	47.56	13.44	10.36	.38	8.54
Michigan.....	97.10	73.52	62.54	12.85	10.73	104.62	101.82	37.74	10.52	40.06	.68	12.82
Minnesota....	89.96	67.32	64.17	14.82	7.82	114.89	108.99	51.21	18.08	32.61	.97	6.12
Montana.....	101.91	60.45	53.02	29.70	11.76	107.74	103.53	53.82	26.96	12.35	.74	9.66
Nebraska.....	67.83	44.23	42.11	15.54	8.06	65.59	65.47	26.24	12.38	23.12	.01	3.72
Nevada.....	132.20	78.42	68.89	47.31	6.47	135.43	135.09	59.27	42.14	19.77	.11	13.79
New Hampshire	74.25	46.47	37.79	14.98	12.81	85.58	81.81	47.93	19.12	4.44	.51	9.82
New Mexico...	120.28	87.38	80.96	24.47	8.43	125.82	119.99	51.79	25.97	33.08	1.06	8.09
North Dakota.	100.51	70.14	66.93	23.60	6.77	150.98	133.93	87.59	26.32	16.37	.32	3.33
Ohio.....	68.23	52.96	47.45	10.72	4.54	74.02	72.96	26.62	11.02	28.77	.54	6.01
Oregon.....	110.01	75.00	66.43	18.85	16.16	113.60	113.12	55.44	24.25	22.74	.44	10.27
Pennsylvania.	64.43	47.69	42.13	9.32	7.42	92.44	91.79	53.06	17.23	13.68	.37	7.45
Rhode Island.	76.15	62.21	48.39	10.72	3.22	85.95	83.65	40.88	10.01	16.02	1.39	15.35
South Dakota.	92.92	63.50	61.29	23.15	6.27	125.45	110.09	76.77	22.29	7.14	.90	2.99
Tennessee....	67.98	49.64	45.84	15.38	2.96	72.51	69.92	26.96	15.88	21.62	.84	4.63
Texas.....	63.25	44.82	41.32	14.84	3.58	62.31	62.07	28.99	11.94	16.18	.11	4.85
Utah.....	101.35	68.66	64.08	18.77	13.92	99.85	99.81	50.81	15.79	27.04	.01	6.17
Vermont.....	82.14	59.71	55.43	17.82	4.61	85.93	85.22	49.75	12.59	16.20	.11	6.56
Washington...	129.31	99.28	84.64	19.64	10.40	161.98	160.62	72.52	15.26	55.86	.01	16.97
West Virginia	73.27	53.42	48.47	12.74	7.11	87.91	84.61	39.78	13.28	24.17	.80	6.59
Wisconsin....	83.88	63.14	59.17	13.54	7.20	82.01	81.92	22.47	12.31	41.05	.04	6.05
Wyoming.....	123.48	69.95	63.89	44.25	9.28	136.92	135.85	42.21	53.21	33.96	.19	6.29

NOTE: Per capita amounts are based on estimated resident population on July 1, 1949 (see table 7).
[1]Includes bonus payments to veterans; see footnote 1, table 4.

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REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE OF SELECTED STATES IN 1950

Table 7.--FISCAL YEAR, POPULATION, AND INCOME PAYMENTS, BY STATE

State	Date of close of fiscal year	Total resident population[1]		Income payments to individuals[2]				State taxes as percent of State and local taxes: 1942
				1949		1948		
		July 1, 1949	July 1, 1948	Amount (millions)	Per capita	Amount (millions)	Per capita	
48--State total.....	.....	[3]147,719,000	[3]145,165,000	[3]$195,612	[3]$1,328	[3]$200,560	[3]$1,385	51.8
30--State total[4]....	.....	78,573,000	77,216,000	102,373	([5])	105,776	([5])	([5])
Alabama.....	Sept. 30, 1949	3,004,000	2,986,000	2,313	773	2,486	834	68.5
Arizona.....	June 30, 1950	726,000	712,000	839	1,165	835	1,179	71.8
Arkansas.....	June 30, 1950	1,835,000	1,811,000	1,443	778	1,593	863	75.9
California.....	June 30, 1950	10,499,000	10,467,000	17,005	1,665	17,003	1,743	56.8
Colorado.....	June 30, 1950	1,249,000	1,201,000	1,703	1,386	1,729	1,459	50.1
Connecticut.....	June 30, 1950	2,006,000	1,979,000	3,213	1,591	3,301	1,680	49.1
Delaware.....	June 30, 1950	319,000	317,000	541	1,675	513	1,618	74.3
Florida.....	June 30, 1950	2,679,000	2,606,000	2,948	1,102	2,817	1,129	55.3
Georgia.....	June 30, 1950	3,360,000	3,272,000	2,928	876	2,990	919	63.6
Idaho.....	June 30, 1950	572,000	553,000	707	1,221	735	1,283	46.6
Illinois.....	June 30, 1950	8,626,000	8,488,000	14,107	1,618	15,002	1,722	47.4
Indiana.....	June 30, 1950	3,896,000	3,820,000	5,097	1,290	5,387	1,389	54.5
Iowa.....	June 30, 1950	2,551,000	2,487,000	3,301	1,292	3,788	1,507	49.2
Kansas.....	June 30, 1950	1,863,000	1,795,000	2,291	1,210	2,368	1,270	45.3
Kentucky.....	June 30, 1950	2,862,000	2,822,000	2,476	865	2,580	910	61.6
Louisiana.....	June 30, 1950	2,633,000	2,599,000	2,647	1,002	2,522	961	69.6
Maine.....	June 30, 1950	904,000	880,000	1,004	1,087	1,058	1,162	51.5
Maryland.....	June 30, 1950	2,339,000	2,295,000	3,081	1,401	3,069	1,485	52.0
Massachusetts.....	June 30, 1950	4,772,000	4,719,000	6,892	1,417	6,904	1,468	42.2
Michigan.....	June 30, 1950	6,270,000	6,175,000	9,013	1,443	9,155	1,493	57.5
Minnesota.....	June 30, 1950	2,916,000	2,850,000	3,603	1,227	3,875	1,340	50.1
Mississippi.....	June 30, 1950	2,076,000	2,056,000	1,317	634	1,531	753	60.3
Missouri.....	June 30, 1950	3,907,000	3,832,000	5,052	1,286	5,213	1,339	51.2
Montana.....	June 30, 1950	562,000	535,000	787	1.390	897	1,696	40.1
Nebraska.....	June 30, 1950	1,284,000	1,243,000	1,653	1,294	1,848	1,468	37.6
Nevada.....	June 30, 1950	159,000	159,000	277	1,731	279	1,594	48.3
New Hampshire.....	June 30, 1950	523,000	508,000	621	1,195	634	1,254	46.2
New Jersey.....	June 30, 1950	4,788,000	4,657,000	7,018	1,546	7,038	1,594	40.7
New Mexico.....	June 30, 1950	632,000	592,000	665	1,033	614	995	75.0
New York.....	March 31, 1950	14,746,000	14,391,000	26,340	1,758	26,633	1,803	42.0
North Carolina.....	June 30, 1950	3,944,000	3,836,000	3,349	854	3,439	887	70.8
North Dakota.....	June 30, 1950	583,000	562,000	703	1,202	862	1,528	43.6
Ohio.....	[6]June 30, 1950	7,995,000	7,949,000	11,443	1,436	12,032	1,534	59.1
Oklahoma.....	June 30, 1950	2,125,000	2,114,000	2,297	1,068	2,299	1,035	65.6
Oregon.....	June 30, 1950	1,493,000	1,482,000	2,095	1,448	2,143	1,562	52.2
Pennsylvania.....	May 31, 1950	10,410,000	10,217,000	14,468	1,416	14,797	1,454	53.4
Rhode Island.....	June 30, 1950	791,000	784,000	1,117	1,403	1,145	1,435	50.6
South Carolina.....	June 30, 1950	2,004,000	1,968,000	1,584	787	1,681	844	65.5
South Dakota.....	June 30, 1950	618,000	591,000	734	1,174	939	1,592	37.4
Tennessee.....	June 30, 1950	3,267,000	3,236,000	2,858	873	2,946	906	56.3
Texas.....	Aug. 31, 1949	7,673,000	7,578,000	9,265	1,205	8,716	1,137	51.3
Utah.....	June 30, 1950	677,000	663,000	825	1,213	816	1,220	59.1
Vermont.....	June 30, 1950	367,000	358,000	400	1,075	421	1,153	54.6
Virginia.....	June 30, 1950	3,297,000	3,257,000	3,221	1,039	3,244	1,088	62.4
Washington.....	March 31, 1950	2,373,000	2,326,000	3,529	1,469	3,545	1,441	70.2
West Virginia.....	June 30, 1950	1,938,000	1,909,000	1,928	998	2,090	1,085	69.2
Wisconsin.....	June 30, 1950	3,326,000	3,261,000	4,495	1,329	4,633	1,400	51.2
Wyoming.....	Sept. 30, 1949	276,000	269,000	419	1,481	415	1,493	49.0

[1]Includes members of armed services stationed in the States, but excludes those overseas. Source: Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-25. These provisional estimates supersede previously published estimates.

[2]Source: Department of Commerce, Survey of Current Business, August 1950, pages 19 and 20. Estimated income payments are for calendar years. Derivation of the per capita amounts is explained on page 23 of the cited source.

[3]Does not include data for the District of Columbia.

[4]The 30 States for which financial data, by State, are presented in tables 2-6.

[5]Not computed.

[6]Fiscal year changed to July 1-June 30 basis effective July 1, 1949.

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DEFINITIONS OF SELECTED TERMS

AID PAID TO LOCAL GOVERNMENTS--Payments, other than loans, by a State to local governments for the support of specified functions or for general financial support. Included are grants from unspecified sources and from Federal aid and other earmarked State revenues and local shares of State imposed taxes, except any amounts locally collected and retained. Does not include the value of aid in kind rather than cash. Excluded here, and treated as "operation" expenditure, are payments to reimburse local governments for contractual services rendered at the instance of the State government. Also excluded are Federal grants or shared revenues merely channeled through the State to particular local governments and not involving State discretion as to distribution. See also "AID RECEIVED FROM OTHER GOVERNMENTS."

AID RECEIVED FROM OTHER GOVERNMENTS--Amounts received by a State from the Federal Government for support of specified functions and amounts received in lieu of taxes and as shared Federal revenues, including sums reapportioned by the State to local governments; and any amounts similarly received by a State from local governments. Excluded, however, are Federal grants or shared revenues merely channeled through the State to particular local governments and not involving State discretion as to distribution. Does not include loans or the value of aid in kind rather than cash. Reimbursements received for contractual services rendered to other governments by the State are reported under "charges for current services," rather than as aid received.

CAPITAL OUTLAY--Expenditure--including that financed from borrowing--for purchase or construction of assets in the form of land, permanent improvements, and durable equipment, including additions, replacements, and major alterations.

CHARGES AND MISCELLANEOUS GENERAL REVENUE--All nontax general revenue other than aid received from other governments. Charges comprise fees and other amounts received in payment for services performed for individuals and for other governments. Revenue derived from auxiliary activities incident to particular functions (e.g., university dormitories) comprises only the excess of receipts over expenditures. Miscellaneous nontax revenue includes revenue from fines, forfeits, and unclaimed monies; interest, rent of miscellaneous property, and royalties; contributions from enterprises (largely from alcoholic-beverage monopoly systems in the States operating such systems); and unclassified nontax revenue.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO ENTERPRISES--The sum of the net contributions made by a State to its enterprises. Such a net contribution, for each enterprise, consists of the excess of taxes and other general revenue paid to or on behalf of the enterprise (e.g., for operating deficit, capital improvements, or debt service) over payments by the enterprise to or on behalf of the State general government.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO TRUST FUNDS--Taxes or other general revenue credited or amounts transferred from general-government funds to trust funds. Consists largely of pay roll tax collections deposited in the unemployment compensation trust fund of the U. S. Treasury to the credit of the individual State. See also "TRUST FUNDS."

DEBT[1]--All long-term credit obligations incurred and outstanding in the name of the State or its agencies whether backed by the State's full faith and credit or nonguaranteed, and all interest-bearing short-term credit obligations.

ENTERPRISES[1]--Undertakings of the State--other than those incident to performance of general governmental functions--which involve selling, or producing for sale, to the general public goods or services which are usually or commonly sold or produced for profit under private auspices. Comprises alcoholic-beverage monopoly systems, water and power projects, and other undertakings involving significant amounts and for which separate and relatively complete accounts are maintained.

ENTERPRISE DEBT[1]--Debt incurred to finance enterprise activities. Includes any amounts payable from tax revenue or other general-government resources, as well as amounts payable from enterprise earnings. See "ENTERPRISES."

EXPENDITURE--See "GENERAL EXPENDITURE."

GENERAL BORROWINGS--Long-term general debt incurred other than for funding or refunding of existing debt, plus any excess of issuance over redemption (i.e., retirement other than by funding) of short-term general debt.

GENERAL DEBT[1] --Debt incurred to finance general government (q.v.) activities as distinguished from enterprises.

GENERAL EXPENDITURE--All charges arising in a particular fiscal period from the conduct of general government (q.v.) including provision for retirement of general debt. Expenditures are reported on the basis most readily available from official sources (i.e., accrued charges, audited claims, or disbursements).

GENERAL GOVERNMENT--All activities of a State including its dependent agencies, boards, and commissions, except the conduct of enterprises and transactions of sinking and trust funds. Includes general-government activities financed through "the general fund", special revenue funds, bond funds, and all other funds, however named.

GENERAL REVENUE--All revenue from general-government sources. Revenue comprises all cash receipts other than from borrowing, disposal of assets, recovery of amounts previously expended, or agency transactions, but net of refunds of amounts previously received. General government

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See footnote on page 11.

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sources consist of all taxes, all aid received from other governments (except amounts directly for enterprises) and charges and miscellaneous revenue arising from general government activities. General revenue includes net contributions from enterprises. Any amounts of taxes or other revenue from general government sources credited directly to sinking, trust, or enterprise funds are classified as general revenue.

GROSS DEBT[1]--Total of outstanding long- and short-term, general and enterprise debt.

INTEREST-- Charges for the use of borrowed money (without adjustment for premium or discount on debt issued or retired), including all interest paid by any fund on both long- and short-term indebtedness. General expenditure for interest comprises interest on general debt, including direct payments from general funds plus payments into sinking funds up to the amount of any interest on general debt paid during the same period by sinking funds. Total interest payments--not shown in this report--comprise all interest paid on general and enterprise debt, including interest paid from accumulated assets and earnings of sinking and trust funds.

LICENSE AND PRIVILEGE TAXES[1]--Taxes exacted from corporations or individuals as a condition to the exercise of a business or nonbusiness privilege. The tax may be at a flat rate or measured by such bases as capital stock, capital surplus, number of units, or capacity, but not directly by transactions, gross or net income, or value of property.

LONG-TERM DEBT[1]--Debt payable more than one year after date of issue, including bonds, mortgages, debt to trust funds, judgments and the like. Tax anticipation warrants outstanding more than one year are considered short-term debt if they are payable from a specific tax levy.

NET LONG-TERM DEBT[1]--Long-term debt less sinking-fund offsets to such debt.

OPERATION--Expenditure arising from direct performance of general government functions in the current fiscal period and resulting in no addition to capital assets.

PROVISION FOR DEBT RETIREMENT--Direct debt redemption plus payments into sinking funds of amounts dedicated to debt retirement, including taxes or other general revenue credited directly therefor to sinking funds. Excludes debt retirement by payments from sinking funds and by funding or refunding. General expenditure for provision for debt retirement relates only to general debt (as distinguished from enterprise debt).

REVENUE--See "GENERAL REVENUE."

SALES AND GROSS RECEIPTS TAXES[1]--Taxes including licenses) based upon the volume or value of transfers of goods or services, upon receipts therefrom, or upon gross income; and related taxes based upon use, storage, or consumption of goods. Excluded are distinctively imposed severance taxes.

SINKING FUNDS[1]--All reserve funds specifically held for redemption of long-term debt. Includes funds which accumulate assets over a period of years and funds having no assets except cash balances (e.g., deposits in the hands of fiscal agents, and balances in refunding bond accounts). Amounts for payment of interest, where segregable, are not included. All assets of sinking funds are treated as offsets to long-term debt except any excess of assets over the outstanding amount of the specific debt for the retirement of which they were accumulated.

TAXES--Compulsory contributions exacted for public purposes. Tax figures represent amounts of collections, current and delinquent with penalties and interest, and before deduction of administrative costs but after deduction of refunds. Included are local shares of State-imposed taxes except any amounts locally collected and retained. (For detailed preliminary data by source, see the Census Bureau reports, State Tax Collections in 1950 and Sources of State Tax Revenue in 1950.)

TRUST FUNDS[1]--Funds that accumulate and administer assets over a period of years to finance contingent needs (e.g., employee retirement, unemployment compensation) and funds that receive grants and donations or bequests the principal of which must be held intact by the State as trustee with the income to be administered for specifically designated public purposes. Taxes or other general revenue credited to trust funds are shown first as general revenue, and then as general expenditure for contributions to trust funds.

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[1]For 1950 data as to these items, see the forthcoming Census Bureau reports, Summary of State Government Finances in 1950 and Compendium of State Government Finances in 1950. Preliminary 1950 figures on State debt, by State, are presented in table 4, Governmental Debt in 1950. As to detailed preliminary 1950 tax figures, see Reference under "TAXES," above.

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CENSUS BUREAU REPORTS ON GOVERNMENTS

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REPORTS IN THE SERIES "STATE FINANCES: 1950":

No. 1. Summary of State Government Finances in 1950--basic items of State government financing, on a preliminary basis. (To be published May 1951)

No. 2. Compendium of State Government Finances in 1950--final report of detailed basic financial data. (To be published July 1951)

No. 3. Revenue and Expenditure of Selected States in 1950--preliminary summary data, for about half the State governments, issued before figures are available for all 48. (Published February 1951)

No. 4. State Tax Collections in 1950--prompt report of preliminary current-year data, by type of tax. (Published August 1950)

No. 5. Sources of State Tax Revenue in 1950--providing a detailed breakdown of data summarized by major category in the "Tax Collections" (No. 4) report. (Published November 1950)

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STATE TAX COLLECTIONS IN 1952

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GOVERNMENTS DIVISION
Allen D. Manvel, Chief

G-SF52-No.4 Washington 25, D. C. August 1952

State tax yields in the 1952 fiscal year[1] totaled $9.8 billion. This amount was up 10.1 percent from the $8.9 billion collected in 1951 and was 152.1 percent higher than the 1942 amount of $3.9 billion.

The 1951-1952 increase of $0.9 billion was somewhat less than the 1950-1951 rise of $1.0 billion, but it was substantially greater than the annual increases reported in the two previous years. The chart below depicts trends in State tax revenue since 1942.

NATURE OF THIS REPORT

Tax figures herein are net of refunds paid, but include amounts of State-imposed taxes collected or received by the State and subsequently distributed to local governments. Locally collected and retained tax amounts are not included. The 1952 figures are preliminary. Final State tax figures will appear in subsequent Census reports.

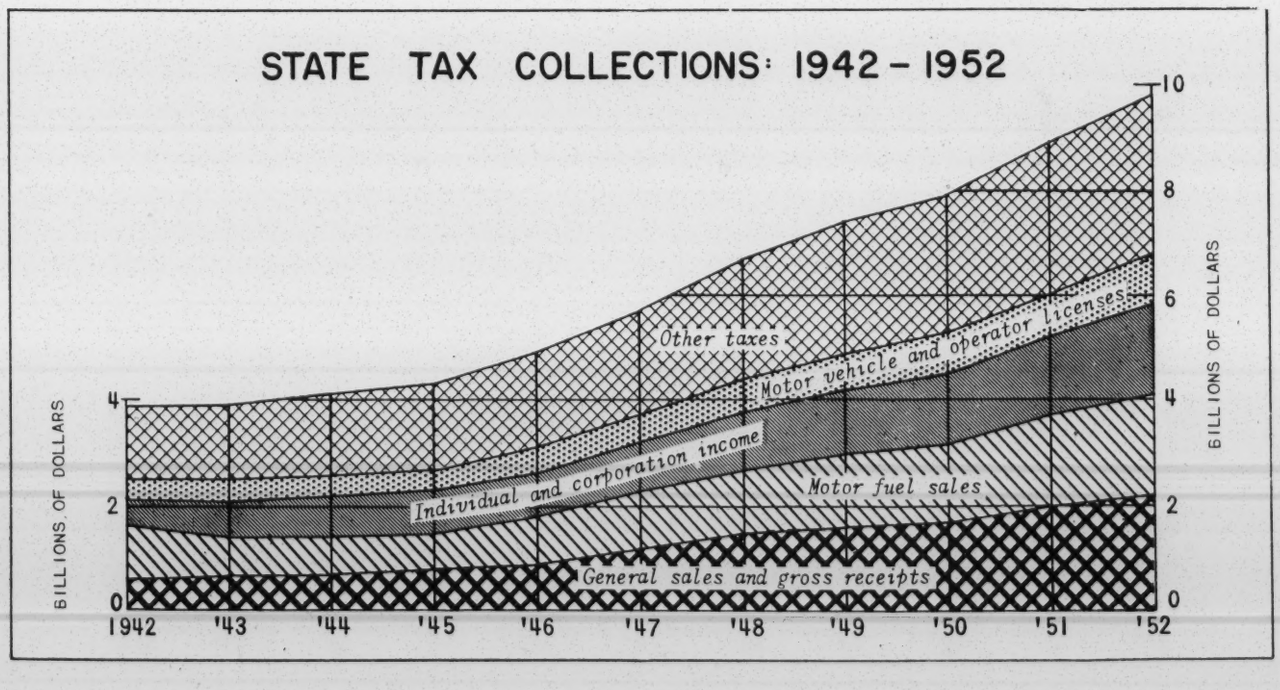
This publication relates to revenue from State taxes only. In 1951, tax revenue of local governments amounted to $8.6 billion,[2] or slightly less than the $8.9 billion collected by the States.

Statistics on State revenue in 1952 from nontax sources have not yet been compiled. In fiscal 1951 the States received over $6.6 billion from such sources, including $2.2 billion in aid from the Federal Government and $2.3 billion from insurance trust sources. About two-thirds of all State insurance trust revenue in 1951 represented "contributions" collected for unemployment compensation. Such contributions were classified as tax revenue in Census reports for several years prior to 1951. However, in Census reports for 1951 and herein, tax revenue figures (including prior year amounts) are exclusive of such unemployment compensation contributions.

Summary historical and analytical data are presented in tables 1 and 2; statistics on 1952

[1] Data contained in the Census Bureau's annual series on "State Finances" are for State fiscal years that end on June 30, except for 6 States with earlier closing dates (3 in the spring and 3 between the preceding August and December), as shown in table 6.

[2] Bureau of the Census, Governmental Revenue in 1951.



collections from major types of taxes, by State, in tables 3-5; and data on fiscal years, population, and income payments in table 6.

Definitions of the standard categories for Census reporting of State tax revenue are presented on pages 9-10.

MAJOR TAX SOURCES

All major tax categories, except alcoholic beverages taxes, shared in the 1951-1952 net rise in State tax yields. The largest amount of increase was provided by general sales and gross receipts taxes--up $228 million or 11.4 percent. However, most of this increase was accounted for by newly enacted sales taxes in Maine and South Carolina and the Georgia tax which became effective in late fiscal 1951. Sales taxes on motor fuel were up $161 million, or 9.4 percent. Increases in tax rates in several States contributed to this rise.

General sales and gross receipts taxes continued as the largest single source of State tax revenue, providing $2.2 billion. This category accounted for more than one-fifth of total State tax yields in 1952, even though such taxes were in effect in only 31 States.

The next ranking source was the sales tax on motor fuel, which produced $1,871 million. Tobacco sales taxes provided $449 million, up 4.4 percent from the 1951 amount. Alcoholic beverage sales taxes produced $442 million, or 5.8 percent less than in the previous year. Altogether, general and selective sales and gross receipts taxes yielded $5,730 million, or nearly three-fifths of the total collected from all State tax sources.

Corporation and individual income taxes together rose 16.3 percent from $1,492 million in 1951 to $1,736 million in 1952. Excluding amounts for 5 States which reported combined collections for these taxes in 1952, collections of individual income taxes rose 11.9 percent and of corporation net income taxes 22.0 percent.

Motor vehicle and motor vehicle operators license taxes provided $924 million, up $84 million or 10.0 percent from the 1951 level.

Sharp rates of increase, although involving much smaller amounts, appear for severance taxes (up 22.6 percent to $272 million) and for selective sales taxes on public utilities (up 14.4 percent to $228 million) and on insurance companies (up 11.7 percent to $284 million).

INDIVIDUAL-STATE COMPARISONS

All of the States except two reported higher total tax yields in 1952 than in 1951. Total tax revenue of Delaware was down 15.5 percent and that of South Dakota was down 7.3 percent. Seven States reported a 1951-1952 increase of more than 15 percent. The collections of 7 States were up by 5 percent or less; 22 States reported gains of 5 to 10 percent; and 10 States show increases of 10 to 15 percent. The highest rates of increase appear for Georgia (up 49.5 percent), South Carolina (up 41.7 percent), Maine (up 30.3 percent), Vermont (up 28.6 percent), and Rhode Island (up 25.8 percent). The greatest amounts of increase appear for New York (up $109 million or 11.8 percent) and California (up $106 million or 11.0 percent).

California collected $1,064 million in State taxes and New York $1,024 million in fiscal 1952, far more than the next ranking States of Pennsylvania ($538 million), Michigan ($503 million), Illinois ($455 million) and Ohio ($451 million).

Per capita amounts of State tax revenue in 1952 ranged from $103 in Washington and Louisiana down to $36 in New Jersey. The 48-State average equaled $64. The ratio of State tax yields in fiscal 1952 to income payments in the calendar year 1951 averaged 4.1 percent, and ranged from less than 3.0 percent in 3 States to 7.0 percent or more in 3 States.

Inter-State comparisons of tax data in this report should take account particularly of the fact that the proportion of total State and local tax revenue which is contributed by State-imposed taxes differs materially from one State area to another. Percentage figures illustrating this variation, in terms of 1942 data, are presented in table 6. Nationally, and no doubt in most if not all States, the State tax portion of all State and local tax revenue has risen since that time. However, no more recent comparative data are available as to total State and local taxes in the several States.

NOTES ON PROCEDURE

Most of the amounts shown in this publication were reported by State officials to the Census Bureau in response to a mail canvass. In a few cases data were obtained from State publications.

In reporting tax revenue amounts for this publication--which is released annually within less than 60 days after the June 30 fiscal year closing date of 42 States--officials are urged to supply preliminary figures or estimates as to items for which final figures are not yet available. Moreover, in some States where data are not yet available centrally as to certain taxes, supplementary information is sought wherever possible from minor tax collecting agencies and other sources. For these reasons, final 1952 figures as to some tax items may differ somewhat from the amounts shown herein.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

State officials and their staffs were most cooperative in providing data for this report. Their assistance is gratefully acknowledged.

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Table 1.--STATE TAX COLLECTIONS, BY TYPE OF TAX: 1942-1952

Tax source	Amount in millions						Percent change[1]		Percent distribution 1952[1]	Per capita[2]	
	1952 (Prelim.)	1951	1950	1948	1945	1942	From 1951 to 1952	From 1942 to 1952		1952	1942
Total collections	$9,838	[3]$8,933	$7,930	$6,732	$4,307	$3,903	10.1	152.1	100.0	$64.48	$29.50
Sales and gross receipts	5,730	5,270	4,670	4,045	2,278	2,220	8.7	158.1	58.2	37.55	16.78
General sales or gross receipts	2,229	2,001	1,670	1,479	776	633	11.4	252.3	22.7	14.61	4.78
Motor fuels	1,871	1,710	1,544	1,260	696	942	9.4	98.6	19.0	12.26	7.12
Alcoholic beverages	442	469	420	426	312	256	-5.8	72.4	4.5	2.89	1.94
Tobacco products	449	430	414	339	145	131	4.4	243.3	4.6	2.94	.99
Insurance	284	254	241	193	131	113	11.7	151.1	2.9	1.86	.85
Public utilities	228	199	185	155	129	100	14.4	128.0	2.3	1.50	.76
Other	227	206	195	194	90	45	10.1	400.8	2.3	1.49	.34
License	1,475	[3]1,358	1,228	981	690	694	8.7	112.6	15.0	9.67	5.25
Motor vehicles and operators	924	840	755	593	395	431	10.0	114.3	9.4	6.05	3.26
Corporations in general	226	211	176	149	114	93	7.4	143.5	2.3	1.48	.70
Alcoholic beverages	77	77	77	74	58	56	0.5	38.8	0.8	.51	.42
Hunting and fishing	70	63	60	47	25	24	10.8	195.1	0.7	.46	.18
Other	178	167	159	118	98	91	6.5	96.5	1.8	1.17	.68
Income	1,736	1,492	1,310	1,084	809	518	16.3	235.0	17.6	11.38	3.92
Individual income[4]	905	805	724	499	357	249	(4)	(4)	(4)	(4)	(4)
Corporation net income[4]	830	687	586	585	453	269	(4)	(4)	(4)	(4)	(4)
Property	370	346	307	279	276	271	6.8	36.4	3.8	2.42	2.05
Death and gift	211	196	168	180	132	112	7.9	88.2	2.1	1.38	.85
Severance	272	222	211	131	83	62	22.6	335.4	2.8	1.78	.47
Other	45	50	36	31	38	25	-10.3	78.7	0.5	.29	.19

NOTE: Because of rounding, detail does not always add to total.

[1]Computed on the basis of amounts rounded to the nearest thousand.

[2]Computed on the basis of amounts rounded to the nearest thousand. Per capita figures for 1952 are based on 1951 population figures shown in table 6; those for 1942 are based on estimated total population of the 48 States on July 1, 1941 (132,300,000; excludes armed forces overseas).

[3]Revised.

[4]Combined corporation and individual income taxes as reported for from 1 to 5 States in each fiscal period shown are tabulated with individual income taxes. See also footnote 1, table 3. Therefore, derived data are not presented separately as to the two tax categories.

Table 2.--STATE TAX COLLECTIONS, BY STATE: 1942-1952

State	Amount (in millions)				Percent change[1]		1952 amount per capita[2]	1952 as percent of income payments in 1951[1]
	1952 (Prelim.)	1951	1950	1942	1951 to 1952	1942 to 1952		
Total	$9,838	[3]$8,933	$7,930	$3,903	10.1	152.1	$64.48	4.1
Alabama	132	117	116	52	12.6	155.0	43.28	4.6
Arizona	69	67	48	24	3.7	190.3	85.71	6.0
Arkansas	100	92	85	41	7.7	143.6	52.14	5.6
California	1,064	958	811	333	11.0	219.0	96.51	5.0
Colorado	106	100	89	38	5.9	176.2	77.25	4.9
Connecticut	132	124	106	58	6.6	128.6	64.83	3.2
Delaware	24	28	26	11	-15.5	122.4	73.16	3.5
Florida	229	[3]204	170	60	12.0	282.0	77.27	6.0
Georgia	228	153	125	59	49.5	288.0	65.46	5.9
Idaho	38	34	30	13	12.2	192.8	64.89	4.8
Illinois	455	419	380	231	8.6	97.2	51.61	2.7
Indiana	258	239	203	97	8.1	166.8	63.94	3.9
Iowa	168	162	146	71	3.6	137.2	64.09	4.2
Kansas	133	123	119	45	8.2	194.0	68.18	4.7
Kentucky	129	123	107	54	5.0	141.1	44.15	4.1
Louisiana	283	262	241	81	8.0	249.0	102.70	9.1
Maine	56	43	42	23	30.3	144.9	63.04	4.8
Maryland	153	144	131	49	6.2	215.0	62.82	4.0
Massachusetts	300	294	235	124	1.9	141.7	63.41	3.6
Michigan	503	453	393	184	11.0	173.3	76.78	4.4
Minnesota	233	216	189	91	7.9	154.7	77.70	6.4
Mississippi	110	101	87	42	8.6	161.4	50.10	6.5
Missouri	185	181	162	83	2.5	123.7	45.75	3.0
Montana	37	35	30	14	7.4	163.9	63.38	3.6
Nebraska	56	53	54	24	6.9	137.4	41.68	2.8
Nevada	14	13	11	5	11.0	211.5	84.68	4.2
New Hampshire	25	23	20	13	12.6	88.3	47.51	3.4
New Jersey	178	168	148	105	6.2	70.1	35.83	2.0
New Mexico	65	60	51	18	8.5	253.6	91.90	7.1
New York	1,024	915	892	484	11.8	111.5	68.12	3.3
North Carolina	278	256	213	99	8.9	181.2	67.35	6.4
North Dakota	45	42	39	19	6.2	139.6	74.32	5.3
Ohio	451	419	379	229	7.7	97.0	55.94	3.1
Oklahoma	188	176	158	74	6.6	155.3	82.86	7.0
Oregon	128	110	100	36	17.0	256.8	82.37	5.0
Pennsylvania	538	498	439	291	7.9	85.0	50.91	3.1
Rhode Island	53	[3]42	38	17	25.8	212.2	67.12	4.0
South Carolina	147	104	90	45	41.7	229.2	69.20	6.9
South Dakota	39	42	38	15	-7.3	161.9	60.14	3.9
Tennessee	179	165	150	54	8.5	235.0	54.09	5.1
Texas	414	352	315	138	17.4	200.0	51.77	3.7
Utah	54	50	44	21	8.9	165.1	76.70	5.4
Vermont	28	22	20	11	28.6	152.9	76.40	5.8
Virginia	167	162	147	65	2.8	154.6	49.21	4.1
Washington	249	226	202	90	10.1	176.4	102.72	5.9
West Virginia	123	107	94	57	14.7	116.3	61.57	5.2
Wisconsin	244	233	198	110	4.4	110.7	70.14	4.3
Wyoming	24	22	18	7	9.2	227.0	81.88	4.8

NOTE: Because of rounding, detail does not always add to total.
[1]Computed on the basis of amounts rounded to the nearest thousand.
[2]See footnote 2, table 1.
[3]Revised.

Table 3.--STATE TAX COLLECTIONS, BY MAJOR SOURCE AND BY STATE: 1952

(Dollar amounts in thousands)

State	Total	Sales and gross receipts (table 4)	Licenses (table 5)	Individual income	Corporation net income	Property	Death and gift	Severance	Other taxes
Number of States using tax..	48	48	48	31	33	45	47	24	23
Total.....	$9,837,556	$5,729,517	$1,475,389	[1]$905,472	[1]$830,235	$369,502	$211,000	$271,717	$44,724
Alabama.....	131,670	88,989	14,851	[1]16,258	[1]1,093	8,237	315	1,049	878
Arizona.....	68,997	42,972	5,930	[1]11,172	([1])	8,770	153	.....	.....
Arkansas.....	99,589	69,908	13,201	4,149	8,661	259	135	3,276	.....
California.....	1,063,915	657,349	95,206	91,176	119,386	71,612	28,515	671	.....
Colorado.....	106,302	63,173	12,791	14,053	6,121	7,441	2,667	56	.....
Connecticut.....	132,118	85,919	17,337	.....	22,189	468	6,205	.....	.....
Delaware.....	24,071	9,150	8,231	4,607	.....	985	1,098	.....	.....
Florida.....	228,784	174,212	43,212	.....	.....	5,068	2,764	58	3,470
Georgia.....	228,124	170,007	10,090	15,856	23,524	8,084	563	.....	.....
Idaho.....	38,288	16,636	7,681	6,752	4,064	2,439	522	194	.....
Illinois.....	455,172	382,756	60,535	.....	.....	442	11,439	.....	.....
Indiana.....	258,051	205,882	34,844	.....	.....	12,843	3,369	314	799
Iowa.....	168,244	104,489	37,013	19,703	2,884	127	3,939	.....	[2]89
Kansas.....	132,956	88,368	20,795	10,941	3,790	7,319	1,503	240	.....
Kentucky.....	129,010	71,460	14,883	18,112	10,853	10,650	2,313	172	567
Louisiana.....	283,158	161,847	20,623	[1]22,766	([1])	12,951	1,976	62,995	.....
Maine.....	56,238	37,483	10,986	.....	.....	6,248	1,517	.....	4
Maryland.....	153,347	87,109	21,933	22,240	14,627	2,979	3,225	.....	1,234
Massachusetts.....	300,038	106,035	[3]93,997	59,371	[3]29,114	169	11,065	.....	287
Michigan.....	502,554	372,457	91,307	.....	.....	28,105	9,914	771	.....
Minnesota.....	232,648	86,551	33,890	45,761	21,696	12,403	3,204	29,029	114
Mississippi.....	109,826	79,123	7,687	5,226	10,042	1,339	285	6,124	.....
Missouri.....	184,957	119,244	30,194	[1]25,436	([1])	6,738	3,345	.....	.....
Montana.....	37,332	17,821	6,067	5,325	2,284	3,915	752	1,168	.....
Nebraska.....	56,178	30,556	5,394	.....	.....	19,308	60	.....	860
Nevada.....	14,480	8,161	3,783	.....	.....	2,330	.....	100	106
New Hampshire.....	25,373	14,081	6,360	1,228	.....	1,371	960	17	1,356
New Jersey.....	178,203	99,979	62,733	.....	.....	3,004	12,487	.....	.....
New Mexico.....	64,699	43,924	8,198	[1]3,504	([1])	3,660	264	5,135	14
New York.....	1,023,582	322,162	131,067	296,989	218,129	2,027	27,893	.....	25,315
North Carolina.....	278,482	151,111	38,554	36,468	42,564	5,356	4,379	.....	50
North Dakota.....	44,961	27,046	8,598	4,091	1,391	3,687	148	.....	.....
Ohio.....	451,026	345,211	82,496	.....	.....	18,710	4,609	.....	.....
Oklahoma.....	187,756	111,152	28,814	9,695	8,850	.....	3,212	26,033	.....
Oregon.....	128,340	34,943	25,343	42,825	22,071	19	2,534	605	.....
Pennsylvania.....	537,509	238,352	142,974	.....	127,854	1,582	26,109	.....	638
Rhode Island.....	53,225	36,543	[4]6,553	.....	[4]7,983	.....	2,146	.....	.....
South Carolina.....	147,046	104,664	9,632	12,088	17,520	1,659	640	.....	843
South Dakota.....	38,912	32,672	4,234	.....	161	845	472	528	.....
Tennessee.....	179,468	127,777	27,057	3,608	16,791	[2]49	2,919	.....	1,267
Texas.....	413,669	188,330	53,325	.....	.....	33,843	5,074	131,374	1,723
Utah.....	54,380	31,309	4,804	7,303	3,227	5,886	323	1,528	.....
Vermont.....	28,497	11,318	5,883	7,042	2,912	349	585	.....	408
Virginia.....	166,559	74,805	29,551	24,595	22,425	9,512	2,122	144	3,405
Washington.....	249,085	208,191	21,736	.....	.....	15,231	3,432	.....	495
West Virginia.....	122,829	104,522	15,941	.....	.....	220	1,357	.....	789
Wisconsin.....	243,753	69,214	34,595	57,132	58,029	16,281	8,353	136	13
Wyoming.....	24,155	14,554	4,480	.....	.....	4,982	139	.....	.....

[1]Combined corporation and individual income taxes as reported by 5 States--Alabama, Arizona, Louisiana, Missouri, and New Mexico-- are tabulated with individual income taxes. Amount shown as corporation tax for Alabama represents only taxes on financial institutions.

[2]Back taxes only; not counted with "Number of States using tax."

[3]Amounts for corporation excise taxes and surtaxes, measured in part by net income and in part by corporate excess, are tabulated with license taxes.

[4]Corporate excess tax is included with corporation net income tax.

Table 4.--SALES AND GROSS RECEIPTS TAX COLLECTIONS, BY STATE: 1952

(Dollar amounts in thousands)

State	Total	General sales or gross receipts	Selective sales and gross receipts								
			Total	Motor fuels	Alcoholic beverages	Tobacco products	Insurance	Public utilities	Pari-mutuels	Amusements	Other
Number of States using tax.....	48	31	48	48	48	41	48	36	23	32	32
Total.....	$5,729,517	$2,229,295	$3,500,222	$1,870,856	$441,559	$448,986	$283,750	$228,151	$136,947	$13,940	$76,033
Alabama.....	88,989	37,165	51,824	36,929	1,511	7,746	3,117	1,927	.....	120	474
Arizona.....	42,972	22,246	20,726	13,454	2,291	2,040	1,048	1,150	743	.....	.....
Arkansas.....	69,908	27,569	42,339	26,559	6,059	6,625	2,250	.....	826	13	7
California.....	657,349	416,494	240,855	160,301	19,156	.....	25,281	12,524	19,209	153	4,231
Colorado.....	63,173	30,986	32,187	24,350	3,802	.....	2,362	.....	1,663	9	1
Connecticut.....	85,919	35,164	50,755	21,466	5,695	8,443	7,694	5,705	.....	4	1,748
Delaware.....	9,150	[1]2	9,148	5,032	971	1,085	901	17	1,062	80	.....
Florida.....	174,212	54,115	120,097	63,938	26,006	4,075	4,988	2,836	17,655	596	3
Georgia.....	170,007	93,654	76,353	51,639	10,267	8,890	4,822	.....	.....	.....	735
Idaho.....	16,636	.....	16,636	11,292	817	1,651	1,328	756	.....	277	515
Illinois.....	382,756	191,934	190,822	82,435	22,098	28,919	17,666	27,425	11,725	554	.....
Indiana.....	205,882	126,746	79,136	46,840	12,788	13,319	6,150	.....	.....	39	.....
Iowa.....	104,489	59,289	45,200	31,620	3,094	5,022	4,466	.....	.....	.....	998
Kansas.....	88,368	44,684	43,684	29,250	5,227	5,317	3,679	211	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky.....	71,460	.....	71,460	41,453	9,523	5,533	4,113	3,202	839	1,613	5,184
Louisiana.....	161,847	54,288	107,559	50,215	16,578	18,780	4,942	13,289	840	73	2,842
Maine.....	37,483	11,212	26,271	14,114	2,071	5,325	1,541	2,603	617	.....	.....
Maryland.....	87,109	29,246	57,863	28,135	6,754	.....	4,581	4,862	5,984	411	7,136
Massachusetts....	106,035	.....	106,035	37,231	21,204	26,743	6,147	.....	8,934	23	5,753
Michigan.....	372,457	245,660	126,797	78,951	6,861	24,148	12,088	.....	4,709	40	.....
Minnesota.....	86,551	.....	86,551	38,556	12,897	11,383	5,442	17,791	.....	14	468
Mississippi.....	79,123	30,864	48,259	32,450	4,272	6,993	2,099	.....	.....	1,007	1,438
Missouri.....	119,244	83,287	35,957	22,872	5,395	.....	7,523	79	.....	.....	88
Montana.....	17,821	.....	17,821	10,999	1,653	2,761	1,052	631	.....	52	673
Nebraska.....	30,556	.....	30,556	22,723	2,805	3,987	1,001	7	.....	31	2
Nevada.....	8,161	.....	8,161	4,861	612	863	299	.....	.....	1,526	.....
New Hampshire....	14,081	.....	14,081	6,768	1,022	3,089	1,121	.....	2,081	.....	.....
New Jersey.....	99,979	.....	99,979	39,584	15,894	19,099	9,750	.....	15,611	41	.....
New Mexico.....	43,924	22,618	21,306	15,358	1,438	2,555	910	760	260	25	.....
New York.....	322,162	.....	322,162	102,494	46,252	59,769	36,412	42,200	33,755	1,280	.....
North Carolina...	151,111	51,821	99,290	69,648	10,911	.....	6,199	12,288	.....	.....	244
North Dakota.....	27,046	12,290	14,756	7,454	2,923	3,110	898	2	.....	.....	369
Ohio.....	345,211	165,246	179,965	87,024	31,982	19,816	16,514	23,250	1,364	[1]15	.....
Oklahoma.....	111,152	40,990	70,162	42,514	5,932	10,767	5,912	294	.....	.....	4,743
Oregon.....	34,943	.....	34,943	29,373	1,308	.....	3,036	175	957	.....	94
Pennsylvania.....	238,352	.....	238,352	116,308	43,220	44,265	19,832	14,066	.....	65	596
Rhode Island.....	36,543	12,526	24,017	6,889	1,836	3,344	1,657	3,103	6,068	7	1,113
South Carolina...	104,664	37,581	67,083	36,178	13,419	5,761	2,963	3,532	.....	438	4,792
South Dakota.....	32,672	16,137	16,535	9,516	2,410	1,717	1,143	18	49	.....	1,682
Tennessee.....	127,777	50,022	77,755	49,600	8,047	13,221	5,088	1,234	.....	299	266
Texas.....	188,330	.....	188,330	95,684	15,800	33,292	14,201	6,867	.....	246	22,240
Utah.....	31,309	16,890	14,419	10,859	787	916	1,220	63	.....	.....	574
Vermont.....	11,318	.....	11,318	5,101	2,743	1,894	707	871	.....	1	1
Virginia.....	74,805	.....	74,805	49,101	8,018	.....	6,231	11,442	.....	13	.....
Washington.....	208,191	135,230	72,961	43,954	1,407	10,343	4,202	7,512	680	4,863	.....
West Virginia....	104,522	65,535	38,987	19,006	4,138	5,748	2,722	.....	1,316	.....	6,057
Wisconsin.....	69,214	.....	69,214	35,323	11,139	10,418	5,902	5,454	.....	12	966
Wyoming.....	14,554	7,804	6,750	5,455	526	214	550	5	.....	.....	.....

[1]Back taxes only; not included with "Number of States using tax."

Table 5.--LICENSE TAX COLLECTIONS, BY STATE: 1952

(Dollar amounts in thousands)

State	Total	Motor vehicles	Motor vehicle operators	Corporations in general	Public utilities	Alcoholic beverages	Chain stores	Amusements	Occupations and businesses, NEC[1]	Hunting and fishing	Other
Number of States using tax	48	48	47	48	26	48	18	37	48	48	26
Total	$1,475,389	$865,024	$58,534	$226,497	$13,119	$77,193	$4,737	$5,044	$151,261	$70,146	$3,834
Alabama	14,851	7,772	115	2,741	234	117	94	.....	3,199	579	.....
Arizona	5,930	4,200	65	145	.....	290	.....	.....	590	640	.....
Arkansas	13,201	9,156	647	494	175	146	.....	87	1,391	1,105	.....
California	95,206	66,974	3,077	416	290	8,413	.....	.....	10,580	5,424	32
Colorado	12,791	7,285	244	245	75	750	214	2	1,229	2,744	3
Connecticut	17,337	9,178	2,906	400	.....	3,091	.....	116	1,060	468	118
Delaware	8,231	1,406	61	5,399	226	181	67	1	817	36	37
Florida	43,212	26,015	1,531	770	79	1,300	914	9	11,413	1,181	.....
Georgia	10,090	6,086	156	1,165	.....	274	6	.....	2,002	401	.....
Idaho	7,681	4,041	224	171	.....	467	.....	487	1,076	1,140	75
Illinois	60,535	45,416	3,568	3,929	.....	1,461	.....	450	3,924	1,787	.....
Indiana	34,844	24,975	1,030	398	.....	3,693	561	16	3,045	1,018	108
Iowa	37,013	32,550	1,292	236	12	85	32	.....	1,290	1,088	428
Kansas	20,795	15,462	1,288	527	151	213	.....	45	1,993	1,076	40
Kentucky	14,883	8,587	771	1,395	.....	875	.....	101	1,947	1,203	4
Louisiana	20,623	7,987	830	5,364	.....	982	142	10	4,769	539	.....
Maine	10,986	6,312	712	228	.....	474	.....	26	1,874	1,265	95
Maryland	21,933	16,366	483	467	.....	125	50	316	3,305	636	185
Massachusetts	93,997	12,941	4,996	[2]61,961	4,773	439	.....	332	7,747	808	.....
Michigan	91,307	49,681	1,657	26,079	146	4,759	493	8	2,951	5,527	6
Minnesota	33,890	25,926	684	103	19	98	.....	9	3,608	3,443	.....
Mississippi	7,687	3,383	411	1,310	381	78	82	.....	1,522	520	.....
Missouri	30,194	19,963	600	3,495	237	1,612	.....	37	2,238	2,012	([3])
Montana	6,067	1,935	877	78	.....	1,160	155	.....	791	1,032	39
Nebraska	5,394	2,056	1,266	228	.....	161	.....	18	955	710	.....
Nevada	3,783	2,096	52	360	.....	19	.....	334	210	568	144
New Hampshire	6,360	4,153	525	114	.....	221	.....	.....	509	838	.....
New Jersey	62,733	38,972	6,663	10,301	1,574	404	.....	.....	3,584	1,153	82
New Mexico	8,198	5,877	446	420	5	100	.....	5	670	675	.....
New York	131,067	83,115	2,972	1,180	3,240	23,810	.....	551	12,540	3,474	185
North Carolina	38,554	20,866	784	5,216	53	81	196	529	9,597	1,232	.....
North Dakota	8,598	6,571	556	17	.....	171	.....	56	1,036	191	.....
Ohio	82,496	57,141	1,212	10,167	159	7,759	.....	316	3,116	2,602	24
Oklahoma	28,814	21,979	1,710	2,148	1	277	.....	339	1,000	1,360	.....
Oregon	25,343	18,091	685	447	.....	488	.....	282	2,496	2,508	346
Pennsylvania	142,974	55,654	5,145	60,604	6	7,754	.....	18	8,447	4,315	1,031
Rhode Island	6,553	4,430	690	[4]100	.....	65	.....	18	1,185	65	.....
South Carolina	9,632	5,098	720	569	.....	501	275	209	1,822	438	.....
South Dakota	4,234	2,634	.....	29	.....	182	53	2	517	817	.....
Tennessee	27,057	11,951	1,931	4,263	88	292	157	125	7,195	1,055	.....
Texas	53,325	33,882	1,338	10,346	30	1,350	1,144	9	3,790	1,436	.....
Utah	4,804	3,090	137	64	.....	2	.....	.....	398	1,037	76
Vermont	5,883	4,551	389	16	16	157	.....	93	201	452	8
Virginia	29,551	15,093	374	734	.....	247	.....	64	11,596	1,245	198
Washington	21,736	11,694	1,695	425	880	1,233	.....	20	2,585	2,661	543
West Virginia	15,941	11,118	475	889	230	822	102	NA	1,264	1,025	16
Wisconsin	34,595	28,496	502	284	39	NA	.....	4	2,045	3,214	11
Wyoming	4,480	2,819	42	60	.....	14	.....	.....	142	1,403	.....

NA signifies data not available.
[1]NEC signifies "not elsewhere classified."
[2]Includes corporation excise taxes and surtaxes measured in part by net income and in part by corporate excess.
[3]Less than $500.
[4]Corporate excess tax included with corporation net income tax.

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Table 6.--FISCAL YEAR, POPULATION, AND INCOME PAYMENTS, BY STATE

State	Date of close of fiscal year	Total population excluding armed forces overseas		Income payments to individuals[1]				State taxes as percent of State and local taxes 1942
		July 1, 1951 (estimated)	April 1, 1950 (enumerated)	1951		1950		
				Amount (millions)	Per capita	Amount (millions)	Per capita	
Total		[2]152,572,000	[2]149,895,183	[2]$240,656	[2]$1,581	[2]$215,600	[2]$1,437	46.0
Alabama	Sept. 30, 1951	3,042,000	3,061,743	2,890	950	2,562	840	64.3
Arizona	June 30, 1952	805,000	749,587	1,151	1,432	936	1,240	69.5
Arkansas	June 30, 1952	1,910,000	1,909,511	1,769	926	1,582	823	73.8
California	June 30, 1952	11,024,000	10,586,223	21,306	1,933	18,609	1,758	50.2
Colorado	June 30, 1952	1,376,000	1,325,089	2,158	1,568	1,855	1,396	46.9
Connecticut	June 30, 1952	2,038,000	2,007,280	4,071	1,999	3,572	1,776	40.5
Delaware	June 30, 1952	329,000	318,085	683	2,076	609	1,897	70.0
Florida	June 30, 1952	2,961,000	2,771,305	3,801	1,284	3,402	1,204	52.1
Georgia	June 30, 1952	3,485,000	3,444,578	3,844	1,103	3,309	958	59.2
Idaho	June 30, 1952	590,000	588,637	800	1,356	739	1,255	43.0
Illinois	June 30, 1952	8,820,000	8,712,176	17,001	1,928	15,397	1,756	39.4
Indiana	June 30, 1952	4,036,000	3,934,224	6,655	1,649	5,768	1,455	48.0
Iowa	June 30, 1952	2,625,000	2,621,073	4,019	1,531	3,716	1,409	46.1
Kansas	June 30, 1952	1,950,000	1,905,299	2,847	1,460	2,570	1,346	42.8
Kentucky	June 30, 1952	2,922,000	2,944,806	3,115	1,066	2,700	917	56.2
Louisiana	June 30, 1952	2,757,000	2,683,516	3,128	1,135	2,834	1,042	66.8
Maine	June 30, 1952	892,000	913,774	1,182	1,298	1,083	1,174	45.6
Maryland	June 30, 1952	2,441,000	2,343,001	3,875	1,714	3,417	1,555	45.5
Massachusetts	June 30, 1952	4,732,000	4,690,514	8,223	1,738	7,545	1,604	34.8
Michigan	June 30, 1952	6,545,000	6,371,766	11,352	1,734	10,158	1,583	49.7
Minnesota	June 30, 1952	2,994,000	2,982,483	4,414	1,474	3,992	1,341	47.1
Mississippi	June 30, 1952	2,192,000	2,178,914	1,689	771	1,527	702	56.9
Missouri	June 30, 1952	4,043,000	3,954,653	6,141	1,519	5,580	1,397	45.0
Montana	June 30, 1952	589,000	591,024	1,026	1,742	942	1,591	35.5
Nebraska	June 30, 1952	1,348,000	1,325,510	2,035	1,510	1,969	1,478	35.6
Nevada	June 30, 1952	171,000	160,083	347	2,029	300	1,863	41.7
New Hampshire	June 30, 1952	534,000	533,242	747	1,444	673	1,293	39.8
New Jersey	June 30, 1952	4,974,000	4,835,329	8,813	1,885	7,786	1,710	28.8
New Mexico	June 30, 1952	704,000	681,187	916	1,301	775	1,133	73.3
New York	March 31, 1952	15,026,000	14,830,192	30,555	1,996	28,415	1,875	35.2
North Carolina	June 30, 1952	4,135,000	4,061,929	4,350	1,052	3,887	956	68.1
North Dakota	June 30, 1952	605,000	619,636	849	1,403	790	1,276	42.5
Ohio	June 30, 1952	8,063,000	7,946,627	14,509	1,799	12,618	1,584	52.7
Oklahoma	June 30, 1952	2,266,000	2,233,351	2,677	1,182	2,394	1,071	63.6
Oregon	June 30, 1952	1,558,000	1,521,341	2,572	1,652	2,318	1,515	46.3
Pennsylvania	May 31, 1952	10,559,000	10,498,012	17,552	1,663	16,141	1,532	45.4
Rhode Island	June 30, 1952	793,000	791,896	1,341	1,691	1,237	1,564	34.6
South Carolina	June 30, 1952	2,125,000	2,117,027	2,131	1,003	1,756	838	62.3
South Dakota	June 30, 1952	647,000	652,740	989	1,529	839	1,281	36.3
Tennessee	June 30, 1952	3,318,000	3,291,718	3,530	1,064	3,182	960	51.0
Texas	Aug. 31, 1951	7,991,000	7,711,194	11,285	1,412	9,874	1,276	48.1
Utah	June 30, 1952	709,000	688,862	1,008	1,424	876	1,266	55.3
Vermont	June 30, 1952	373,000	377,747	493	1,322	449	1,191	50.8
Virginia	June 30, 1952	3,385,000	3,318,680	4,099	1,295	3,556	1,146	59.0
Washington	March 31, 1952	2,425,000	2,378,963	4,257	1,755	3,866	1,622	66.8
West Virginia	June 30, 1952	1,995,000	2,005,552	2,343	1,174	2,117	1,051	65.3
Wisconsin	June 30, 1952	3,475,000	3,434,575	5,610	1,614	4,936	1,434	48.6
Wyoming	Sept. 30, 1951	295,000	290,529	508	1,722	442	1,519	45.1

[1]Source: Department of Commerce, Survey of Current Business, Aug. 1952. Estimated income payments are for Calendar years; the 1950 figures have been revised.
[2]Does not include data for the District of Columbia.

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DEFINITIONS OF STATE TAXES

State tax revenue comprises amounts collected--including interest and penalties but excluding amounts refunded--from all taxes imposed by a State and collected by it or collected and transmitted to it by local governments. State tax revenue includes local shares of State-imposed taxes except any amounts locally collected and retained.

Standard categories for Census reporting of State tax collections are defined below.

PROPERTY TAXES (R11).—Taxes conditioned on ownership of property and measured by its value. Includes general property taxes relating to property as a whole, real and personal, tangible or intangible, whether taxed at a single rate or at classified rates, and taxes on selected types of property, such as motor vehicles or certain or all intangibles.

SALES AND GROSS RECEIPTS TAXES (R12).—Taxes, including "licenses" at more than nominal rates, based upon the volume or value of transfers of goods or services, upon gross receipts therefrom, or upon gross income, and related taxes based upon use, storage, production, importation, or consumption of goods. Dealer discounts or "commissions" allowed to merchants for collection of taxes from consumers are excluded. Distinctively imposed severance taxes are excluded here and reported under that category (see "R18" below).

General sales or gross receipts taxes (R12A).—Sales or gross receipts taxes which are applicable with only specified exceptions to all types of goods, all types of goods and services, or all gross income, whether at a single rate or at classified rates. Taxes imposed distinctively upon sales of or gross receipts from selected commodities, services, or businesses are reported separately under categories listed below.

Selective sales and gross receipts taxes (R12B).—Sales and gross receipts taxes imposed on sales of particular commodities or services or gross receipts of particular businesses separately and apart from the application of general sales and gross receipts taxes (see R12A above).

Motor fuels (R12B1).—Selective sales and gross receipts taxes on gasoline, diesel oil and other fuels used in motor vehicles, including aircraft fuel. Note that any amounts refunded are deducted from gross collections.

Alcoholic beverages (R12 B2).—Selective sales and gross receipts taxes on alcoholic beverages.

Public utilities (R12B3).—Taxes imposed distinctively on public passenger and freight transportation companies, telephone, telegraph, and light and power companies, and other public utility companies and measured by gross receipts, gross earnings, or units of service sold. Taxes levied on such companies on other bases are classified elsewhere in accordance with the nature of the tax.

Insurance (R12B4).—Taxes imposed distinctively on insurance companies and measured by gross premiums or adjusted gross premiums.

Tobacco products (R12B5).—Selective sales and gross receipts taxes on tobacco products, including cigarette tubes and papers.

Pari-mutuels (R12B6).—Taxes measured by amounts wagered at race tracks, including "breakage" collected by the government.

Amusements (R12B7).—Selective sales and gross receipts taxes on admission tickets or admission charges and on gross receipts of all or specified types of amusement businesses.

Other selective sales and gross receipts taxes (R12B9).—Selective sales and gross receipts taxes relating to specific commodities, businesses, or services not separately enumerated above (e.g., lubricating oil, fuel other than motor fuel, meals, margarine, cement, etc.).

LICENSE TAXES (R13).—Taxes exacted (either for revenue raising or for regulation) as a condition to the exercise of a business or nonbusiness privilege, at a flat rate or measured by such bases as capital stock, capital surplus, number of business units, or capacity. Excludes taxes measured directly by transactions, gross or net income, or value of property except those to which only nominal rates apply. "Licenses" based on these latter measures, other than those at nominal rates, are classified according to the measure concerned.

Alcoholic beverages (R13A).—License taxes for manufacturing, importing, wholesaling, and retailing alcoholic beverages other than those based on volume or value of transactions or assessed value of property.

Public utilities (R13B).—License taxes distinctively imposed on public passenger and freight transportation companies, telephone, telegraph, and light and power companies, and other public utility companies.

Motor vehicles (R13E).—License taxes imposed on owners or operators of motor vehicles, commercial and noncommercial, for the right to use public highways, including charges for title registration and inspection of vehicles. Does not include taxes on the business of motor transport nor property taxes or sales and gross receipts taxes relating to motor vehicles.

Motor vehicle operators (R13F).—Licenses for privilege of driving motor vehicles, including both private and commercial licenses.

Corporations in general (R13H).—Franchise license taxes, organization, filing, and entrance fees, and other license taxes which are applicable, with only specified exceptions, to all corporations.

Hunting and fishing licenses (R13J).—Commercial and noncommercial hunting and fishing licenses and shipping permits.

Chain stores (R13K).—License taxes imposed distinctively on chain store organizations (i.e., groups of stores engaged in a similar kind of business under the same management) or upon individual units of a chain store system.

Amusements (R13L).—License taxes imposed upon amusement businesses generally or upon specific amusement enterprises (e.g., race tracks, theaters, athletic events, pool halls, etc.). "Licenses" based on value or number of admissions, amount of wagers, or gross or net income are reported elsewhere.

Occupations and businesses not elsewhere classified (R13M).—License taxes (including examination and inspection fees) required of persons engaging in particular professions, trades, or occupations, and such taxes on businesses not elsewhere classified. Includes charges relating to inspection and marketing of seed, feed, fertilizer, gasoline, oil, citrus fruit, and other commodities, as well as licenses relating to operation of particular business enterprises.

Other license taxes (R13Z).—License taxes not listed separately above (e.g., animal licenses, marriage licenses, individual permits to purchase liquor, and other nonbusiness privileges).

POLL TAXES (R14).—Capitation taxes levied as specific amounts, uniform or graded, against persons, or as ad valorem taxes on an arbitrary valuation of polls.

INDIVIDUAL INCOME TAXES (R15).—Taxes on individuals measured by net income and taxes distinctively imposed on special types of income (e.g., interest, dividends, income from intangibles, etc.). Taxes measured by income from intangible property are reported here even though locally designated as "property" taxes.

CORPORATION NET INCOME TAXES (R16).—Taxes on corporations and unincorporated businesses (when taxed distinctively from individual income) measured by net income. Such taxes may be called "license" or "franchise" taxes. However designated, they are classified here if measured by net income.

DEATH AND GIFT TAXES (R17).—Taxes imposed on the transfer of property at death, in contemplation of death, or as a gift.

SEVERANCE TAXES (R18).—Taxes imposed distinctively on removal of natural products--e.g., oil, gas, other minerals, timber, fish, etc.—from land or water and measured by value or quantity of products removed or sold.

MISCELLANEOUS TAXES (R19).—See below.

Documentary and stock transfer taxes (R19A).—Taxes on the recording, registering, and transferring of documents such as mortgages, deeds, and securities. However, taxes on recording or transfer of motor vehicles titles are reported at R13E.

Other taxes (R19Z).—Taxes not listed separately or provided for in categories above.

CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE OF GEORGIA

35- State Governments & Administration

PREAMBLE

To perpetuate the principles of free government, insure justice to all, preserve peace, promote the interest and happiness of the citizen, and transmit to posterity the enjoyment of liberty, we, the people of Georgia, relying upon the protection and guidance of Almighty God, do ordain and establish this Constitution.

Article I

Bill of Rights

Section I

Paragraph 1. Origin and foundation of government. All government, of right, originates with the people, is founded upon their will only, and is instituted solely for the good of the whole. Public officers are the trustees and servants of the people, and at all times, amenable to them.

Paragraph 2. Protection the duty of government. Protection to person and property is the paramount duty of government, and shall be impartial and complete.

Paragraph 3. Life, liberty, and property. No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, except by due process of law.

Paragraph 4. Right to the courts. No person shall be deprived of the right to prosecute or defend his own cause in any of the courts of this State, in person, by attorney, or both.

Paragraph 5. Benefit of counsel; accusation; list of witnesses; compulsory process; trial by jury. Every person charged with an offense against the laws of this State shall have the privilege and benefit of counsel; shall be furnished, on demand, with a copy of the accusation, and a list of the witnesses on whose testimony the charge against him is founded; shall have compulsory process to obtain the testimony of his own witnesses;shall be confronted with the witnesses testifying against him; and shall have a public and speedy trial by an impartial jury.

Paragraph 6. Crimination of self not compelled. No person shall be compelled to give testimony tending in any manner to criminate himself.

Paragraph 7. Banishment and whipping as punishment for crime. Neither banishment beyond the limits of the State, nor whipping, as a punishment for crime, shall be allowed.

Paragraph 8. Jeopardy of life or liberty more than once forbidden. No person shall be put in jeopardy of life, or liberty, more than once for the same offense, save on his, or her own motion for a new trial after conviction, or in case of mistrial.

Paragraph 9. Bail; fines; punishment; arrest, abuse of prisoners. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted; nor shall any person be abused in being arrested, while under arrest, or in prison.

Paragraph 10. Costs. No person shall be compelled to pay costs except after conviction on final trial.

Paragraph 11. Habeas corpus. The writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended.

Paragraph 12. Freedom of conscience. All men have the natural and inalienable right to worship God, each according to the dictates of his own conscience, and no human authority should, in any case, control or interfere with such right of conscience.

Paragraph 13. Religious opinions; liberty of conscience. No inhabitant of this State shall be molested in person or property, or prohibited from holding any public office, or trust, on account of his religious opinions; but the right of liberty of conscience shall not be so construed as to excuse acts of licentiousness, or justify practices inconsistent with the peace and safety of the State.

Paragraph 14. Appropriations to churches, sects, etc., forbidden. No money shall ever be taken from the public Treasury, directly or indirectly, in aid of any church, sect, or denomination of religionists, or of any sectarian institution.

Paragraph 15. Liberty of speech or of the press guaranteed. No law shall ever be passed to curtail, or restrain the liberty of speech, or of the press; any person may speak, write and publish his sentiments, on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty.

Paragraph 16. Searches, seizures, and warrants. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no warrant shall issue except upon probable cause, supported by oath, or affirmation, particularly describing the place, or places, to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

Paragraph 17. Slavery and involuntary servitude. There shall be within the State of Georgia neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, save as a punishment for crime after legal conviction thereof.

Paragraph 18. Status of the citizen. The social status of the citizen shall never be the subject of legislation.

Paragraph 19. Civil authority superior to military. The civil authority shall be superior to the military, and no soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, except by the civil magistrate, in such manner as may be provided by law.

Paragraph 20. Contempts. The power of the Courts to punish for contempt shall be limited by legislative acts.

Paragraph 21. Imprisonment for debt. There shall be no imprisonment for debt.

Paragraph 22. Arms, right to keep and bear. The right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed, but the General Assembly shall have the power to prescribe the manner in which arms may be borne.

Paragraph 23. Legislative, judicial, and executive powers, separate. The legislative, judicial and executive powers shall forever remain separate and distinct, and no person discharging the duties of one, shall, at the same time, exercise the functions of either of the others, except as herein provided.

Paragraph 24. Right to assemble and petition. The people have the right to assemble peaceably for their common good and to apply to those vested with the powers of government for redress of grievances by petition or remonstrance.

Paragraph 25. Citizens, protection of. All citizens of the United States, resident in this State, are hereby declared citizens of this State, and it shall be the duty of the General Assembly to enact such laws as will protect them in the full enjoyment of the rights, privileges and immunities due to such citizenship.

Section II

Paragraph 1. Libel; jury in criminal cases; new trials. In all prosecutions or indictments for libel the truth may be given in evidence; and the jury in all criminal cases, shall be the judges of the law and the facts. The power of the judges to grant new trials, in case of conviction, is preserved.

Paragraph 2. Treason. Treason against the State of Georgia shall consist in levying war against her; adhering to her enemies; giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason, except on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or confession in open court.

Paragraph 3. Conviction, effect of. No conviction shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture of estate.

Paragraph 4. Lotteries. All lotteries, and the sale of lottery tickets are hereby prohibited; and this prohibition shall be enforced by penal laws.

Paragraph 5. Lobbying, penalties. Lobbying is declared to be a crime, and the General Assembly shall enforce this provision by suitable penalties.

Paragraph 6. Fraud; concealment of property. The General Assembly shall have the power to provide for the punishment of fraud; and, shall provide by law, for reaching property of the debtor concealed from the creditor.

Section III

Paragraph 1. Private ways; just compensation. In case of necessity, private ways may be granted upon just compensation beigg first paid by the applicant. Private property shall not be taken, or damaged, for public purposes, without just and adequate compensation being first paid.

Paragraph 2. Attainder; ex post facto and retroactive laws, etc. No bill of attainder, ex post facto law, retroactive law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or making irrevocable grant of special privileges or immunities, shall be passed.

Paragraph 3. Revocation of tax exemptions. All exemptions from taxation heretofore granted in corporate charters are declared to be hencefore null and void.

Section IV

Paragraph 1. General laws; uniform operation; how varied. Laws of a general nature shall have uniform operation throughout the State, and no special law shall be enacted in any case for which provision has been made by an existing general law. No general law affecting private rights, shall be varied in any particular case, by special legislation, except with the free consent, in writing, of all persons to be affected thereby; and no person under legal disability to contract, is capable of such consent.

Paragraph 2. What acts void. Legislative acts in violation of this Constitution, of the Constitution of the United States, are void, and the Judiciary shall so declare them.

Section V

Paragraph 1. State rights. The people of this State have the inherent, sole and exclusive right of regulating their internal government, and the police thereof, and of altering and abolishing their Constitution whenever it may be necessary to their safety and happiness.

Paragraph 2. Enumeration of rights not denial of others. The enumeration of rights herein contained as a part of this Constitution shall not be construed to deny to the people any inherent rights which they may have hitherto enjoyed.

Section VI

Paragraph 1. Tidewater titles; confirmed. The Act of the General Assembly approved December 6, 1902, which extends the title of ownership of lands abutting on tidal water to low water mark is hereby ratified and confirmed.

35- State Governments

BLACK STAR

CITY VOTERS: It may take anywhere from three to 300 of them to equal one rural voter in state elections

OUR PLUNDERED CITIES

City people make up a majority of our population, pay nearly all the taxes, but are outvoted three to one in our state legislatures. Here, says this writer, is a shocking failure in American democracy

by Lawrence Lader

"TAXATION without representation is tyranny!" cried the dignified, gray-haired speaker. The crowded meeting hall roared its approval. The meeting was taking place, not in the days of George III, but in 1949. The speaker was president of the U. S. Conference of Mayors. The audience was made up of 600 mayors from almost every big city in the country.

They had come together to launch a fight for political freedom against a new tyranny which today has resulted in one of American democracy's biggest failures.

The Boston patriots dumped King George's tea into the harbor because they refused to pay taxes to a despot who would not grant them equal representation. Today, the U. S. Conference of Mayors is protesting the same tyranny. Only now the despot is the legislatures of their own states. For, amazing as it sounds to Americans who always considered equal representation the backbone of democracy, the inhabitants of our cities have been denied this right in the legislature of almost every state.

"Equal" representation has reached the point in Connecticut where, in the eyes of the legislature, the town of Colebrook with 547 inhabitants is considered equal to the city of Hartford with a population of 166,000. Both have two House representatives. As a result of this travesty, repeated throughout the state, six per cent of the voters of Connecticut, living in over-represented rural areas, actually elect the majority of the legislature's lower house.

Los Angeles and San Francisco together make up 48 per cent of the population of California. Yet they are represented by only five per cent of the members of the upper house of the legislature. **The vote of one farmer in a certain rural county is worth 350 times that of a resident of Los Angeles.**

The same picture is repeated pretty much all over the country. Atlanta, Ga., has one representative for each 131,000 inhabitants; a neighboring rural county has one representative for 3,000 inhabitants. The vote of a citizen of Baltimore is worth only one-seventh of the vote of a farmer in Calvert County. Six out of seven voters in Baltimore, therefore, actually have no voice in their state government.

In the country as a whole, urban residents make up 60 per cent of the population; they produce 75 per cent of the national income; pay 90 per cent of all taxes. Yet they have only 25 per cent representation in the legisla-

tures of their states. In general, the lack of equal representation exists in both houses of the legislature.

The result of this tyranny is that most American cities today are powerless in the grip of state legislatures dominated by the rural counties. The word tyranny is no literary exaggeration. Even the Supreme Court of Kentucky has called it that.

"Inequality of representation," declared the Court, "is a tyranny to which no people worthy of freedom will fairly submit. To say that a man in Spencer County shall have seven times as much influence as a man in Butler or Edmondson County is to say that six men out of every seven in those counties are not represented in the government at all."

It is true that the states have arguments on their side for some control over the cities. **Authorities on governmental problems have pointed out that modern developments in transport and communications demand more centralization.** Full efficiency and economy in certain governmental operations depend upon administration by the states. There is also the growing trend towards state responsibility for welfare and education programs in cities and local communities.

In New Hampshire and Tennessee, for example, the state government participates in the financing of old-age assistance. In Massachusetts, the state supervises all merit examinations and the civil-service systems of all cities. Other examples of assistance to cities by state governments could be cited.

Pretty Fantastic

But granted that a certain amount of such activity by the state is necessary and desirable, the incontrovertible fact remains that in hundreds of cities state interference in city affairs has been carried again and again to a tyrannical extreme.

Without equal representation, most cities have become prisoners of their states. When six rural towns with a population of 10,000 can outvote in the lower house five cities with 700,000 inhabitants, as they do in a typical state like Connecticut, the cities cannot defend themselves. All they can do is protest — and usually in vain. Countless illustrations could be cited.

The Illinois legislature has taken so much freedom from Chicago that the second largest city in the United States had to beg special permission from the state to allow peanuts to be peddled on a municipal pier.

Buffalo was told that it couldn't grant a vacation to its own policemen. It had to go, hat in hand, to the New York legislature to plead for permission.

Ohio's cities wanted to establish day nurseries for working mothers, a practical example of good municipal planning. The state legislature said no.

Self-Government Going

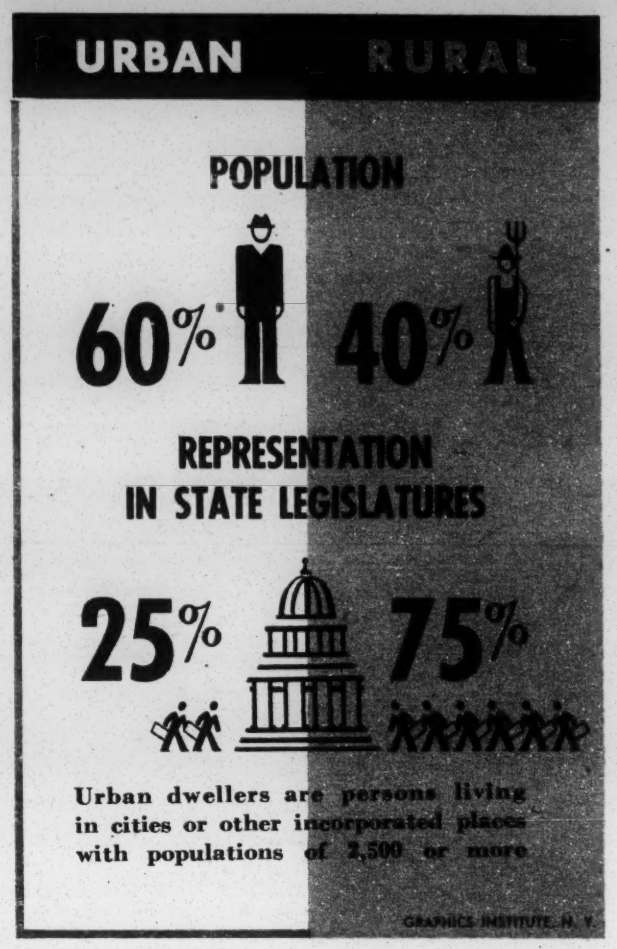
And Frederick, Md., probably facing the ridiculous extreme in the loss of municipal freedom, had to get a special bill passed in the state legislature to reduce the annual license fee for unspayed female dogs from $5 to $2.

These are just a few of hundreds of examples of the way the state legislatures have shackled the cities, either through constitutional amendments or restrictive charters. But the most disturbing loss of all is the loss of the right of self-government.

From the days of the first New England town meeting, Americans have met together to decide what kind of government they want and whom they want to run it. Yet today, the state legislatures have destroyed this freedom in city after city.

Take the case of Knoxville, Tenn. In 1923, its citizens voted to change from a mayor to a city manager. From then until 1937, they enjoyed clean, efficient local government — exactly what they had voted for. Suddenly, the state legislature passed a bill forcing Knoxville to replace its city manager with a mayor. **But the people revolted, and succeeded in getting their city manager back. Then in 1947, the legislature passed the same bill again.** A poll, taken by "The Knoxville News Sentinel," showed that the people still wanted a city manager. But the people weren't even asked. The right of 111,000 inhabitants to pick their own form of government was snatched from them — and by a legislature in which they did not even have equal representation!

Without equal representation, the cities have also become financial prisoners of their states. City after city is being pushed towards bankruptcy by legislatures which milk urban citizens of enormous taxes, but return little of the money to the local government.



A few years back, James W. Martin, Director of the Bureau of Business Research of the University of Kentucky, was driving through a West Virginia city. Suddenly he found himself in total darkness. The street lights had been turned off. He approached a cop on the corner and asked for an explanation. "No money," said the cop. Unable to believe that any city could be that broke, Martin went down to the city hall. He discovered that not only had the lights been turned off, but that the police and fire departments had been drastically reduced, health services shaved to the bone, and the welfare department completely eliminated — all because the West Virginia state legislature had recently passed a law limiting the tax rate of the city on private property, and as a result, cutting off the city from its main source of funds.

In Ohio not long ago, the state legislature reduced city revenues so drastically that Cincinnati had to give up part of its garbage collections. **In Missouri, the state legislature made the St. Louis Fire Department pay a tax on the gasoline it used.**

New York City, desperately in need of new sources of revenue, established a one-cent-a-pack cigarette tax a few years back. The state legislature not only forbade the city to apply the tax, but then turned around and grabbed the money for itself, making it a state tax at two cents a pack.

The "Gold-Highway Law"

But the Connecticut legislature's "gold highway" law is probably the slickest formula for starving the cities while the rural areas wax fat and prosperous. Waterbury, for instance, the fourth largest city in the state, is taxed over a million dollars annually for the state road-maintenance fund. In return, it gets back a mere $26,000 — hardly enough to mend a few holes in its 200 miles of streets.

But rural Canaan, with only 555 residents, pays in only $6,000 annually and gets back $26,000, most of which it couldn't use even if it started paving its streets with gold. As a result, Waterbury's streets grow shoddier, and Canaan has saved up $114,395 to its credit on the state books.

"It's about as democratic," commented the "Waterbury Republican," "as election day in a concentration camp."

Even Home Rule, once considered a partial bulwark against legislative tyranny, has been so badly hacked to pieces during the last 30 years that in most cities only a shell remains. Home Rule has never aimed at changing

Continued on next page

WIDE WORLD

THE U.S. CONFERENCE OF MAYORS: "Taxation without representation is tyranny"

WIDE WORLD

PAUL V. BETTERS, Executive Director, U. S. Conference of Mayors: "THIS WEEK is rendering a distinct public service in publishing this article. In many of our states, local self-government and equal representation have ceased to exist. Only through public education will the present condition be voluntarily remedied. The challenge to our states is clear — they must become truly representative of our people. If they fail to meet the challenge, they will decay as effective agencies in our system of government."

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Young America's Look

is That Ivory Look

More doctors advise Ivory than any other soap...99 44/100% pure...it floats

OUR PLUNDERED CITIES

Continued from preceding page

the fundamental injustice of unequal representation. Rather, its purpose was to give the cities a limited amount of independence under a Home Rule constitutional amendment or legislation. This usually guarantees the city freedom from legislative interference in its own local affairs, gives it the right to raise revenue without legislative interference and to pick any type of local government the people desire. At least that was the theory of the men who fought for it.

First adopted in 1875 by Missouri, Home Rule charters were eventually granted in 19 states. But today, many of the limited powers reserved to the cities have already been grabbed back by the states.

Not Even Gas Stations

CONSIDER the amazing case of Ohio, where Home Rule was voted into law by the people in 1912 and where 33 cities are supposedly still enjoying its advantages. But one after another, these advantages have gradually been whittled away. In 1918, the cities lost the right to fix their own gas and electricity rates. In 1925, they lost the right to create municipal courts. By 1931, they couldn't even establish requirements for licenses to operate gas stations. Ten years later, they lost the power to prescribe qualifications for their own policemen and in 1943, the power to establish a retirement system for their firemen.

But the best case history of how a state legislature can try to tyrannize and plunder a city is the story of New Orleans. For years it was the pawn of the legislature, dominated by the Long machine. Its debt was scandalous; its police department reeked with graft. Gambling dens and houses of prostitution operated wide open, milking the people of $30,000,000 a year. Forty-eight hundred slot machines took in millions more, a large slice eventually finding its way into official pockets.

Then, in 1946, a 34-year-old war veteran named deLesseps (Chep) Morrison caused a political sensation by defeating the Long machine and winning the election for mayor. Immediately he fought to restore order and independence to the city.

The Freedom Was Gone

HE CLOSED the gambling dens and the "houses," ran slot machines out of business. He shook up the Police Department so thoroughly that some 200 officers resigned and were replaced by war veterans. He put over a $41,000,000 public-works program, opened up 56 new playgrounds for the kids, brought in millions of dollars of new business to the Port of New Orleans, and inaugurated open, weekly meetings of the city commission. **For the people who had voted in Morrison's reform administration, it looked like the dawn of freedom.**

What happened next has been described by Lennox L. Moak, executive director of the Bureau of Governmental Research, as "the rape of New Orleans." The legislature rammed through one bill after another aimed at hamstringing the administration and turning it into chaos. One bill abolished the municipal courts and then re-established them under the legislature's thumb. Another destroyed the state civil-service merit system over the protest of business, labor and religious

Continued on page 20

"Spank me, eh? I'd like to see either one of you try it!"

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CAMPHO-PHENIQUE

(pronounced Cam-fo-fi-neek)

THE ANTISEPTIC THAT RELIEVES PAIN INSTANTLY

OUR PLUNDERED CITIES

Continued from page six

organizations. A third bill tried to bankrupt the administration by chopping the sales tax in half. Perhaps worst of all, the legislature completely abolished the five-man city commission, elected at large, which had been a major reform secured by the people after years of struggle. In its place, it put a seven-man council elected by districts, with each councilman heading up a specific department. **It was a plan aimed at bringing back the lush "pork barrel" days of graft and inefficiency.**

"To my knowledge," said Mayor Morrison, "there is no more flagrant and punitive case history of interference in purely local affairs . . ."

Battle for Survival

LUCKILY for New Orleans, "Chep" Morrison fought the legislature, blow for blow. When the legislature's new amendments were offered to the voters at the last election, he toured the city and most of the state, rousing thousands of people against them. Some of the most flagrant power grabs were defeated. But New Orleans, under Morrison's leadership, is still involved in a nip-and-tuck battle for survival.

Looking back to 1787, it seems clear that the cities became prisoners of the state legislatures through a peculiar twist of economic history. When the Federal Constitution was written, only five per cent of the population was urban. None of its authors dreamed that this figure would some day zoom to 60 per cent. As a result, the Constitution carefully protects the rights of the states against the Federal government, but makes no mention of the rights of the cities, which were only unimportant economic specks scattered along the seaboard.

Can't Force It

THE most frightening result is that this tyranny has become self-perpetuating. Since the cities were denied equality of representation from the start, they have never had the votes in the legislature to force reapportionment every 10 years.

In Texas, for instance, the constitution calls for reapportionment every 10 years. But the legislature has refused to act. Dallas, therefore, which has mushroomed from 160,000 in 1920 to over 370,000 today, has perhaps 200,000 inhabitants without a vote in the lower house.

In the country as a whole, state legislatures have blocked re-apportionment anywhere from 20 to 131 years. Connecticut has had no re-apportionment since 1818. Except for slight changes in 1870, Tennessee has not acted since 1834, Illinois since 1909, Minnesota since 1919. Seventeen other states have ignored re-apportionment for over 20 years.

To make the tyranny even more complete, many legislatures have made it almost impossible for the people to get equal representation by amending the constitution. In states like Delaware and Connecticut, no petitions from the people are allowed.

If the cities of Connecticut, for instance, want to pass an amendment, they will have to get a majority of the lower house to propose it, then get two thirds of the members of both houses to back it at the next session. Only a miracle could pass such an amendment, for it would mean that the rurally dominated legislature would have to vote against itself.

This does not mean that the tyranny of the legislatures will maintain its stranglehold on the country forever. A few cities have already won back some of their rights. In Seattle, where there had been no re-apportionment for 30 years and such unequal representation that 166,000 of its inhabitants in one district had the same representation as two neighboring counties with 6,000 inhabitants, the people have already carried the fight to the ballot box.

Seattle Won Out

LUCKILY, Washington's constitution provides for an initiating petition to place an amendment on the ballot. Seattle drew up its petition, and then voted for it overwhelmingly on election day. As a result, it is now one of the few cities in the country whose representation in the legislature is almost proportionate to its population.

When the cities of Michigan were facing financial starvation by the legislature recently, they fought back with the same strategy. Acting together, they placed an amendment on the ballot calling for a return of part of the state-collected sales tax to the cities. They campaigned for it so successfully that it won by a 200,000 majority.

Probably the brightest cause for hope during the last year was the election in two states of progressive governors who have pledged themselves to fight along with the cities to end unequal representation.

In Illinois, Govenor Adlai E. Stevenson was elected by a 575,000 majority in 1948 on a platform which pledged constitutional reform and an end to the unequal representation which has given Cook County, Chicago, with over half the population of the state, only 57 out of 153 members of the lower house of the legislature, and only 19 out of 51 in the upper. The governor has already forced the issue to a vote in the rurally dominated legislature, and lost. But this is only the first round in a long, tough battle.

Rural Tyranny

IN CONNECTICUT, Governor Chester Bowles has lashed out continually against the destructive effect of the tyranny of unequal representation on the cities. In the educational-aid bill, only $30 per pupil was allotted children in cities, $110 per pupil to children in the rural areas. In the aid bill for school buildings, only $50,000 was given Hartford with 166,000 inhabitants. **The town of Union with 234 inhabitants received the same amount!**

On a national level, the fight against the tyranny of the state legislatures is being led by the American Municipal Association, the National Municipal League, and the militant U. S. Conference of Mayors.

Unfortunately, there is no pat solution, no easy answer. The tyranny is so complete that the struggle for re-apportionment by a vote of the legislature or by constitutional amendment may be a slow, agonizing process, lasting for years.

Drastic Action

A POSSIBLE quick solution is now being considered by the U. S. Conference of Mayors. It would be a drastic lawsuit to force the states to give the cities equal representation. Its legal basis would be the Fourteenth Amendment, which says that no state can "abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens" or "deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." If and when the legal action starts, it will probably be fought through to the Supreme Court and may prove one of the most dramatic suits in U.S. legal history.

A victory by the cities could set off a series of explosions making the original Boston Tea Party look like a dress rehearsal. *The End*

BULLETIN
THE SOCIETY FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

Twenty-Fourth Year January, 1945

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THIS ISSUE

This issue of the Bulletin consists of abstracts of some of the papers read before the Twenty-Third Annual Institute held in Chicago August 4 and 5, 1944. Further abstracts will be printed in the next issue, including those of Louis Wirth and Philip Hauser.

GRADUATE SOCIAL RESEARCH

A Bulletin devoted almost entirely to news of graduate students and abstracts of their research will be issued approximately the first of April. The editors request all graduate students both at the University of Chicago and elsewhere to submit news of their research projects and/or other activities of interest to the Society, and abstracts from two to three hundred words in length of current or completed research projects which might appear in this issue of the Bulletin. Such abstracts should be sent in duplicate to Editor, Society for Social Research not later than March First.

NEWS OF THE AUTHORS

Ethel Mae Bratton is now Personnel Research Analyst with Office of Indian Affairs.

Gordon Brown is associated with the War Relocation Authority in Arizona.

Werner J. Cahnman of Fisk University, Nashville, is studying a Nashville, Tennessee Jewish community and two Nashville Negro churches.

John F. Embree is now with the War Relocation Authority.

Philip M. Hauser, associated with the Bureau of the Census in Washington, is studying the impact of the war on the population of the United States.

William E. Henry is associated with the Committee on Human Development at the University of Chicago.

Joseph D. Lohman is engaged in a study with Herbert Blumer of anti-Semitism among Negroes.

George Lundberg is Professor of Sociology at Bennington College.

Will O'Neil is director of The Chicago Sun's Yanks Service Bureau.

H. H. Remmers is director of the Division of Educational Reference, Purdue University, now sponsoring the Purdue Opinion Poll for Young People.

Mulford Q. Sibley of the University of Illinois is making a study of conscientious objectors under the auspices of the Special Committee on Civil Liberties of the Social Science Research Council and of the Pacifist Research Bureau.

Edwin H. Sutherland continues his research on the criminality of certain large corporations of the United States.

Sgt. Kerson Weinberg is a member of the United States Army.

Malcom M. Willey is Vice-President of the University of Minnesota.

Kurt H. Wolff, now of Earlham College, continues to work on his material gathered last summer at San Cristobal, New Mexico.

NEWS OF RESEARCH AND ACTIVITIES

Harry Alpert is now with the Statistical Standards Branch, Office of Price Administration in Washington. (cont'd. Page 16)

SOCIOLOGY, SCIENCE AND EDUCATION

Malcom M. Willey

The war has had its disruptive effect upon the organization and personnel through which in pre-war days systematic study in the social sciences, including sociology, was carried on. The problem arises as to what changes are to proceed, and should proceed, from this in the post-war years.

Examination of the files of major sociological journals shows that the controversy relating to the nature of sociology as a science is a dominant theme. To debate what sociology should be as a science is largely fruitless in contributing to its development. The further and useful advance of the subject is most likely to come, not through abstract discussion of what the science is or ought to be, but rather through continuous attention to the analysis of specific problems, with all possible exactness and at whatever methodological level is possible, to the end that verifiable answers may be given to questions- even minute questions--that relate to problems that sociologists claim as theirs for study.

Read Bain has distinguished four levels of scientific methodology: (1) illuminative insight, (2) logic--systematic analysis, (3) organizing concepts and (4) delimited empirical reserrch. The last is the one upon which sociological research should proceed after the war. It may be further subdivided however, into three levels, (a) simple accurate description with limited generalization, (b) quantitative measurement with limited generalization and, (c) broad generalization and possibly the emergence of a social law. The second of these is likely to prove most fruitful. After sufficient studies of this kind have been made, research may proceed to the higher levels, but the concrete studies are the immediate requirement.

THE PROSPECTS OF POST WAR SOCIAL RESEARCH

George Lundberg

One badly needed type of research which it is hoped will flourish after the war along with old and established types is research in human communication. It will probably be pursued on at least three levels:

1. Broad inquiries into the more obvious aspects of communication such as freedom of the press.
2. The guaging of public opinion through polls of various kinds.
3. Less spectacular research in linguistics and semiotics.

The amount of social research and its financing will be dependent upon the general post-war economic and tax structure, and the attitude adopted toward social research by government and business. If research is regarded as an indispensable part of public administration it will be supported on an unprecedented scale.

The problems selected in organized and corporate research will be those in which the responsible spokesmen of the supporting organizations are interested. From this point of view, government as the accredited guardian of the public interest should be the ideal spon-

THE PROSPECTS OF POST WAR SOCIAL RESEARCH (cont'd.)

sor. If an increasing proportion of social research is to be conducted under governmental auspices, there will be a problem of undue devotion to immediate needs rather than long-time programs, but it need not be acute. The problem of bias must be met as in all research, but since techniques have been developed for detecting and correcting it, it will not be more of a problem in governmentally sponsored research than in research under other auspices.

More dangerous than increased governmental support and control of research is the low conception many social scientists have of their task. Many are chiefly interested in the program of some pressure group. This is permissible, but pure science must also be permissible and indeed encouraged.

A METHODOLOGICAL NOTE ON THE EMPIRICAL ESTABLISHMENT OF CULTURE PATTERNS

Kurt H. Wolff

The first of two approaches to the scientific study of culture is the "objective" approach exemplified by most anthropological monographs. In it the central concept is scientific procedure, the personal equation being recognized merely as an evil to be eliminated. The second is the "cultural" approach implied in some theoretically oriented anthropological writings and in the sociology of knowledge. In it, the central concept is the personal or cultural equation, the scientific procedure being taken for granted.

In the cultural approach, in contrast to the objective approach, the work is not largely predetermined by contentual rules: rather, the concept of pattern overrides contentual distinctions. There are two steps in the study of a culture by this method: preliminary comparison of the culture with the students' own, leading to its preliminary classification and to the formation of expectations regarding the types of patterns to be found, and the establishment of patterns. Hypothetical patterns are arrived at through observation and tentative interpretation, and verified by immanent interpretation, that is, by the recording of the interpretations of the members of the culture and the establishment of the interrelatedness of the patterns in such a way as to enable comprehension and prediction. Classification of the patterns and of the culture may then proceed.

The methodological elements in such a study are:

a. Presentation of statistically reliable background materials and of the connection between these and the patterns.
b. Presentation of patterns and of their immanent interpretation.
c. Demonstration of the application of the patterns to individuals, groups, or all members of the culture.
d. Demonstration of the connection between the patterns and culture types: the problems of history and culture change (especially important in the study of folk cultures).

A METHODOLOGICAL NOTE ON THE EMPIRICAL ESTABLISHMENT OF CULTURE PATTERNS (cont'd.)

e. Demonstration of the adequacy of the patterns for the understanding and prediction of the culture, by discussion of negative cases and of alternative interpretations of materials and patterns.
f. Classification of the culture in terms of types of cultures or of other theories.

PROJECTIVE TECHNIQUES IN THE STUDY OF CHARACTER PATTERNS OF PRIMITIVE AND MODERN PEOPLES

William E. Henry

In recent years the schools of thought that view personality in its dynamic and emotional aspects have become more prominent and have begun to make significant contributions to the problems of the social sciences. Two aspects of the developing personality are central: the process of socialization and the process of individualization, in which,in turn, four components are distinguishable, the universal, the communal, the role and the idiosyncratic components. To reveal these, the so-called projective techniques have been devised by means of which an attempt is made to elicit the individual's private world of meanings.

The two techniques which seem most adaptable to the study of character patterns of primitive peoples are the Rorschach Technique and the Thematic Apperception Technique. The latter was used in studies of children in eleven Indian communities, begun in 1942 under the Office of Indian Affairs and The Committee on Human Development of the University of Chicago. In regard to the general psychological characteristics of the various cultures, it was used to probe the orientation toward the physical world, adult pressure, authority systems, the characteristics of interpersonal relations, sex roles, family roles, spontaneity as against restraint, acculturat on processes, age trends, and intra-tribal variations.

THE INDIAN AS A MINORITY GROUP

Ethel Mae Bratton

To understand the Indian, one must see the past which has shaped his personality and character. According to Chester E. Faris, if it be granted that mankind developed in the Himalaya region, the Indian had courage, endurance, and curiosity greater than any other since the distance of its travel exceeds that of the other races combined. This seems to be borne out by the fact that in the course of four and a half centuries of mistreatment by the whites the Indians have remained a strong people.

In the early seventeenth century, there was an estimated full-blooded Indian population of 900,000. Now, there are about 377,000

THE INDIAN AS A MINORITY GROUP (cont'd.)

Indians, a third of them full-bloods, and they are increasing at a considerably faster rate than the general population. They should survive, and to play an increasing role. They are a heterogeneous people, but the more than two hundred tribes share certain important values, including profound religious feeling, brotherhood, generosity, and democracy.

Mr. Collier's article on "America's Handling of its Indigenous Indian Minority", discusses government treatment of them. It was most inept until recent decades, hence the Indians were poor and disorganized. Since 1924 a strong health service has been set up, a complete investigation of Indian policies made, the educational and welfare systems improved, and finally in 1934 the Indian Reorganization Act passed, changing Indian policy radically in the direction of self-determination and self-government.

The Indian problem is not solved, however. Unfulfilled treaty obligations, for example in regard to education, the withholding of full citizenship and discrimination in regard to employment and housing, point to a still existing discrepancy between democratic ideals and American practices in regard to the Indian minority.

ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS CAUSED BY INSECURITY AMONG JAPANESE AND JAPANESE AMERICANS

Gordon Brown

In Relocation Centers, problems arise where they are least expected, as a result of internal camp conditions. Examples include crises proceeding from changes in employment policy which were introduced without sufficient warning or sufficient appreciation of the unique social groups within the camp, and changes in hospital administration which threatened group solidarities. The root of the matter seems to be that a shocked population is involved, which lacks all security, economic, social, political, and legal, and which must be rehabilitated.

COMMUNITY ANALYSIS--AN EXAMPLE OF ANTHROPOLOGY IN GOVERNMENT

John F. Embree

The War Relocation Authority, charged with caring for persons forced to leave restricted military areas, instituted Community Analysis partly because of serious internal crises in two of its ten relocation centers. The population of these was chiefly Japanese, and the incidents occurred because of lack of understanding of community problems. After the solution of these and the recruitment of trained and experienced sociologists and anthropologists as personnel, such questions were attacked as why the combined Army--WRA registration program caused considerable trouble,

COMMUNITY ANALYSIS--AN EXAMPLE OF ANTHROPOLOGY IN GOVERNMENT (cont'd.)

why the resistance of evacuees to the relocation program was strong, and how segregation could be carried out in such a way as to avoid crises at the centers in connection with it. Numerous special requests were handled, and special reports prepared. The program seems to have demonstrated the usefulness of the techniques developed by anthropology and sociology to the administration.

A number of problems of an administrative character arose concerning the program, that of placing the analyst in the administrative hierarchy in such a way as to afford reasonably effective communication between him and his director and to minimize hostility between him, his fellow-workers and the evacuees being of particular interest to the social scientist.

NORTH AFRICA -- PROBLEM FOR THE FUTURE

Werner J. Cahnman

The geographical conditions of North Africa have afforded sufficient isolation for ancient customs and particular creeds to be preserved, but insufficient political power for frequent invasion and outside intervention to be warded off. Hence it is a melting pot of Nordic, Semitic, and Negroid blood, but the three major ingredients are still discernible in tribal and religious affiliations. The various ethnic groups--Arab, Negro, Jewish, European--are economically as interdependent as social classes would be in our society, but with the exception of the Negroes have preserved their cultural heritages in spite of economic contacts.

In 1848, the tolerant policy adopted when France moved into Algeria in 1830, was replaced by a policy of complete assimilation into the French state. The latter proved inapplicable, with the result that the French settlers were treated as an integral part of France and the native inhabitants relegated to colonial status in all but name.

The record of French colonization has been impressive in regard to economic prosperity and population increase, but not in regard to the cultural issues. The French have assimilated other European elements well, but pursued a divisive policy with the natives. The native Jews were given French citizenship in 1871, but anti-Semitism has increased among the French colonists because of Jewish competition. The Berber tribes have remained distinct in face of a policy wavering between self-government and assimilation. The Moslem problem has not been solved by repeated attempts to dissociate the elite from the masses.

At the present time, the European population is concentrated in the cities while the rural population is overwhelmingly native. The native population is increasing at a far more rapid rate than the European, and the earlier movement of real estate from native to European ownership has been reversed. This suggests the end of aggressive European colonization, and the necessity of France's cooperating with Arabs and Berbers on the basis of separate status

NORTH AFRICA -- PROBLEM FOR THE FUTURE (cont'd.)

in private law and complete equality in public law if she is to retain her North African possessions.

PROBLEMS OF ADJUSTMENT IN ARMY UNITS (1)

Sgt. S. Kirson Weinberg

The conversion in army camps of peaceful, relatively individualistic citizens into well-organized military units obviously implies changes in their personal attitudes. Combat troops are particularly affected. At times these changes may seemingly be limited to the acquisition of new skills and to an affected manner, but the transformation occurring in the newly formed communities of young men is deeper.

Data secured from certain tank destroyer camps in early and advanced stages of training including men placed in special battalions because unable to keep pace with their companies shows (1) The effects of the collective military process upon the soldiers' personality (2) some emergent types of personal variance.

The indivisible social aims of a military unit are effective control of its members and intense group solidarity. As training occurs, effective control will arise and become sustained by the indigenous attitudes of the participant soldiers. It must make the military unit paramount to all other group influences, the individual soldier sensitive to the group's demands. From the start the trainee is on the defensive with reference to his leaders and group, knowing the leaders and his fellow trainees to be critical in evaluating him. Within the relatively isolated company, which is a work-habitat continuum, both his military performances and his informal conduct are exposed and readily weighed by the others. Initially, the trainee's reactions to the army vary according to previous background, prior military training and civilian attitudes toward the army.

Only gradually do the officers and non-coms become able to serve as levers in winning the group and releasing group disapproval upon deviants. Often the men tend to become enraged with a superior after a scolding or to become depressed and feel incompetent.

The focus of group attention upon deviants places them in an awkward position and awakens the desire for conformity, especially in repeated formations and manual-of-arms drill. These mass drills accustom the men to respond uniformly and precisely as integral parts of groups, generates group identity and offers opportunities for publicly correcting the mal-conformer. Fellow soldiers may become antagonistic and he, in turn, feels their hostility in some way. A group retaliation for some form of deviant behavior, or penalization of a group for the misbehavior of a few gives a group dimension to many individual activities. A personal challenge, such as the company commander's censure of the poor results of his company in competition puts pressure upon the enlisted personnel.

Besides uniformity in appearance and in response to commands,

(1) Completed paper published in January '45 issue of the American Journal of Sociology

PROBLEMS OF ADJUSTMENT IN ARMY UNITS (cont'd)

the range of conformity in some includes the wish to become militarily anonymous. Except for seeking favorable notice from those in authority the men attempt to avert attention from themselves by avoiding erratic behavior. This attitude to a degree extends to formal relations. In every type of drill he is subject to commands which he must instantly obey. To respond precisely he finds it vital to have his wits about him, and this precludes personal preoccupation. Later this routine, however, may become so mechanical that the individual responds unthinkingly.

Although personal griping and complaining thrive among soldiers, particularly during tense situations, these personal difficulties do not infringe upon the performance and duty standards of the group. Griping becomes a means of working off discontent, but it cannot excuse bad performance. When personal problems do interfere with duty, they elicit a patient tolerance or humorous indifference. Individuals who indiscriminately relate their difficulties to others soon change.

This collective attitude thrusts out personal sentiments from an approved communicative level and seems indispensible to group control. It retains the censure of other soldiers for bad performance and prevents the arousal of personal insecurities among others who would be influenced by the particular individual. It deters the corrosion of group standards and collective determination. Indeed, the tendency reverses itself. The humor with which personal difficulties are evaluated turns inward. The individual soldier responds overtly to his difficulties as he sees others react.

Combat becomes a consummation of their activity and an outlet from their arduous, monotonous preparation. Since many must expend their "all" in this training, they become impatient with deviants, and this makes for an intensified social control. The hesitant or uncertain officer incurs disrespect of his men. Competence and courage displayed by the officer may cause the men to overlook the officer's undue severity. Group solidarity thus begins to evolve into a meaningful identity, the trainee by continuous participation with intact groups conceiving himself in terms of his particular soldierly function. The other soldiers become persons among whom he has a definite social role rather than strangers.

PROBLEMS OF THE RETURNING SERVICE MAN

Will O'Neil

Most people attack the veteran problem from a single angle--that of readjustment of the veteran to the civilian community. We must begin thinking in terms of adjusting the civilian population as well. Underneath the new civilian clothing of the veteran is still the man who has been taught to kill, who has lived under rigid discipline, who, in the case of enlisted men, has been taught to do what he is told, and not to think what he should do. The social standards of normal society have virtually disappeared and have been replaced by the standard of military life where there are definite

PROBLEMS OF THE RETURNING SERVICE MAN (cont'd.)

classes of society insuring a certain type of security for every individual.

Some employers have taken definite steps to meet the problem of psychologic or psychiatric readjustment of those veterans who require it. Included in these programs are education of foremen and supervisors to the handling of the men, and placement of the men in jobs which will not increase their disabilities. Too many employers, on the other hand, refuse to think of hiring the man who gives any evidence or indication that he had a psychiatric problem which made him unsuitable for Army life. They fail to consider a man declared unsuitable for military life is not necessarily unfit for civilian life.

One interesting feature is now being developed by the Air Forces in connection with the remating of combat air crew men and their wives. Colonel Howard A. Rusk, father of the AAF program, discovered on a recent trip to one of the AAF Convalescent Training Centers that pilots furloughed home returned to the hospital before their leaves expired, because they were unable to make an adjustment to the women they had married shortly before, or even some months before, their leaving for service. Colonel Rusk interviewed the wives and the pilots in an effort to arrive at a sound program to correct this situation. Schools for wives are now in the process of being established by the AAF. Occupational therapy now includes activities pointed towards increasing a man's manual skills.

The recently enacted Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 is an example of the economic and political thinking of those who are behind the passage of veteran's regulations. Veterans are offered such things as college education, money to start a business, unemployment compensation if they are out of work, a promise that every effort will be exerted in getting them jobs, etc. But virtually nothing is offered in the way of facilities for the broader problems of readjustment of the great mass of men who will come back from the war. Under the bill, colleges and universities, banking and mortgage companies are to be the government's handmaidens in settling the readjustment problem. Veterans will rush to colleges by the thousands. While the bill permits the school to determine the eligibility for entrance of veteran candidates, this clause, I think, will become a farce. This Bill of Rights is something of a fraud in terms of what soldiers may feel is guaranteed them. The fact that a man has lain in a fox hole for months or even years dreaming of his own home or his own business or his own farm does not by any means indicate that he is capable of managing any of it.

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS IN PRISON

Mulford Q. Sibley

This paper constitutes a brief discussion of one phase of the study of COs in the United States during the second World War. The Selective Service Act of 1940 authorized alternative service for those conscientiously opposed on a religious basis to combatant and

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS IN PRISON (cont'd.)

non-combatant service, and non-combatant posts in the armed services for those opposed only to combat positions. As is true of those subject to military service, COs are under legal obligation to register.

Five rather distinct locations of objectors have been (1) those who have conformed to the registration provisions of the law, but for some reason--age, physical condition, occupational deferment, and so on--find themselves in no official CO category; (2) those given 4E, and sent to a Civilian Public Service Camp; (3) those given 1A-O and, since 1943, become medical corpsmen; (4) those sent into the army as regular soldiers, but who either claim conscientious objection on entry and refuse to wear a uniform or take an oath, or become conscientious objectors after formal entry into the army; and, (5) those who, for conscientious reasons, will not conform to the law and are sentenced to civil prisons.

The number of men COs in the U. S. outside civilian and military prisons number approximately 152,000. This includes no estimate of women objectors which would probably double the above amount. 2071 of 6116 individual violations of the Selective Service Act are listed as being based on conscientious objections. Of more than 3500 COs in prison in 1944, about two-thirds were Jehovah's Witnesses. These JWs play a significant part in developing American public law and raising many problems of church-state relationships. Their percentage continues to rise. Among the Witnesses a man can be recognized as a minister without giving up his secular occupation. The local boards, often hostile to JWs for other reasons as well, refuse to accept the 4D (ministerial) classification so often requested. They are non-pacificist objectors because their pattern of resistance is based upon an expediential interpretation of their religion--this war not being the Battle of Armageddon where the forces of good are allied in the battle against the devil's regiments. They are imprisoned in allied and axis countries alike throughout the world.

The second largest group constitutes those who refused their requested 4E (CO) classification, preferring prison to the army. Most of them would be free in Civilian Public Service camps had a common agreement as to the meaning of "religious training and belief" been reached by the local draft boards. Opposition to conscription as well as to war manifested in refusal to register or report for physical exams, etc., causes a third relatively smaller group. A small, but ever-increasing group includes those who can no longer conscientiously do "work of national importance" under "civilian direction" in CPS camps.

Considering that all COs are eligible for parole after a relatively short prison term, probation as a penal sanction has been utilized by a few judges. The law permits sentences up to 5 years. Length of the average sentence soared and fell with the coming and going of the Pearl Harbor catastrophe. Many judges are puzzled by the problem of their COs and some will go into great detail and almost apologize when giving sentence.

The second largest religious faith consists of 200 Negro Moslems, most of whom refused to register. Catholics and Methodists stand relatively high, the former because so many don't understand how a Catholic can be a CO.

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS IN PRISON (cont'd.)

Prison experiences of conscientious objectors may involve the following consequences: (a) Many COs will be far more conscious of social issues than before. (b) Many will feel that prison experience with its opportunity to teach and enlighten is more worthwhile than CPS functions. (c) Many COs will provide leadership in post-war prison reform movements.

ILLEGAL BEHAVIOUR OF SEVENTY CORPORATIONS

Edwin H. Sutherland

Decisions by courts and commissions against the seventy largest industrial and mercantile corporations, excluding petroleum corporations, under antiturst, false advertising, infringement of patent, copyrights and trademarks laws, and the National Labor Relations Act of 1935, were studied for two purposes. The first was to secure evidence as to the extent of certain types of crime in the upper socio-economic class for correcting the belief that crime is concentrated in the lower socio-economic class. The second was to formulate a more adequate explanation of criminal behavior than can be secured when attention is restricted to one segment of it.

Every one of the seventy corporations has one or more decisions against it, with a total of 547 and an average of 7.8. This excludes 133 supplementary actions which did not result or have not yet resulted in adverse decrees. Twelve have adverse decisions under each of the four laws, 17 under three laws, 30 under two, and 11 under one. The greater part of the convictions, even when violations of the NLRA are omitted, have occurred since 1935. Probably because of the difficulty of discovering cases in the earlier decades, and of the increased facilities and vigor of the enforcement agencies, which in turn may be attributed to the loss of status of business men resulting from the depression.

The enumeration of decisions is incomplete. It is confined almost entirely to actions taken by Federal courts and commissions, and among those to actions included in the Federal Reporter. Some decisions are reported without enough identification to be traceable. Some subsidiaries of the corporations are not included. The Pure Food and Drug Administration does not publish its decisions by names of corporations. The enumeration is inadequate also in that it conceals the long duration of many of the offenses on which decisions were made. Finally, even all decisions which have been made would presumably be only a small fraction of the crimes committed.

On the other hand, some persons may say that only 49 of the decisions, those made by criminal courts, show criminal behavior, because in the other cases either the laws violated were not criminal laws or the decisions were not based on the principles of criminal intent and burden of proof. This raises several important questions. One is whether illegal behavior is criminal only when it is defined in specific laws as criminal and when it is under the jurisdiction of a criminal court. It seems that even though it may not be good politics for legislatures to define the behavior of powerful business groups as criminal, that should make no difference in the sociologist's definition of crime. The criterion of criminal behavior is

ILLEGAL BEHAVIOUR OF SEVENTY CORPORATIONS (cont'd.)

that it is a violation of a legal code provided for the protection of society. Assuming this definition, the offenses studied are of the same class as murder and kidnaping.

Second, although cognizance should be taken of the distinction between "intentional" and "accidental" acts, and between violations of laws which are known and understood and those which are not, these distinctions do not differentiate criminal law from other law, since criminal intent is not uniform in all types of laws even by the most legalistic interpretation.

Third, "burden of proof" should have the same significance in criminology that it has in any other scientific work, namely, the facts should be established as facts.

In view of these conclusions regarding definition, more than 90 per cent of the decisions against the 70 corporations under these four laws reflect criminal behavior, and the decisions therefore have considerable reliability as an index.

Certain hypothesis can be made which seem valid with reference to the criminal behavior both of corporations and of the lower socio-economic class. (1) The number of violations of a particular law by a particular corporation or other group of persons is a function of its position in the social structure. (This is attested by the clustering of several corporations in the same industry around one point in the distribution of decisions, and by the continuance of illegal policies over a long period during which the personnel of the corporation change almost entirely.)

(2) A corporation's position in the economic structure determines the number of violations of a particular law by (a) determining the opportunity to violate the law and the need to violate the law in a relatively external sense, and (b) defining the need and making accessible the techniques for satisfying it, in a socio-psychological sense.

(3) The organization of the State for the enforcement of a particular law is inversely proportional to the status of the group which violates that law.

BLACK MARKET

Joseph D. Lohman

There is a fear that the country may be flooded with counterfeit money turned out by men who have learned their trade through producing bogus ration stamps for the Black Market. One of the effects of rationing has been to give "new and added employment to counterfeiters."

Recent arrests have produced evidence that such professionals are now organized as an incident of the Black Market rackets. The federal government has recently indicted a number of ration stamp counterfeiters who also possessed exceptionally fine plates for the printing of United States currency. Government officials are already speculating on the prospects of an increased currency counterfeiting problem as a result of the impetus given the trade in recent months.

Behind the countless Black Market violations in this country lies the fact that the war has never been sufficiently close to home,

BLACK MARKET (cont'd.)

either geographically or psychologically, to check the pursuit for private profit, let alone to make criminal a devoted father's provision of a thick juicy steak for the family dinner. As in the case of prohibition period, the establishment of price controls and rationing has been accompanied by widespread violation by both consumers and merchants throughout the community and irrespective of social class or economic status.

The public saves itself from self-indictment by identifying the Black Market, not so much as a set of practices, as a place, a place where questionable and illegal traffic is carried on. In this added qualification any individual relieves himself of the burden of being labled a Black Marketeer. The behavior has become identified with a place, some other place, frequented by other, not so nice, people. OPA violations are overwhelmingly committed by individuals and firms of conventional status and reputation.

War or not war, the American public is confronted by a system of administered prices which is at variance with the traditional pursuit after private profit. Preoccupation of the OPA with certain classes of offenders is no mere accident. Indeed, its handful of investigators, some 2,500 for the country, is in the tradition of business pressure against government to retain a maximum of freedom and minimum of governmental intervention.

There is a saying among confidence men that there is a 'bit of larceny in everyone'. I suspect this is not so much a generalization about human nature as it is a comment on our culture. In connection with nearly every controlled or rationed item there has appeared some form of sharp-shooting and bootlegging. However, at the present time there is little evidence of a really systematic, organized, criminal enterprise involved in this type of larcenous activity.

The current OPA concern is the gasoline market. Enforcement officials are making a two-pronged drive--against gas ration stamp counterfeiting and the systematic burglarizing of ration board offices for coupons. For the most part, the filling station dealer is under pressure from "muscle" men to accept counterfeit stamps, which he turns in to replenish supplies after selling gasoline at high prices without demanding stamps. The dealer's rewards are too small to account for his violations other than by considering the pressure put on him by the so-called "cowboy" type hoodlum and hangers-on of the criminal underworld. Also, there have been an extremely large number of thefts of ration stamps and books by employees of ration boards. On the face of it this would appear as a petty larceny aspect of "white collar" crime. However, these thefts appear to be promoted from the outside and are not unrelated to the fact that ration board personnel has been selected through war political channels with their characteristic loyalities, obligations and underworld associations. Indeed, the number of instances in which the "fix" or a mere discharge has disposed of a well-established theft of stamps from a ration board is itself evidence that the local ward heeling politician is on the job. The feeling on the part of local ration board employees that their responsibility is to, and their hope of wage increases is from, their local political sponsors, is well known.

THE CENSUS AS AN INSTRUMENT OF DEMOCRACY IN THE POST-WAR WORLD

Phillip M. Hauser

While post-war reaction may be expected against government controls, it is to the interest of the general public as well as to economic enterprise that the statistical service function of government be preserved as an important element in our democratic way of life.

The basic need and justification for a systematic program of government statistics lies in the fact that in our urban industrialized interdependent economy, the individual person or enterprise in the absence of facts frequently does not know how to act in his or its own interest, let alone in the interest of the larger social or economic order. Statistics relating to the population, labor, housing and construction, production, inventories, shipments, sales, foreign trade, government finances, and related matters may be regarded as traffic signals on the heavily traveled economic highways of our highly complex society. It may be argued that without such traffic signals the economic freedom we enjoy under the American scheme of free enterprise is jeopardized by the possibility of head-on economic collisions of the type we experienced during the great depression. Government statistics, in general, and the census statistics program, in particular, are essential to this in that they help to maximize individual freedom of action within a framework of activity which provides insurance against unnecessary and undesirable risks either by the individual person or enterprise or by the body politic.

Not only a desirable but a necessary function of our government in facilitating intelligent post-war day-to-day activity will be to collect information relating to our social and economic life and to make such information readily obtainable to all.

THE PURDUE OPINION POLL FOR YOUNG PEOPLE

H. H. Remmers

The Purdue Opinion Poll for Young People is unique in that the participating school pay for the poll as a service. Some 20,000 senior high school pupils participated last year. The poll has served the following purposes: (1) a guide for evaluating the process of education; (2) a catalytic agent and revitalizing force in the social studies; (3) data for the study and prediction of trend; (4) a vantage point from which to explore the factors that change, make, and unmake attitudes, interests, wants and needs of youth; (5) at least a starting point for more effective community integration; (6) during the war emergency, an important part of the psychological front; and (7) a positive contribution to social psychology with respect to content, research methodology and theory.

Research in progress and contemplated is presented under two headings (a) methodological and (b) social-psychological. Under the heading of methodological problems are listed (1) anonymous paper-and-pencil versus interview polling, (2) form and content of poll items, (3) reliability of measurement, (4) polling by radio, and (5) evaluation of poll.

NEWS OF RESEARCH AND ACTIVITIES (cont'd.)

Edwin E. Aubrey newly-elected president of Crozer Theological Seminary in Chester, Pa., has been studying the relationship of the concept of natural law to Christian ethics. Most significant we feel is his expressed aim of providing more training in social studies for future ministers.

Reinhard Bendix is concerned with problems of bureaucracy and the development of business ideology during the war.

Vattel E. Daniel is interested in the development of a Sociology of religion and some of Sociology's contributions to successful education. He has recently accepted a position of Dean at State Teachers College, Montgomery, Alabama.

At Tuskegee Institute Ralph N. Davis' two current research projects have been the Negro Newspaper and Tuskegee Institute: A Social and Economic Interpretation.

Walter N. Eaton writes that he is making an attempt to formulate a sociological theory of motivation which will be amenable to quantitative research.

Robert E. L. Faris lists his research projects as 1) continuity of generations and child behaviour 2) aspects of isolation and contact related to personality.

S. C. Gilfillan has been studying the social effects of aviation in a comprehensive research project at the University of Chicago.

Joseph B. Gittler is making a Des Moines community study and is studying the adjustment of college wives in war time.

Ernest Harper has been named head of a new department of Social Service which was split from the Sociology Department at Michigan State College.

Elmer W. Henderson continues in his post as Regional Director of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices.

M. R. Ireland lists his research project as "Bohemia".

Guy B. Johnson has resigned his position with the University of North Carolina and is now executive director of the Southern Regional Council.

Robert C. Jones now with Pan American Union in Washington, D.C., is concerned with education for social work in Latin America and recruitment and transportation of Mexican Nationals for labor in the United States.

Murray J. Leiffer has been studying retirement and recruitment rates in the ministry and criteria of effectiveness in the ministry.

Peter P. Lejins is engaged in a crime and delinquency survey in the state of Maryland.

Ernest Mannheim is concerned with juvenile deliquency at the University of Kansas City.

Vera Miller is now working in the Research department of the Amalgamed Clothing Workers of America.

Margaret B. Phalman is interested in race and ethnic ideologies and their manifestations in dominant groups.

Otto Pollak is now with the War Labor Board in Philadelphia. He has been studying the problems of employment in later maturity and old age and criminality in women.

Maurice T. Price at the University of Illinois is studying the feasibility of democracy in China and is working on a criticism of Howard Becker's analysis of Chinese thought.

Stuart A. Queen is now acting librarian at Washington University.

Mary Schauffler remains associate professor of Sociology at Western Reserve University in Cleveland, 6, Ohio.

Southern Regional Council
Rm 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.
Ex

FALL ISSUE

Social Questions Bulletin

The Methodist Federation for Social Action, an unofficial membership organization, seeks to leaven within the Church, the sense of social obligation and opportunity, to study, from the Christian point of view, social problems and their solutions, and to promote social action in the spirit of Jesus. The Federation seeks for the complete abolition of war. The Federation rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society and seeks to replace it with social-economic planning to develop a society without class or group discriminations and privileges. In seeking these objectives the Federation does not commit its members to any specific program, but remains an inspirational and educational agency, proposing social changes by democratic decision, not by violence.

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EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETS

Acts for Peace and Organizational Progress

Under the chairmanship of the new president, Rev. Dr. Loyd F. Worley, the executive committee of the Methodist Federation for Social Action met on September 29 at the University of Denver in Colorado with representatives from the East and West Coasts and from the Midwest in attendance.

NEW NATIONAL OFFICE ESTABLISHED

The committee voted to designate the new national headquarters address as the address of the Membership secretary: Box 327, Gresham, Oregon. This is also the new office of publication address for **Social Questions Bulletin.**

NEW OFFICERS CONFIRMED

The committee confirmed the election by the membership (through mail ballot) of the officers nominated by the 1953 Membership meeting: President, Rev. Dr. Loyd F. Worley, 573 Farmington Avenue, Hartford, Conn.; Vice-Presidents, Bishop J. W. E. Bowen, Atlanta, Ga.; Rev. Clarence T. R. Nelson, Dayton, Ohio; Rev. Edward L. Peet, Sacramento, Calif., and Mary Phillips, Lemont, Ill.; Recording Secretary, Rev. Lee H. Ball, Irvington, N. Y.; Assistant Recording Secretary, Miss Janice M. Roberts, New York City; Membership Secretary, Rev. Mark Chamberlin, Box 327, Gresham, Ore.; Field Secretaries, Rev. I. DeQuincy Newman, Sumter, S. C., and Dr. Willard Uphaus, 66 Edgewood Avenue, New Haven, Conn.; Editorial Secretary (Editor of **Social Questions Bulletin**), Rev. Jack R. McMichael, Upper Lake, Calif.

TREASURER SELECTED

In accord with the decision of the Membership meeting that a West Coast treasurer should be found for M.F.S.A. to work with the Membership secretary and new national office, the Executive committee elected Rev. Edward L. Peet of Sacramento, Calif., to that position. Rev. Hillis Culver of North Sacramento was selected as assistant treasurer. MEMBERSHIP DUES AND CONTRIBUTIONS FOR M.F.S.A. ARE URGENTLY NEEDED NOW, AND SHOULD BE SENT BY YOU DIRECTLY TO THE MEMBERSHIP SECRETARY AT THE NEW NATIONAL OFFICE, BOX 327, GRESHAM, OREGON. He and his national office staff will record, credit and receipt all contributions and then transmit them to the treasurer for deposit and for expenditure by check on budgeted items.

ANTI-WAR AMENDMENT ADOPTED

The Executive Committee confirmed adoption by the membership (through mail ballot) of an amendment to the M.F.S.A. Constitution proposed by the 1953 Membership meeting, and adding to the constitution this sentence: "The Federation stands for the complete abolition of war." By decision of the Membership meeting, this sentence has also been added to the masthead of the **Bulletin.**

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM DEFENDED

The committee voted M.F.S.A. backing for both past and future efforts in defense of clergymen under fire for exercising religious conscience and democratic, constitutional rights.

APPEAL TO BISHOPS VOTED

In the interest of religious freedom and fair play for all clergymen, as well as for any bishop under fire and being unfairly and unjustly defamed and misrepresented by congressional committee press releases, an appeal was voted to the Bishops of the Methodist Church. They were asked to consider appointing a committee to study M.F.S.A.'s official attitudes and position, both now and across the decades, and to report the record to the church and to the public. In that spirit, the committee appeal expressed (as had been done before at General Conference) M.F.S.A.'s readiness for any fair investigation from proper church authorities, and it expressed confidence that the record would not show "any deviation from the spirit of prophetic religion as expressed in the Holy Scripture." Full text of this M.F.S.A. Appeal to the Bishops is found below.

PEACE STAND TAKEN

The Executive Committee adopted a resolution which calls on our government leaders to heed the strong and growing demands here and around the world for top-level negotiations in search for an end to the costly and doom-threatening cold war and arms race. Full text of the resolution appears below.

NAME UNCHANGED

The Membership meeting had agreed to submit to the membership a mail ballot on the question as to whether to change the name of the organization from Methodist Federation for Social Action to Methodist Fellowship for Social Action. The membership was polled on that question, but the Executive committee decided that, since that poll's results were indecisive, there should be a moratorium on the question at least until the next Executive Committee meeting (now scheduled for December 9 or 10 in Chicago). Meanwhile, your vote and views on the name question are welcome and encouraged.

MEMBERSHIP DRIVE PUSHED

Using the present opportunity to enlist new members for M.F.S.A. was stressed by the Executive Committee meeting. Every member is urged to become an M.F.S.A. evangelist and enlist at least one new member now. Here is a real answer to attempts to curb and intimidate! And if you are interested in helping develop a local action M.F.S.A. chapter in your city, write our membership secretary, who is stressing that project (Rev. Mark Chamberlin, M.F.S.A. National Office, Box 327, Gresham, Oregon).

MEMORIAL MEETING FOR BISHOPS BROOKS AND McCONNELL

Following the all-day Executive Committee meeting on September 29, M.F.S.A. sponsored a public meeting that evening in tribute to Bishop Robert N. Brooks and Bishop Francis J.

Continued on Page 28

FRANCIS J. McCONNELL

by BISHOP F. GERALD ENSLEY

I wonder what Francis J. McConnell has thought—if he has been taking notice of them in the Great Beyond!—about the eulogies penned in his honor since his leaving us on August 18? Surely they must sound different from some of the communications he received in the steel strike days or during the more recent hysteria years! Probably the bishop's reaction would be—modest man that he was—that the tributes, like the report of Mark Twain's death, were "greatly exaggerated."

Those who knew Bishop McConnell need no reminder that a great man has gone, a magnificent mind, as amazing in its range and depth and humor as in its cutting edge; a tender sympathy that went out instinctively to the underman; a courage which had not the fear of man in it; a moral mysticism which found its driving power in the sense of the approval of the Christ-like God. He combined in himself excellences any one of which would distinguish: authorship of about 30 volumes of theology and social criticism, holder of some of the most highly sought lectureships, named by his colleagues of the ministry as one of the "Twenty-five Great Preachers of America," past-president of the Federal Council of Churches, and head of causes innumerable for social betterment, and for almost a third of a century a bishop of the Methodist Church. He was big in every dimension; truly, we shall not soon see his like again.

Bishop McConnell has been the acknowledged leader of social liberalism in the Methodist Church in our generation. Probably his greatest claim to historical remembrance will be his connection with the Steel Strike Report in the early twenties, one of the first telling blows for the humanization of industry. Possibly his most lasting contribution, however, will be his interpretation of the prophetic function.

For it was the bishop's deepest conviction that society stagnates unless there be men and organizations who take the moral for their domain and hold up with courage and persistency the intrinsic worth of human life against all opposition, until by its very rightness it wins affirmative response in spite of its deniers. We may almost say that Bishop McConnell's life is an essay in the definition of the nature of such social prophecy. The truth he tried to utter with both his lips and his long and noble life is that it is the sovereign business of the prophet to get the great moral values stated in human terms and enforced upon the common consciousness. He always contended that we must not confuse the prophet with the reformer. The prophet is an outrider in the caravan of human progress. He may spy out the land, but we must look to other men to go over and possess it. Nor can we expect the prophet to work in legislatures or council chambers, where half-a-loaf satisfies when the whole is out of the question. The prophet's function is to get moral questions up and not to let them down until they are settled, and settled right. The brave words of William Lloyd Garrison are in the prohpetic mood, "I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—and I will be heard."

While the prophet is an absolutist, he need not be a fool. No man, even his bitterest enemies, ever caught Bishop McConnell off base on matters of fact, moral judgment, or propriety. Indeed, in his Beecher Lectures on **The Prophetic Ministry,** the bishop warns against the self-styled prophet who is needlessly unconventional, taking pride in the outer shows of separateness, wildness, and craziness for its own sake.

We have speculated as to what Francis J. McConnell may be thinking. If we may judge from the man we knew, his thought would not be on himself or how men regarded him. His concern is directed to the persons and causes that he loved, to the Federation which he led and to whose helm he returned in waning strength and from well-deserved retirement when it was assailed in recent days. Now that he is gone, will his old friends allow themselves to be cowed and driven underground by reactionaries who want to identify the Methodist Church with soft-headed evangelism or the economics of William McKinley? Or will the liberals bring discredit on themselves by irresponsible utterance, asinine behavior, and that queer partisanship which wields a prophet's scourge on the iniquities of the right but reserves almost a priestly tenderness for the parallel sins of the left? Or, will the voice of true prophecy be heard again in the land, summoning men without fear to serve freedom, justice, and human welfare, and invoking without favor the judgment of a righteous God on offenses against these values, from whatever quarter they come? The tribute that Bishop McConnell would like to have is yet to be penned. It will be written by liberals who show by their conduct in the years ahead that they have learned the meaning of his life.

IS SOCIAL REFORM COMMUNISM?

By W. W. REID

"Social reform is one of the fundamental strengths of democracy," said the **New York Times** in a recent editorial on committees and individuals that equate the demand for social reform with communism.

"The (House Un-American Activities) committee could make no greater gift to the Communist than to assume that ministers who are militant fighters for social reform are **ipso facto** party-liners," added the **Times.** "Judging from some of the names released in recent testimony, it appears that the committee has already fallen into this terrible error."

Many ministers and many thousands of laymen in America are eager for social reform—working for better government, housing, laboring and living conditions, or for temperance and prohibition, or for economic adjustment in business or industry, or for tolerance, or for medical benefits, and many other "causes".

These men are "liberals," "progressives," "social reformers"; they are "to the left" (of most of us) socially, politically, or economically. They are likely to be critical of the present order of things, of the status quo, of entrenched power. If they are ministers, they are the few prophets among a greater body of priests. They are prophets because the Book calls them to urge men and nations to repentance. But to say that they are Communists or subversives **merely because they are reformers** is to do violence to logic, to fact, and to history.

It is now quite clear that too many equate social reform with communism. And clergymen who abhor communism are branded with its name because they would change some existing conditions. Two of America's most noted liberal rabbis, Doctors Wise and Magnes, were recently so branded; both are dead, but thousands of all faiths have come to their defense. Former Methodist Federation for Social Action executives, long at the forefront in social reform, have also been so accused.

"I am not and never was a communist," insisted the Rev. Jack McMichael to the House committee.

"I never have been a communist sympathizer or a communist party member; I can give place and date of my opposition to communism," writes the Rev. Charles C. Webber.

"I am not and never have been a member of **any** political party," Prof. Harry F. Ward told the press. "My judgment and actions concerning political and economic issues are derived from the basic ethical principles of the religion of Jesus, of which I am a minister and teacher."

I know these men well—and I believe them implicitly. They may be farther "to the left" than I am. But I know they and many hundreds more are religious prophets, working along legal and peaceful lines for Christian-based reforms. They are not, I am certain, seeking or conspiring "to overthrow this (or any other) government by means of violence."

M.F.S.A. APPEAL TO THE BISHOPS

Religious leaders who have been known to stand for social justice, world peace and basic human rights and freedom have again become the subject of misrepresentation and attack. Magazine articles and speeches of politicians have not displayed the characteristic of fair play. Releases from the House committee on un-American Activities have been given publicity without opportunity for defense. Even the action of the General Conference of 1952, concerning our fellowship, was not based upon a thorough investigation of all of the facts. With the evil spirit of suspicion let loose in the world, no religious leader, no matter how distinguished, is safe from misrepresentation and abuse.

The members of our fellowship joined with many others in repelling the unwarranted attack upon Bishop Oxnam. He was given the opportunity to face his accusers with facts. The same privilege should be accorded every minister and member of our church who is accused. Especially this should be granted as support for those named by the release recently made in the name of the House Committee on un-American Activities. The good name of our beloved church will be affected if any minister or member is really guilty as charged. But our shame will be increased if he does not have the support necessary for a fair trial.

We re-affirm our confidence in the integrity and the loyalty of those of our number who have been subjected to defamation and abuse without a hearing. We call attention to the following official statements of our organization which bear upon the tense issues of our day.

"The Federation does not commit its members to any specific program, but remains an inspirational and educational agency proposing social changes by democratic decision, not by violence." (MFSA Constitution.)

"The Federation rejects all forms of totalitarianism; affirms that no present social order is fully Christian; subscribes to no 'ism' but to Christianity; respects the ethical reality of the church, but recognizes its inherently conservative nature, and so affirms that its own radical witness must be expressed as an unofficial body within the church." (Statement of governing principles adopted 1949.)

Therefore, we respectfully request the bishops of the Methodist church to consider the appointment of a committee to give proper study of our official attitudes and position and to report the same to the church and to the public. We are willing to undergo any fair investigation and we welcome it from proper church authorities. We are confident that the record will not reveal any subversion or deviation from the spirit of prophetic religion as expressed in the Holy Scripture.

(The above statement authorized by the Executive committee of the MFSA meeting, September 29, 1953.)

ON THE DEFENSE FUND

Much gratitude is due the Federation members who so generously sent funds in defense of religious freedom and of ministers under attack from the House Committee for having exercised that freedom on behalf of peace, democratic progress, and human welfare. If you have not made a contribution and would like to, send your contribution for any needed legal and educational defense to Rev. Lee H. Ball, Defense Fund Treasurer, 24 Willow Street, Irvington, N. Y.

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HOUSE COMMITTEE RELEASE ANSWERED

The Committee on Un-American Activities released to the press on September 11th the testimony of four professional informers, to the effect that 600 Protestant clergymen in this country are secret members of the Communist party, and 3000 or 4000 more are fellow-travelers. The name of your minister was included among the names of several distinguished religious leaders given to the press.

I am not, and never have been, openly or secretly, a member of the Communist party. I do not consider myself a fellow-traveler. I do believe in preaching and applying the ethical principles of Jesus, as set forth in the Bible. In the course of the years, I have signed many statements, made a good many speeches, supported many causes, on the side of peace, of civil rights, of defense of the rights of minorities. My motive has been to try to help people, individuals or groups, who were in need of assistance, wherever I could. I have done these things because I felt I should do them, to keep my conscience Christian. I am not ashamed of anything I have signed or said or supported.

There are two or three things about these attacks upon the clergy that we should get well in mind.

The first is that while we hear a good deal today about subversive influences, nobody bothers to define what "subversive" is. So it turns out to be anything that Senator McCarthy or Senator Jenner or Congressman Velde or the attorney general dislikes or disapproves. Sinister forces in American life build up the Communist danger to serve their own ends. I cannot believe that these investigation committees are seriously concerned about Communism in American churches. But what they are attacking, under the anti-Communist smoke screen, is the Protestant social gospel—our right to do something about our religion. And our Christian social gospel we must defend. The only excuse for an investigating committee is to get material from which to frame a law. But the first amendment to the constitution states that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." The real purpose of these investigations is to intimidate preachers, so they will say and do nothing about peace or about civil rights. If I know the preachers, they are not going to be intimidated. We take our moral directives from God, not from some congressman in Washington. Under cover of anti-Communism, we are getting thought control and fascism in America. The real issue is religious freedom. No committee of the congress has the right to decide what is orthodox in religion, or to compel religious conformity.

Consider, second, that when something, usually without any preliminary hearing, has been declared "subversive," then anyone who in any way has associated with it is also called "subversive." At the last count, 254 American organizations were on the attorney general's "subversive" list. This is the new doctrine of guilty-by-association, and it is un-American.

Third, "subversive" guilt is made retroactive, to go back 20 or 30 years to smear something you did or said then with the new implications that have been added today. This, too, is strange and un-American procedure.

With these devices—loose, reckless, undefined, blanket charges of "subversion," guilt-by-association, and retroactive, post facto guilt—almost anyone who has ever stood for anything can be persecuted, and his reputation and career ruined.

I am not a stranger among you. Some of you have known me for a good many years. I hope you have confidence in me as an American and as a Christian. Some day this present hysteria will be only an evil memory. American sanity and courage are beginning to reassert themselves. Whatever happens meanwhile, we can see it through, if as minister and people we present a solid front, and if we rely upon God's help. We are not alone. Thousands of Protestants, prominent and humble, clergy and laity, are already aroused to this danger to our religious freedom, and they are resolved that this drive toward the control of American thought and religion must be stopped. May God help us here to stand together, and we can win, and be then the stronger for it.

REV. LEE H. BALL.

They Call For Peace

Continuing to defend his advocacy of big power informal negotiations aimed at relaxing international tensions and ending the war threat and arms race, Prime Minister Churchill told the House of Commons on November 3:

"The only really sure guide to the actions of mighty nations and powerful governments is a correct estimate of what are, and what they consider to be, their own interests.

"Applying that test, I feel a sense of reassurance. Studying our own strength and that of Europe, under the massive American shield, I do not find it unreasonable or dangerous to conclude that internal prosperity, rather than external conquest, is not only the deep desire of the Russian peoples but also the long interest of their rulers."

Churchill's latest statement followed announcement that the Soviet Union had successfully developed and tested not only atomic, but also hydrogen weapons and bombs—an announcement which underscores the insanity and irresponsibility of rejecting measures which might bring peace.

Meanwhile the Pope had held that negotiation or "frank and honest discussion" among the big powers was "a first and indispensable condition of peace."

Nehru of India strongly agreed with Churchill that there should be a big power conference "to meet informally, in privacy and without a rigid agenda . . . to make every effort to rid humanity of the fear of war."

In the United Nations, many voices were raised on behalf of such big power negotiations. India's delegate, Krishna Menon, voiced that plea, and held that big power tension was "the factor which supervenes every discussion, on which all problems center, and the solution of which is essential if we are to see daylight at all in the affairs of mankind."

A leading American businessman, Ernest T. Weir, chairman of the National Steel Corporation, urged serious peace negotiations with the Soviet Union "in a spirit of give and take" as necessary to prevent disaster. He made this plea in a pamphlet, **Notes on the Foreign Situation Based on a Trip Abroad,** which he will send free on request to him at 2800 Grant Building, Pittsburgh 19, Pennsylvania. Mr. Weir defended his position in a letter to the New York Times on September 8:

"My actual position is this: Europeans believe Russia is now seriously disposed toward establishing a condition of world peace. This is a position which the Western nations should explore, and the way to explore is through negotiations . . . continued as long as they serve a constructive purpose . . . If Russia should prove to be sincere, the world would have much to gain. (Otherwise) the world certainly would be no worse off . . .

"It seems to me entirely wrong to continue to prejudge the Russian attitude . . . If the U. S. and other western nations were to take the position . . . that there should be no negotiations because 'Russia cannot be trusted,' the world would be condemned to perpetual stalemate which could only be broken by war . . ."

Mr. Walter Lippmann, covering the Anglo-U. S.-French talks in London, stated (Oct. 20) that "two great developments in the general situation" had been neglected: "We have all outgrown the notion that a conference with the Communist powers is a privilege that they are seeking and that we may or may not be willing to grant them." And secondly, for "the Europeans" it is "no longer . . . debatable . . . that for them the only defense against atomic warfare is to prevent it altogether."

In the same day's issue of the New York Times (Oct. 20), Defense Secretary Chas. Wilson was quoted as having told his press conference: "Today, the U. S., with superiority in atomic weapons, could assault the Soviet Union from its ring of bases around the Russian empire." He added that U. S. citizens "could get considerable comfort if they would imagine how they would feel if they lived in the Soviet Union—lived there with knowledge of this country's superiority in atomic weapons and possession of the ring of bases around Russia from which these weapons could be employed."

Does Mr. Wilson imagine that we live in the days of Hiroshima and Nagasaki when only one nation possessed atomic bombs, and when there could be a one-way atomic war? What possible comfort can there be for half-way sane Americans in the prospect of an atomic war in which we would not only deliver, but also receive atomic (and hydrogen) bombs? We who would live by atom bombs might well perish by them. Has an arms race, or a policy of intimidation, ever brought peace? Would it not be wise, before disaster comes, to turn from intimidation to negotiation, from arms race to multilateral disarmament, from hate and fear to love and the Golden Rule, from the death-promising principles of Mars to the life-promising principles of Jesus?

SUPREME COURT TO REVIEW HOUSE COMMITTEE

On October 12, the Supreme Court agreed to review the case of Julius Emspak, officer of the United Electrical Workers Union, who had been convicted for refusing (by appeal to both the fifth and the first amendments to the constitution) to answer questions he considered improper and unconstitutional from the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The court specifically agreed to rule on the question as to whether the House Resolution 5 setting up the committee as a permanent or standing committee, violated the constitution by abridging free speech, press, and assembly.

The brief submitted to the court in appealing for the review it voted, stated:

"The court cannot ignore the fact that the obtaining of information for legislative purposes, the power in aid of which the (House) Resolution (5) was passed, has become a hollow pretext for the compilation of a vast political index purgatorius, the systematic destruction of political dissent and the subjection of thousands of citizens not merely to ruthless invasions of privacy but to serious sanctions without due process of law. Congressional committees now sit in judgment over the political liberty of the American people—teachers, writers, trade unionists, editors, preachers, doctors and just ordinary Americans. We have reached the stage where a 'clearance' from the committee is often indispensable to one's livelihood, career and good name. The assertion by congress of these powers to sit in political judgment must be reviewed by this court. Unless these powers are curbed and constitutionally related to the legislative process, there is a serious danger of irreparable injury to our constitutional form of government.

"The current hue and cry concerning Communism has converted the activities of congressional committees into a vast game of hare and hounds. The only valid justification for these activities has been left far behind as the congressional subpena mill grinds out its paper trail of pursuit. As new committees join in the chase and compete with one another, new abuses are perpetrated and ever new 'sensational revelations' are promised to divert attention from these abuses. This process has now reached the point where the same individuals have been victimized over and over again and where to the invasions of the rights of the individual have been added serious attacks upon the principle of separation of powers."

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETS Continued from Page 1

McConnell, former presidents of M.F.S.A., who both died this summer. The meeting was held in the Iliff School of Theology chapel, and addresses of tribute were given by Iliff President, Harold Carr, Rev. Lee H. Ball, Rev. Jack R. McMichael, Rev. Clarence T. R. Nelson, Rev. Edward L. Peet and Rev. Dr. Loyd F. Worley.

M.F.S.A. APPEAL FOR PEACE

With the realization that both hydrogen and atomic weapons are in the hands of both of the world's major powers, it has become clear that the arms race has reached an impasse and that, not security, but death and destruction are the end results of our continuing along that path. The futility of war and the urgency of following the Prince of Peace, who blessed the peacemakers as children of God, was never more clear.

On behalf of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, we its officers and members of its Executive Committee, appeal to the leaders of our government and especially to President Eisenhower, to recognize the grave urgency of an effort through high level negotiation to ease world tensions in the cold war and arms race, and give the nations of the world an opportunity to use and develop their resources in the valiant and age-long struggle against poverty and preventable disease, in keeping with the demands of Jesus that the hungry be fed, the naked clothed and the shelterless be provided with shelter.

We urge President Eisenhower to accept the suggestions and pleas coming from the government of India, from Prime Minister Churchill of Great Britain, and from such leaders as Mr. Stevenson and ex-President Truman and from many others, to enter into immediate negotiations with the leaders of the other major powers, including Premier Malenkov, towards easing the grave international tensions.

Southern Regional Council
Rm. 432, 63Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Social Questions Bulletin

The Methodist Federation for Social Action, an unofficial membership organization, seeks to deepen within the Church, the sense of social obligation and opportunity to study, from the Christian point of view, social problems and their solutions and to promote social action in the spirit of Jesus. The Federation stands for the complete abolition of war. The Federation rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society and seeks to replace it with social-economic planning to develop a society without class or group discriminations and privileges. In seeking these objectives the Federation does not commit its members to any specific program, but remains an inspirational and educational agency, proposing social changes by democratic decision, not by violence.

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HAS ECONOMIC DOWNTURN BEGUN?

A year ago (Nov. 18, 1952), Elliott V. Bell, Editor and Publisher of **Business Week**, addressed the Economic Club of New York and said, "Most business men think a recession is due in 1953 or 1954." Though denying this would be disastrous, Mr. Bell predicted "a major business setback" during the life of "the new Republican administration," and listed as signs of the ending of "the biggest boom in history" the following: "tightening money rates, narrowing profit margins, an imminent oversupply of new homes, the approaching peak of armament spending, world-wide weakness in commodity prices and increasing difficulties in foreign trade."

PRODUCTION TOTAL DECLINES

One sign that the widely expected economic decline may have now begun, is found in the latest report of the President's Council of Economic Advisers. This points to the first actual quarterly drop in four years in gross national product or total production of goods and services. Though small ($1.4 billion on a yearly basis), this production drop is yet significant if it begins a new trend. The drop was explained by a decline in government war spending and in business spending for inventory accumulation.

END OF EMPLOYMENT RISE

In its "New England Letter" of Sept. 30, the First National Bank of Boston said: "Following a long rise, total non-agricultural employment has leveled off since the first of the year." Government figures show a 60,000 drop in manufacturing workers between mid-August and mid-September, and about the same drop in job-holders between September and October. Though the government figures indicate employment remains high and unemployment low, the Wall Street Journal of October 12 reported its own nationwide labor survey showing the "situation may be turning" and "increasing evidence of scattered layoffs." The Journal reported such layoffs in Detroit, Dallas. St. Louis, New Jersey, New York state, Washington state, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Wisconsin, in G. E. plants and in the auto, steel, rubber, locomotive and aircraft industries in the localities affected.

The U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics pointed to the "more than seasonable curtailment of output" to explain the greater drop in factory hiring this summer than in any summer since the war.

WORK WEEK AND OVERTIME DOWN

The Commerce Department reported that for the first time overtime work this October was less than a year ago. In its September 30 Newsletter, the First National Bank of Boston had stressed the importance of this factor: "More significant is the gradual decline in man hours worked. Any slackening in business will cut down on work schedules, and the work load will be spread to reduce unemployment. It is reported that most overtime pay is being used to buy durable goods on the installment basis. In consequence, when this extra compensation is not forthcoming, consumers will be forced to lower their living standards, and this will mean a decreased demand for goods all along the line."

At the end of October, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that the average weekly wage of factory workers had fallen by $1.20 between mid-August and mid-September.

DROP IN BUSINESS SPENDING EXPECTED

One sign of decline is the expectation of a drop in business spending for new plant and equipment. The Commerce Department in its **Survey of Current Business** of September, reported:

> Between the third and fourth quarter (this year), the major industry groups are anticipating either a leveling off or a decline in their rates of capital spending. After allowance is made for seasonal factors, a 5 per cent decrease is indicated in manufacturing, primarily in the durable goods sector. Somewhat larger relative declines are expected by the public utilities and railroads. Other transportation, mining and commercial companies expect little change in fixed investment rate in the final quarter.

The National Industrial Conference Board, an employer agency, surveyed 159 manufacturing companies and reported on September 22 that over three times as many companies "plan to reduce their 1954 capital expenditures below the 1953 rates as expected to increase them."

DECLINE IN MANUFACTURERS' NEW ORDERS

In its **Survey of Current Business** for October, the Department of Commerce reported such orders declined "substantially" in July and August from the high second quarter level, mostly in the durable goods industries and largely due to cancellation of orders for military hard goods.

The same **Survey** for September showed the situation to be especially bad in some industries, such as the railroad equipment industry. There 6,900 new freight cars are being delivered a month, 8 per cent less than in the first quarter, but still over four times more than new orders which "in the past three months have averaged less than 1,600 units per month."

DECLINE IN STEEL INDUSTRY INDICATED

The Boston First National Bank's "New England Letter" of September 30 reported:

> Steel mills have been operating below capacity since June. Demand is spottier and shortages are fading. Cancellations of orders, although of small volume, are increasing. In consequence of easing demand, scrap prices have weakened. Competition is keen. Price cuts have been made . . . a buyers' market is well under way in the steel industry.

The same bank letter had reported on August 31: "The peak in demand for steel products has apparently passed. Sales of conversion steel products have dropped sharply. Supply is rapidly catching up with demand. The trade expects a slackening in mill operations in the fourth quarter."

As for the decline in price of scrap steel, this is as much as 24 per cent in the Chicago market since early August, and a Chicago broker told the Wall Street Journal (Sept. 21): "If scrap is a barometer of future trends of steel production, it is telling us that a storm of some proportions is in the offing."

DROP IN NEW HOUSING

There has been a steady drop in private "housing starts" since last February to the lowest point in nearly two years. Public housing has also declined, and sharply, from 47,300 in 1952 to 29,700 this year. Congress did not help when it slashed the public low-rent housing program, despite campaign promises, reducing to 20,000 the units for this year, after over 55,000 had

already been contracted for. At the same time, Congress wrote off 125,000 more units, for which there were preliminary loan contracts.

The New York Herald Tribune of September 18 shows the importance of all this for our economy by pointing out that new housing is "considered an important economic indicator not only because housing forms an important segment of the construction part of the economy, but because new housing forms such an important market for the home furnishings and appliance industries."

As for construction in general, the Bank "New England Letter" of September 30 already quoted, stated: "A decline of construction expenditures for the fourth quarter is expected."

AUTO INDUSTRY SLOWS DOWN

On autos, the same bank letter reported, "Indications are that output will level off . . . large stocks and sluggish sales of used cars have had a dampening influence on the disposal of new cars in retail channels. Competition in the trade is intensely keen, with dealers' profit margins narrowing."

RETAIL TRADE OFF

The Commerce Department reports retail sales were down at the end of this summer compared to a year ago, and there has been a continued drop for the past three months, amounting to 3 per cent in department store sales for the four-week period to October 17.

THE SHAKY STOCK MARKET

Since last January, stock prices have fallen over 10 per cent as a whole. Explained **Business Week** on September 12, many who play the market, "think our present prosperity may be ephemeral. They have been scrambling to as safe a spot as possible before and if the blowoff comes." And **U. S. News and World Report** stated on September 18: "Looking ahead to 1954, many investors find cause for concern . . . Some decline in demand and production is indicated . . . The jolt may be painful for a good many people and businesses."

THE FARMER'S DEEPENING PLIGHT

The economic position of the farmer has steadily declined since 1946, and the Associated Press reported on October 30: "The price of farm products have been on the downgrade for more than two years." That day the Agriculture Department reported farm prices had continued their long decline between mid-September and mid-October, by 2.34 per cent. Thus farm prices had declined to a level "11.5 per cent below a year ago and 20 per cent under the record high." But prices paid by farmers had dropped only "one-third of one per cent from a month ago, 3 per cent below a year ago, and about 4.8 per cent below the record high."

In consequence, the farmer's parity level was at the lowest level in over 12 years. In mid-October farm prices were down to 91 per cent of parity, compared to 92 per cent a month earlier, 100 per cent a year earlier, and 122 per cent in October, 1946. Thus, the parity level of farm prices has dropped by one-third from the 1946 high!

Despite increased production, net income for the farmer has gone down. Thus, in 1952, crop production was up 3.5 per cent, but prices paid farmers went down by 11 per cent; so they suffered a net income drop of 3 per cent or $500 million. And the drop in farmer net income in 1953 has been much greater. Figures in the Federal Reserve **Bulletin** for September show farm net income in the second quarter of this year to have dropped 17 per cent below that of 1952 on an annual basis, and about 20 per cent below that of the same quarter in 1952.

BUT LIVING COSTS REACH ALL-TIME HIGH

Low prices to farmers did not mean low prices for consumers. The Bureau of Labor Statistics reported October 28 that, "The average American paid more for his basic living needs last month than ever before in history," the fourth consecutive month in which a new record high in living costs had been reached, and the seventh consecutive month in which living costs had risen, reaching a level 13.2 per cent above that of June, 1950, prior to the Korean war.

THE PROFITS ARE HIGH

Despite the slash in prices paid farmers, food prices also have remained high for the consumer. As put by the **U. S. News and World Report,** August 21:

> As the years have passed, the housewife has paid more and more for the same amount of groceries, yet the farmer's share has become smaller. Today the housewife pays $1,017 for the food that cost $767 in 1946. That's an increase of $250 in her grocery bill. The farmer, however, gets only $49 of that increase. His share of the food dollar has gone from 52c to 44c.

To show how low farm prices don't guarantee low consumer prices, consider that orange prices paid the farmer went down by 40 per cent between August, 1952, ($1.06 a box) and August, 1953, (66c a box); while for the consumer in that year canned orange juice prices rose 33 per cent and frozen orange juice by 20 per cent!

With low prices to farmers and high prices from consumers profits of the big food corporations in between have been tremendous. The National City Bank in New York reported in its Monthly Letter in August that 28 leading food processing corporations in the first half of 1953 had increased their net profits after taxes by 21 per cent over the same profitable period in 1952. As for other large processors of farm products, 11 tobacco companies had raised their profits by 21 per cent and 24 textile and apparel companies by 34 per cent. Profit figures were high this year for the big grocery chains, the big meat packers, the big food packaging corporations, the big dairy giants (Borden net profits after taxes for the first half of 1953 were 20 per cent higher than in the same period of 1952), and the big bakers. For example, Ward Baking Co. showed 21 per cent higher net profits after taxes in the 27-week period up to last July 4 over the corresponding profitable period of 1952. Yet with its profts high and with wheat prices to the farmer low, the same baking company **raised** its bread prices by one cent a loaf in the New York area in September!

These high profits to big corporations processing and distributing farm products, help explain (as put in C.I.O. Leaflet No. 227) why the farmer in 1952 got only 13.5c for a 23c quart of milk, 31c for the cotton in a $3.50 shirt, 3.6c from a 23c can of corn, 3.3c for tobacco in a cigarette package, and 3.2c for wheat in a 16-17c loaf of bread.

And corporation profits in general have been high this year. The Security and Exchange Commission reported on October 25 that such profits were in the second quarter of this year the "best since 1951, both before and after taxes." And in 1951, corporation profits before taxes were the highest in U. S. history.

When Mr. Charles Wilson left chairmanship of the General Motors Corporation to accept appointment as secretary of defense, he told a congressional committee that he had always considered that what was good for General Motors was good for the country as a whole. If so, the country is in good shape; for General Motors reported on October 28 that it had sold more in the preceding nine months "than the corporation (the world's largest) ever sold before in any full calendar year. Both sales and earnings for the nine months were the highest reported thus far by any U. S. corporation." The corporation revealed that in that period it had made profits **after** taxes of $453 million!

Farmers and housewives might not agree that conditions for the U. S. as a whole were as rosy as those corporation profit figures suggest!

A PROBLEM AND CHALLENGE

High prices and profits on one hand combined with low income for farmers and other disadvantaged groups on the other to accentuate an old problem in our ecenomy which might contribute towards recession: the failure of mass purchasing power or consuming capacity to keep up with productive capacity. In one industry after another, there is now emerging the old problem of "excess capacity."

War was Hitler's "answer" to the overproduction (or underconsumption) in his economy, with the resulting unemployment and economic collapse. But his "answer" proved to be disaster. War and war preparation have helped obscure the problem in our economy since the Great Depression. But the problem remains and is coming to light again.

What will churchmen say and do in these crucial months to see that our answer is more rational, more humane, more democratic, more Christian—that it is an answer which puts people above both mammon and mars?

Churchmen Speak Out For Freedom

Highly significant statements have come in recent weeks from official Protestant sources, bearing creatively and pointedly on current attacks on democratic liberties and religious freedom at the hands of congressional committees and others.

We print below excerpts from recent statements from the General Council of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. and from the House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

THE PRESBYTERIANS SPEAK

. . . The citizens of this country and those in particular who are Protestant Christians, have reason to take a grave view of the situation which is beng created by the almost exclusive concentration of American minds upon the problem of the threat of communism.

Under the plea that the structure of American society is in imminent peril of being shattered by a satanic conspiracy, dangerous developments are taking place today in our national life. Favored by an atmosphere of intense disquiet and suspicion, a subtle but potent assault upon basic human rights is now in progress. Some Congressional inquiries have revealed a distinct tendency to become inquisitions. These inquisitions, which find their historic pattern in medieval Spain and in the tribunals of modern totalitarian states, begin to constitute a threat to freedom of thought in this country.

Treason and dissent are being confused. The shrine of conscience and private judgment, which God alone has a right to enter, is being invaded. Un-American attitudes toward ideas and books are becoming current. Attacks are being made upon citizens of integrity and social passion which are utterly alien to our democratic tradition. They are particularly alien to the Protestant religious tradition which has been a main source of the freedoms which the people of the United States enjoy.

There is something still more serious. A great many people within and without our Government, approach the problem of communism in a purely negative way. Communism, which is at bottom a secular religious faith of great vitality, is thus beng dealt with as an exclusively police problem.

As a result of this there is growing up over against communism a fanatical negativism. Totally devoid of a constructive program of action, this negativism is in danger of leading the American mind into a spiritual vacuum. Our national house, cleansed of one demon, would invite by its very emptiness, the entrance of seven others. In the case of a national crisis this emptiness could, in the high-sounding name of security, be occupied with ease by a fascist tyranny.

Whatever concerns man and his welfare is a concern of the church and its ministers. Religion has to do with life in its wholeness. While being patriotically loyal to the country within whose bounds it lives and works, the church does not derive its authority from the nation but from Jesus Christ. Its supreme and ultimate allegiance is to Christ, its sole Head, and to His Kingdom, and not to any nation or race, to any class or culture. It is, therefore, under obligation to consider the life of man in the light of God's purpose in Christ for the world.

While it is not the role of the Christian church to present blueprints for the organization of society and the conduct of Government, the church owes it to its own members and to men in general, to draw attention to violations of those spiritual bases of human relationship which have been established by God. It has the obligation also to proclaim those principles, and to instill that spirit, which are essential for social health, or sound and stable policies in the affairs of state.

Loyalty to truth is the common basis of true religion and true culture. Despite the lofty idealism of many of our national leaders, truth is being subtly and silently dethroned by prominent public figures from the position it has occupied hitherto in our American tradition. The state of strife known as "cold war," in which our own and other nations, as well as groups within nations, are now engaged, is producing startling phenomena and sinister personalities.

In this form of warfare falsehood is frequently preferred to fact if it can be shown to have greater propaganda value. In the interests of propaganda, truth is deliberately distorted or remains unspoken. The demagogue, who lives by propaganda, is coming into his own on a national scale. According to the new philosophy, if what it true "gives aid and comfort" to our enemies, it must be suppressed. Truth is thus a captive in the land of the free. At the same time, and for the same reason, great words like "love," "peace," "justice," and "mercy," and the ideas which underlie them, are becoming suspect. People will become accustomed to going through life with no regard for rules or sanctities.

A painful illustration of this development is that men and women should be publicly condemned upon the uncorroborated word of former communists. Many of these witnesses have done no more, as we know, than transfer their allegiance from one authoritarian system to another. Nothing is easier for people, as contemporary history has shown, than to make the transition from one totalitarianism to another, carrying their basic attitudes along with them.

As a matter of fact, the lands that have suffered most from communism, or that are most menaced by it today, Russia and Italy, for example, are lands which have been traditionally authoritarian in their political or their religious life. And yet the ex-Communists to whose word Congressional committees apparently give unqualified credence are in very many instances people whose basic philosophy authorizes them now, as in the past, to believe that a lie in a good cause is thoroughly justified.

Let us frankly recognize that many of the revolutionary forces of our time are in great part the judgment of God upon human selfishness and complacency, and upon man's forgetfulness of man. That does not make these forces right; it does, however, compel us to consider how their driving power can be channeled into forms of creative thought and work. History, moreover, makes it abundantly clear that wherever a religion, a political system or a social order, does not interest itself in the common people, violent revolt eventually takes place.

In human conflicts there can be no substitute for negotiation. Direct personal conference has been God's way with man from the beginning. "Come, now, and let us reason together," was the word of God to Israel through the prophet Isaiah. We must take the risk, and even the initiative, of seeking face-to-face encounter with our enemies. We should meet them officially, whatever their ignominious record, and regardless of the suffering they may have caused us. We, too, have reasons for penitence and stand in need of forgiveness.

In any case, talk, unhurried talk, talk which does not rule out in advance the possibility of success, talk which takes place in private, and not before reporters or microphones or television, is the only kind of approach which can lead to sanity and fruitful understanding. Let the process of conference be private, but let its conclusions, its complete conclusions, be made public.

AND THE EPISCOPAL BISHOPS SAY

The church is equally opposed to what may be described as creeping fascism. We know from our brethren of the churches abroad that often fascism has come upon them unawares.

We are against trial by uninformed public opinion, against accusations by hearsay.

We are for fairness, and justice, as a part both of Christianity and of our democratic way of life.—Nov. 13, 1953.

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Truman Defends Religious Freedom

(In his recent City College address, former President Truman strongly defended religious freedom.)

This wave of hysteria over communism has now reached the point where several legislators are undertaking to investigate the beliefs and opinions of clergymen. This is even more dangerous than the attack on education.

I notice that these attacks have been leveled at some of the leaders of our great Protestant denominations and some of the leaders of our great Jewish congregations—even against those who are dead and unable to defend or explain their actions.

Now, we surely all know that our Protestant churches and our Jewish synagogues are among the strongest supporters of American principles and ideals. I do not believe there is any distinction between any of our great religious groups in this country with respect to their adherence to the principles of our form of government. I think it will be a sad day for religious tolerance in this country when anyone starts to draw lines between our great churches in this matter.

We have a very great principle in this country and it is written into the Constitution that the Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.

If Congress can make no laws prohibiting freedom of worship, it is certainly not entitled to investigate the beliefs of church groups or their leaders.

Of course, if a clergyman is engaged in espionage or has violated the law in any way, he is subject to the law like any other citizen. But matters of belief and opinion present a very different question.

If a clergyman is an atheist, he is at odds with the vows he has taken, with the body of believers whom he serves and with the God he professes. If such clergymen exist, their betrayal of religion is a matter for churches to handle. Only the churches can decide whether a clergyman has been faithful to his vows of ordination or not.

This is certainly not something for the secular power, the power of the state, to decide. These are matters of conscience, and the Congress of the United States and its committees are not competent to judge them.

The leaders of our churches from time to time throughout our history have taken stands on social issues. They have done this in response to the dictates of conscience, wherever the moral law has appeared to them to be involved. Many of them condemned slavery when it existed in this country. Many have condemned sweat shops, child labor and the forcible denial of collective bargaining. We have lived to see these condemnations become the law of the land. We have moved forward along the road of moral progress under the spur of our great moral leaders in the churches.

Of course, there are always differences of opinion in the churches themselves about how far church leaders should go in matters of this kind. Our churches have conservative wings and liberal wings. Some clergymen have been blind to social evils and others have been misled or deceived as a result of their zeal for social justice.

The Government and all its branches should stay out of church affairs.

Neither Congress nor the executive branch nor the courts should take it upon themselves to decide who should preach what in the pulpits. The churches and synagogues will take care of these matters themselves. I think they will come out with better answers than most of our human institutions.

But if our central government does not distinguish between the real dangers of communism and the hysterical fear of it, if our national leaders do not stand firm against panics, and against the invasion of individual freedoms, then we are in for some bad times.

SEN. DOUGLAS ASKS NEW RULES FOR CONGRESSIONAL PROBES

(From a recent speech on the Senate floor.)

"For these committees are in fact fast becoming legislative courts. At present the committees are in effect given a wide hunting license and allowed to cruise at large without any restraint as to rules of evidence, procedures, questioning, or the making of public statements. The degree of fairness or lack of fairness which is followed therefore largely depends upon the members of the committees themselves and more particularly upon their chairmen. All too often, they in effect make their own rules and do anything that they wish . . .

"But justice is meant for all, for conservatives and liberals, reactionaries and radicals alike. It should not be confined to any one class or to members of any one party. It should apply to everyone. This is necessary for practical as well as ideal reasons. For if the group in power at one time is unfair to its opponents, it cannot properly ask for or expect better treatment when it is out of power and its political antagonists are in control. There is, therefore, great practical sense as well as high idealism in the Golden Rule that we 'should do unto others, as we would have them do unto us'.

"If those in power today do not observe the rules of fair play, they may suffer in the future from the same abuses.

"It is important, therefore, that we should take steps to improve and unify the procedures followed by these congressional committees.

"1—Witnesses reflecting adversely upon other persons should only be called to testify at a public hearing after they have been examined in executive session and their relative credibility established. In other words, unreliable witnesses should not be allowed to wreck reputations.

"2.—Testimony adversely affecting any persons should not be received in a public hearing unless it has first been heard in private and corroborated by other witnesses or by printed material.

"3.—Derogatory material not developed in public hearings, rumors, and other unsubstantiated reports or confidential data should not be issued to other private citizens or 'leaked' to the press by the members or staff of a committee. Star chamber proceedings are as bad in connection with a man's reputation as with his life.

"4.—If it seems probable that a person is likely to be adversely reflected upon in public testimony, he should be notified in advance of the probable nature of the charges, invited to be present at the hearing and permitted to make a brief but adequate statement at the conclusion of the adverse testimony.

"Alternatively he should be permitted to submit a written statement to be included in the record of the hearings. Time is of the essence in these matters, and a man is seriously damaged if the charge is published on page one on a given day but the denial or reply only comes days later and is then published on page 22. Mark Twain once remarked that 'a lie can go around the world before truth has time to put on its boots.' We should strive to let the reply as nearly as possible be simultaneous with the charge. Otherwise, we do the party adversely concerned a distinct injustice, and are guilty of letting the lie have time on its own wings to fly.

"5.—Persons charged with offenses or otherwise subjected to derogatory comment should have a limited right to cross-examine adverse witnesses and to produce witnesses on their behalf on the points under question.

"6.—Witnesses before the committee should have the right to be represented by counsel and if not in contempt of the committee, to make brief statements in their behalf and defense.

"7.—The general purpose of the hearing should be stated in advance and authorized by a majority of the committee so that the relative relevancy of the questions asked may be judged in this context. In other words, vague and unauthorized 'fishing parties' should not be indulged in.

"8.—No report should be filed or published which has not been submitted to the members of the committee and approved by a majority. The minority will of course retain its right to file a dissent."

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SOCIALIZATION IN GREAT BRITAIN

(*with comparison to Europe*)

1. INTRODUCTION

Americans tend to harbor distorted views about economic planning because they live in a country which is at one pole on the question and are most concerned politically about a country which is at the other pole. However, neither free private enterprise nor complete state ownership are as popular in the rest of the world as is an intermediate course. Moderate socialization was the inter-war pattern in part of the British Commonwealth and Scandinavia, and is now spreading in the rest of Europe. France, Britain, Czechoslovakia and Poland, as the newest recruits, are exciting increasing American attention. The research staff decided to concentrate in this report on the British experiment because of the ready availability of information and the abundance of critical discussion within the framework of the experiment.

Our readers will recall the surprised headlines with which the American press announced in July 1945 that Winston Churchill's coalition government had been defeated by the British Labor Party in the first general Parliamentary election since before the war and that the new government was to be headed by socialist Clement Attlee and to be composed exclusively of laborites. Even after two years of the new regime, we are not quite sure what socialism means in the country of Oxford University and the Established Church and the Empire.

Although her new leaders are avowed socialists, socialization in a strict sense of the term represents but one aspect of a planned economy in which the important economic decisions are channelized toward providing full employment and ultimately a fairly-distributed high national income. The British socialist approach is summarized succinctly by David Lewis, head of the British Labor Party's Canadian counterpart, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, in "Labor in the British Commonwealth," *Antioch Review,* Summer 1946:

> Socialization is for British Socialist movements strictly a tool for the achievement of social and humanitarian ends, but never an end in itself. Therefore, it follows that if certain necessary results can be better obtained without immediate socialization then socialization is postponed. And although the postponement may cause a few ripples, it is not likely to rock the boat. Similarly, the monarchial system ceases to be wrong in principle, but becomes merely a practical problem of the adaptability of the monarch to changing political and economic circumstances . . . When a British Labor spokesman says that he does not intend to liquidate the British Empire, he definitely does not mean the same thing as Churchill, but there is no doubt that he does express an intention to retain the associations for good which have developed within the Empire and Commonwealth simultaneously with the evil.

BIBLIOGRAPHY—GENERAL

Since the most rewarding current literature on the British experiment is designed for those who approach the subject with some background, we recommend that your reading start with a few historical and general materials. Of the books that are easily available here, the best introduction to Britain and the other socialized countries is Harry W. Laidler, *Socio-Economic Movements,* New York, Cromwell, 1944. The particularly pertinent chapters are 18, on "Fabianism" and 31, on "Labor and Socialism in Great Britain and Western Europe." For a brief summary of the history and the 1945 victory of the British Labour Party, also see the Rand School pamphlets, *What Do You Know About British Labor,* by David Shub and Robert Alexander and *Labour's First Year—The Facts.* An excellent summary of the electoral victory and the developments of the first year in power is presented by the Summer, 1946 issue of *Antioch Review.* It contains the David Lewis article already mentioned; Margaret Cole, "How Labor Came to Power"; Grahame Miller, "The Economic Policy of British Labor"; P. C. Gordon Walker, "British Foreign Policy"; and Keith Hutchison, "Britain and the United States: Cooperation for World Trade." A similar but less successful introduction is the 10-page section on "British Labor in Power" by Jack Winecour and Michael Young in the October 7, 1946 issue of *New Republic.* The 1945 pre-election material is in the *Report of the 44th Annual Conference of the Labour Party* (the 1945 pre-election Conference).

The best popular sources on the Labor Party are its own publications, which include a weekly *Bulletin,* and the best theoretical sources are the pamphlets and *Fabian Quarterly* of that society and the publications of Victor Gollancz, Ltd. The British

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addresses are: Labor Party, Transport House, Smith Square, London SW 1, Fabian Bookshop, 11 Dartmouth St., London SW 1; and Victor Gollancz Ltd., 14 Henrietta St., Convent Garden, London WC 1. Extremely valuable to Americans are *British Speeches of the Day* (bi-monthly) and the monthly *Labor and Industry in Britain,* both available free at the British Information Service, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York City 20, which also handles the Monthly Digest of Statistics and other publications of His Majesty's Stationary Office.

The new government has placed a tremendous emphasis upon its domestic economic program, upon which there is an abundance of worthwhile reading, mostly of British origin. The January-February issue of *British Speeches* reprints the speeches of the Ministers introducing the bills on transport nationalization, town and country planning and agriculture. The December issue of *Labor and Industry,* which is a review number has two good general articles that will be referred to again, "Nationalization Measure" and "Pattern of British Reconstruction." We also recommend to the researcher the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Daily Herald,* the latter being the organ of the government.

The best known publication left of the government is the weekly *New Statesman and Nation* which expresses the sentiments of the "back bench" of the Labor Party. The most worthwhile publication to the right is the weekly *Economist* with excellent informative articles that express the Liberal criticisms. For checking up the progress of legislation in Parliament, an invaluable source is the daily resume of its activities in *The Times* which also carries good articles. This amazing newspaper is run by a national trust supposed to insure impartiality. The Standard British monthlies are *Fortnightly* and *Contemporary Review,* both generally pro-government. For Conservative Party criticism of the government, the most easily available sources are the weekly *Statist* and *Spectator.* Miscellaneous British publications that often contain materials useful in this project are *The Round Table,* quarterly journal concerned chiefly with the commonwealths; *Economica,* quarterly organ of the famous London School of Economics and Political Science; *Political Quarterly,* edited by a board composed of Harold Laski, G. D. H. Cole, H. L. Beales, Richard Crossman and Kingsley Martin; *Labour Monthly,* organ of the British Communist Party, and the *New Leader,* organ of the Independent Labour Party. The various publications mentioned in this pararaph are usually available in well-equipped American libraries.

In addition, there are two periodicals of non-British origin that are extremely valuable sources for socialization in the various countries, including Great Britain. They are the *International Labour Review* of the International Labour Organization, and the American *Business Week,* which has a section on "Business Abroad." *Fortune* occasionally carries articles on British economic problems, but they are generally quite unsatisfactory.

Going to the more generalized American publications, we found in the December, 1946 issue of the University of Chicago's *Journal of Political Economy* one of the very best extensive articles on the British economy. Mary E. Murphy, "British Labor Party and Domestic Reform." See also R. P. Schwartz, "Labour's Economic Policy," *Fortnightly,* September, 1946. Instead of listing here the many sources on the specific parts of the program, they will be found in the appropriate sections of the text.

2. HISTORY OF THE LABOR PARTY

Summarizing British Labor Party history from the sources cited above, we get a picture of a party that is pre-eminently practical, although with rich theoretical overtones. Organized in 1900 as the Labor Representation Committee by a conference of union delegates and socialist societies, the Labour Party has been winning Parliamentary seats since 1902 and using its present name since 1906. It first became distinctly socialist in the campaign at the end of the first World War when it adopted the present constitution and an electoral program advocating nationalization of the mines, railways and electric power, broad social legislation, and economic planning. Laborite representation jumped in the election from 38 to 59.

By 1929 Ramsay MacDonald was able to form a Labor Government which was supported by 288 Members of Parliament, only 20 short of a majority. Although elected on a platform which added to the earlier demands nationalization of the Bank of England, the land and life insurance, the minority status of the party confined its legislation to such reformist measures as public works and unemployment insurance. In 1931 came what is still referred to as MacDonald's great betrayal. The Party had instructed him to resign on an important issue, only to see him accept back his position as Prime Minister in a National Government. This caused considerable disturbance within the party and a tremendous drop in its prestige without. The following election reduced Labor to 52 seats, but even then it received a popular vote of 6 million against 2 million for the Liberals and 11 for the Conservatives.

The present leadership dates from the expulsion of MacDonald and his supporters. By 1935, the last election before the second World War, the Party staged a comeback to 154 seats and 8 million votes, becoming the official Opposition. With a new emphasis upon socialism, the Party Conference two years later adopted "Labor's Immediate Program" which advocated nationalization of finance, land, transport, coal and power. The laborites presented in Parliament a resolution that legislative effort be directed "toward the substitution of an industrial and social order based upon public ownership and democratic control of the instruments of production and distribution," which lost by only 153-117.

The wartime Coalition Government, instituted by Winston Churchill in 1940 which could not have stood without Labor Party support, gave the new group of labor leaders the opportunity to become experienced government administrators. Clement Attlee, who became Deputy Prime Minister, was a University-educated intellectual with the background of Member of Parliament since 1922 and party leader since 1935. Ernest Bevin, the new Minister of Labor and National Defense, had been head of the powerful Transport and General Workers' Union. To the Ministry of Supply went Herbert Morrison, qualified by long experience in the administration of London County. Dr. Hugh Dalton, who became Minister of Economic Warfare, and later President of the Board of Trade, was a leading socialist intellectual. These men all made excellent reputations in fulfilling their official responsibilities and also succeeded in pushing through much social legislation, including a wages and hours law. Although theirs was an electoral truce, laborites not in the Cabinet maintained a sort of opposition in Commons where their most prominent spokesman was Aneurin Bevin, now Minister of Health.

The coalition broke up after V-E Day when Labor asked for a fall election and Churchill thought to defeat them by setting it for July. The Party Conference adopted a vigorous platform entitled "Let us Face the Future," which declared:

> "The Labor Party is a Socialist Party, and proud of it. Its ultimate purpose at home is the establishment of the Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain—free, democratic, efficient, progressive, public-spirited, its material resources organized in the service of the British people. . . . But Socialism cannot come overnight, as the product of a weekend revolution."

First on its agenda for action the party placed the provision for full employment which demanded planning and investment control, and after that came nationalization.

Labor won 396 out of the 640 seats in Commons, and the new government was formed by Attlee. The core of his administration is composed of Chancellor of the Exchequer Dalton, Foreign Minister Bevin, and Lord President of the Council Morrison. Other key figures are Sir Stafford Cripps as President of the Board of Trade, George Isaacs as Minister of Labor and National Service, and Emanuel Shinwell as Minister of Fuel and Power. Isaacs is a former Chairman of the General Coun-

cil of the Trades Union Congress and Shinwell was a junior minister in previous Labor governments.

Backing these men is no idle group of intellectuals, but a powerful organization which depends for its electoral work on local clubs and for its strength on trade union affiliates which control some 2,200,000 votes. Other affiliates are the Royal Arsenal Co-op Society with 26,000 members and five socialist societies. The largest and best-known is the Fabian Society of 2700 members, which since 1883 has been the center of British intellectual socialists. Its members have included Sidney and Beatrice Webb, H. G. Wells, George Bernard Shaw, and G. D. H. and Margaret Cole. All of these groups are represented at the Annual Conference, which is the Party's highest organ, according to their numerical strength. The Conference writes the platform and elects the national officers and National Executive Committee. For the latter, the union delegates choose 12 members, the labor parties choose 7, and the entire delegation selects 5 women and one representative from the socialist and cooperative groups. Although in the past the trade unions have sometimes dominated the party by the weight of numbers, in 1945 only 231 of the candidates were union members. Prospective candidates for public office on the Labor Party ticket are required to be individual members of the Party, to belong to a trade union if eligible, and to pledge loyalty to the platform, with the reservation that any member having scruples about the party's position may abstain from voting. Candidates are proposed by local groups and endorsed by the National Executive Committee well ahead of the elections, quite the opposite from American procedures.

3. NATIONALIZATION

A. *Introduction*

Americans may imagine that when Labor suddenly became the government in the midst of a very trying situation, it was forced to hurriedly formulate emergency plans of action, but this is quite contrary to fact. In developing their theories, Labor economists and political planners have always acted on the assumption that they would be called upon to put their theories to the test, and Dalton, Shinwell and Morrison had worked on their respective schemes for a period of years. The 1945 platform was not a statement of political dogma or a set of vague promises, but a program for government action in light of 1945 political developments and economic conditions.

The nationalization program, which has received the fullest publicity, derives from the fourth point in the election platform, which reads, "the fuel and power industries, inland transport facilities, and the iron and steel fields must be publicly owned." In presenting the draft platform to the Party Conference, Herbert Morrison had said,

> ". . . we will argue out the case for socialization industry by industry on the merits of each case. We will take a body of industries in our first period of full Parliamentary power and socialize those that require to be socialized first on the basis of suitability and urgency . . . We have selected them partly because they are key industries, largely at the service of other industries, and therefore the efficiency of other industries depends very largely on those industries and services. We cannot tolerate key industries and financial institutions being muddles on the one hand or being built into anti-social totalitarian monopolies on the other."

B. *Coal*

The labor government tackled the coal industry in its first major industrial nationalization. The conditions which led to the dramatic fuel and power crisis in February 1947 had been apparent for years, and were the chief factor in giving coal nationalization its high priority. Government figures indicate that the number of miners fell from 1,107,000 in 1913 to 782,000 in 1938, and that output in tons per manshift fell from 1.17 tons in 1935 to 1.00 ten years later. The chairman of a royal commission on coal was advocating nationalization as the only remedy back in 1919, and the government actually did exercise considerable control from then on through the war years, when the newly-created Minister of Fuel and Power operated the mines.

The Coal Industry Nationalization Act of 1945 transferred on January 1, 1947 ownership of all British coal mines and auxiliary industries to a public corporation, the National Coal Board, in return for compensation interest-bearing stock. This public corporation form, like our TVA, is the favorite method of British public ownership. The Board is chaired by a non-socialist leading figure in wartime coal control. The other members are a well known civil servant, a mining engineer, a leading physicist, an accountant experienced in mining work, a man experienced in the domestic and foreign marketing of coal, the former secretary of the mineworkers' union, and Lord Walter Citrine, until now the well-known Secretary of the Trades Union Congress. Although appointed by the Minister of Fuel and Power, and subject to his direction on policy, the full-time board of experts will make their own managerial decisions. The industry's critical need for new capital for modernization was solved by authorizing the Minister to advance the Board $600 million in the next five years. However, the board will function as an independent financial unit and will make payments to the government toward the interest on the compensation stock and on the new capital loan.

There is some left-wing criticism of the government that this is nationalization, but not socialization. Beder differentiates fascist and socialist nationalization in that in the latter not only are the physical means of production possessed by the state but these means must be used for the good of the whole society. In this sense the Labor Government has inaugurated socialist nationalization. However, the old socialist demand of direct participation by the workers in management is unsatisfied since the Labor Government appoints a board of experts. The coal nationalization act acknowledged the problem and authorized the board to work on a solution.

Cole predicted that workers' control would not be exercised through the union, which should remain a bargaining agent, but through special bodies such as pit committees and district and national councils. An early development in this field took place in November 1946 when the coal board called a preliminary meeting of what is to be the National Consultative Council. Composed of representatives of the National Union of Mineworkers, National Association of Colliery Managers, and National Federation of Colliery Deputies, the Council would consult with the Coal Board on those employment problems that go beyond terms and conditions of employment. The board will also be advised by two consumer councils, one for industrial and the other for domestic users.

Whereas the left-wing critics of the government are concerned with the manner of exercising control, the right-wing critics have given the most attention to the matter of compensation. Because of its technical nature, we quote the government's own explanation in "Nationalization Measure":

> "Compensation paid for the transfer of assets to the Board has been based on the amount they might have been expected to realize if sold in an open market by a

willing seller to a willing buyer. A global sum of $669,000,000 was fixed by an Arbitration Tribunal on the formula of net maintainable revenue of the assets multiplied by a number of years' purchase (which has not been disclosed) and this sum will be distributed first between districts and then to individual collieries. Companies will be compensated in government stock except for a limited number of cash payments under special conditions, and though the stock will be inalienable in the first instance (to avoid adverse effect on the market) it is intended to provide the means for its gradual liquidation as needed by the recipients."

For source material we refer you back to "Nationalization Measures," *Labour's First Year,* and the Miller, Winecour and Murphy articles. Additional material on the technical matter of control came from G. D. H. Cole, "National Coal Board," *Political Quarterly,* October 1946, and "Meetings of Representatives of Employers' and Workers' Organizations in the British Coal Industry," *International Labour Review,* January-February 1947. For a general discussion on problems involved in the exercise of public ownership, see Ian Mikardo, "Ministers and their Boards," *New Statesman and Nation,* September 7, 1946. Historical and statistical material on the coal industry is contained in the July 1946 and March 1947 issues of *Labor and Industry.*

C. *Civil Aviation and Cable and Wireless.*

Nationalization of civil aviation was the first part of the general transport program to be effected. The Civil Aviation Act also utilizes public corporations, retaining government ownership of the British Overseas Airways Corporaton and setting up two more, the British European Airways and the British South American Airways. These corporations will normally follow regular business policy and have the additional power not possessed by the Coal Board of raising their own capital. In the initial period they may also be helped by the government. Residuary power of direction in the public interest is with the Minister of Civil Aviation, who appoints and is responsible for the Directors, and who will be aided by an Air Transport Advisory Committee. The government will compensate the private companies for physical assets and the municipalities for airports.

The two other nationalization measures of Labor's first Parliamentary session were concerned with the Bank of England, which will be discussed in connection with investment control, and cable and wireless. The latter involves not merely England but the commonwealths and was the outgrowth of a Commonwealth Telecommunication Conference in 1945 which recommended that all overseas telecommunication services be brought under the control of a board representing the commonwealth governments. Compensation is determined on the same basis as coal, but differs in that the government stock given to present owners is negotiable. The above measures are discussed in "Nationalization Measures" and the Miller and Murphy articles.

D. *Transport*

Of all the nationalization proposals, the one exciting the most opposition is the Transport Bill of Labor's second Parliamentary session. It is also the most extensive, providing for government acquisition on January 1, 1948 of all the railways, canals, railway coaches, and the undertakings of the London Passenger Transport Board, and for later acquisition of long-distance road haulage and passenger service. After that date, private truckers will not be able to obtain licenses to carry goods for hire more than 25 miles from base or to carry their own goods over 40 miles except for certain kinds of freight.

The Bill sets up a British Transport Commission to manage the newly acquired facilities and to coordinate all other trucking services, passenger road transport, and commercial harbor facilities. The Commission, appointed by and responsible to the Minister of Transport, will devote most of its energies to promoting an efficient and adequate system of inland transport, with the provision that they make the revenue meet all proper charges. Actual managerial control of the different concerns would be shared by five executives dealing respectively with railways, docks and inland waterways, road transport, London transport, and hotels.

On the method of compensation we quote from Baynard, cited below:

> "In satisfaction for existing rail and canal stock the Commission proposes to issue British Transport 2½% stock based upon the Market valuation operating within certain dates. The principal and interest of the stock will be guaranteed by the government. The market price chosen is that existing either 6 months before the last General Election or six days before the King's speech opening the present session of Parliament (in which the intention to nationalize transport was announced), whichever is the higher. For the road haulier's a two-part scheme of compensation is suggested: the replacement of the acquired assets at the time of the transfer, less depreciation on an agreed scale, and a payment based on from two to five times the net annual profit lost to the undertakings. For local authorities operating passenger transport services to be acquired under the Bill it is provided that the Commission assumes liability for the interest and sinking fund charges for any net debt which is outstanding at the time of transfer. No further payment is envisaged and this method of compensation is justified by the government on the ground that the assets are merely being transferred from one public authority to another."

The critical *Economist* argues that nationalization of transport is not essential, that compensation is too low (their general criticism of all the measures), and that the definition of long-distance trucking is too inclusive.

Our sources are Murphy and McClellan cited above; "The Transport Bill Dissected," *Economist,* December 7, 1946; "Nationalization on the Cheap," *Economist,* November 23, 1946; "The Future of Inland Transport," *New Statesman and Nation,* December 14, 1946; "Nationalization of Inland Transport," *Labor and Industry,* January 1947; and H. T. Baynard, "Nationalization of Transport," *Fortnightly,* February 1947.

E. *Electricity*

On the agenda of the second Parliamentary session is also the nationalization of electrical power, which is discussed in A. M. F. Palmer, "Public Ownership and Electricity," *New Statesman and Nation,* August 1, 1946; "The Electricity Bill," *Economist, January* 18, 1947; "Unanswered Electricity Questions," same publication, February 8, 1947; and "Electro-Robbery," *Statist,* January 18, 1947.

The first of these articles explains how the existing Central Electricity Board steers a course midway between private monopoly and government control, and the second goes into the proposed set-up. The Bill would put the generative functions of the industry, which include the power stations and the Grid under a Central Authority. The distributive system it would place in the hands of 14 independent Area Boards, each appointed by the Minister of Fuel and Power. The government is again prepared to make a substantial investment for new power stations and improvements in the distributive system, a substantial portion of which would be for rural electrification.

The article in the *Statist,* which is mainly concerned with compensation, says the holders of securities in other than holding companies will be compensated by British Electricity stock of a value equal to the average of mean quotations for the six trading days ending November 8, 1946, or, if higher, at the average of mean mid-monthly

quotations for the 6 months ending July 1945 of the securities taken over. Holding company compensation will be subject to negotiations. The critics argue that this method does not allow for the profit-making opportunities which might have been expected in the post-war period.

F. *Iron and Steel*

Although iron and steel was the only other industry slated for nationalization in the 1945 platform, so far this has not been done. In May 1946 Commons resolved approval of the government's announced decision to nationalize part of the industry, involving the mining and quarrying of ore, the coke oven not included in coal nationalization, the manufacture of pig iron and steel ingots from pig iron and scrap, and the primary or heavy rolling sections of the industry. However, the appropriate legislation was not introduced into the second Parliamentary session, and instead the government bent its energies toward establishing a Control Board. By stipulating that the Board would not be concerned with nationalization, the industry was persuaded to participate in a body composed of two representatives each from industry, labor, and government. Their prime function would be to supervise current development and insure adequate attention to modernization. The Board would also advise on general price policy and administer, under the direction of the Minister of Supply, the remaining wartime controls over the production, distribution, and import of iron and steel products.

The British steel industry is in much better shape than coal or cotton, but many of the plants are still extremely inefficient in comparison to their American counterparts. The industry is closely organized into an Iron and Steel Federation which had itself planned a large reorganization scheme to be financed in part by its own resources and in part by recourse to the capital market. Apparently the government's plan is to itself furnish part of the capital and for the Control Board to take the place of private industrial supervision of the reorganization. This would put the industry in a special category of its own midway between nationalized and non-nationalized industry. There is some speculation that the government will acquire shares in the industry, as a step toward nationalization. We have seen no material to indicate the outcome of the plans. However, at the date of writing radio commentators are predicting outright nationalization in the next Parliamentary session.

For more material on the various stages of iron and steel planning, see "Iron and Steel Nationalization," *Labor and Industry,* July 1946; "Second Thoughts on Steel," *Economist,* August 24, 1946; "British Steel Plans Reorganization," *Labor and Industry,* November 1946; and the Murphy and Schwartz articles cited above.

4. PLANNING

The government's other industrial economic measures stem not from its ideas on socialization so much as its insistence that planning is an important requisite of a healthy economy. The 1945 platform placed it even before nationalization, saying: "Planned investment in essential industries and on houses, schools, hospitals, and civic centers should occupy a large field of capital expenditure with a national investment board determining social priorities and promoting better timing in private investment."

Herbert Morrison, to whom labor delegated the job of setting up and supervising the planning machinery, described it in October 1946 as the Steering Committee, representing the key economic ministries (Labor, Supply, Fuel and Power), together with the economic section of the cabinet secretariat, the Central Statistical Office, and his own office of the Lord President of the Council. The Committee gathers and assesses economic intelligence, prepares forecasts on farming, prepares economic plans, advises the Ministers thereon, and reviews the execution of the plans. Broadly speaking, the Steering Committee discovers the gaps between supply and demand, and the Ministers close them. It is assisted by Working Parties whose activities are explained by Morrison:

> "One estimates the total manpower available, and the forward distribution of manpower, on various assumptions. Another assesses the forward demand for expenditure in the investment field, and devises the means of holding back investment which is inessential or can be deferred, while ensuring that a reserve of non-urgent investment projects is built up for rapid execution—for example if the tendencies toward trade recession and unemployment should become significant in the world. Another Working Party watches import needs and methods of paying our way by visible and invisible exports. The material produced by the Working Parties is put together in trial balance sheets of man-power, national income and expenditure, and overseas payments and receipts."

There was criticism that the planning machinery was inadequate, and it has since been implemented, the chief addition being the tripartite Planning Board. Its full-time chairman is Sir Edwin Plowden, a director of British Aluminum Company and considered one of the bright young men in business. His initial staff consists of several personal assistants, and industrial consultant, and economists from the economic section of the cabinet and from the planning sections being established in each major department. Some of the personalities involved are Hilary Marquand, economic adviser to Clement Attlee who formerly taught at the University of Wisconsin, Robert Hall, head of the economic section of the cabinet and a socialist sympathizer, and E. Max Nicholson, permanent secretary in the Lord President's office and former chairman of Political and Economic Planning. Charged with developing a long term plan for the use of manpower and other resources, the board will work under Morrison, and all of the policy decisions will be made by the Ministers.

Besides announcing the current findings of its planners in the *Monthly Digest of Labor Statistics,* the government publicized its overall plans for 1947 in a February White Paper called "Economic Survey for 1947." The main goals in what is intended as a balanced series of objectives are rises in exports to 140% of the 1938 volume to pay for the greatly increased necessary imports, and rises in capital equipment other than homes to 155% of the normal pre-war year. Recognizing the importance of proper allocation of manpower and materials, the government announced a manpower budget together with plans to recruit the additional 200,000 workers required, allocation of large resources to industrial equipment and maintenance, and the availability to industry of foreign exchange for essential machinery.

The reader will find Herbert Morrison's "Planning in Britain," which appeared in *Personnel Journal,* January 1947 excellent—this is also available separately through the British Information Service—and "Britain's Brain Trust," *Business Week,* April 12, 1947. The leftist criticism of insufficient personnel and status for the planning machinery was voiced by Aylmer Vallance in "Plan for Planners," *New Statesman and Nation,* March 8 and 15, 1947. The conservative viewpoint that there is too much planning, resulting in a stultifying atmosphere, appears in John Chamberlain, "Britain Under Planning" *Yale Review,* December 1946. The Economic Survey is summarized in "Britain's Economic Budget—1947," *Labor and Industry,* March 1947.

5. CONTROLS OVER PRIVATE INDUSTRY

A. *Voluntary*

In the nationalized industries the government is comparatively free to carry out its plans, but in the rest of the economy the cooperation of private management is important. One very interesting aspect of the British experiment is the attempt to obtain voluntary cooperation and internal planning within the industry to fit it into the national picture. In the Fall of 1945 Sir Stafford Cripps announced for the 15 most important non-nationalized industries the appointment of tri-partite working parties composed of 4 representatives each from management, labor, and consumers, and an independent chairman. Their terms of reference were

> "To examine and inquire into the various schemes and suggestions put forward for improvements of organization, production and distribution methods and processes in the industries, and to report as to the steps to be taken in the national interest to strengthen the industry and render it more stable and more capable of meeting competition in the home and foreign markets."

The cotton textile industry, which after coal was in the worst shape during the inter-war period, suffering from inefficiency, from Indian and Japanese competition and from the development of synthetic fabrics, has received the most attention. Its Working Party's findings are embodied in a 278-page report presented in May 1946. The chief recommendation was that the industry be modernized and re-equipped at a cost of $53 millions, to be financed by a compulsary levy on the industry on a spindle and loom basis, the levy to be balanced by an increase in prices. It also proposed an equipment board to allocate expenditures, amalgamation of mills into more efficient units, a Cotton Council with tri-partite representation, a Central Marketing Company, and a state agency for buying raw cotton. The employers agreed with the other members on many parts of the report, but dissented on the proposals for compulsary amalgamation and compulsary levy as destructive to individual initiative. The government objected to both increased cotton prices and compulsary amalgamation, and presented its own plan to the industry, which involved the government making a gift of 25% of the needed investment with the conditions that orders for machinery must be placed within 2 years, that the mills work 2 shifts, and that money will be available only to groups of mills containing 500,000 spindles, which means some amalgamation. At last reports, both industry and labor had accepted and were putting into operation this plan. The government has also introduced a bill establishing a Raw Cotton Commission with monopolistic rights in the buying and distributing of raw cotton.

Some of the other Working Parties are in Pottery, Hosiery, Furniture, Jewelry and Silverware, and Shoes. The latter Party recommended the establishment of a Shoe Manufacturing Board to be financed by industry and government grants and to represent the manufacturers, trade union, trade interests at both the raw materials and distributive ends, and research and design bodies. It will have power to collect statistics on, but not to control conditions of entry into the industries, supplies, or conditions of employment.

As successors to the Working Parties, which were temporary, the government has proposed permanent Development Councils. The Industrial Organization Bill introduced in January 1947 enables any one of 8 departments (Board of Trade, Agriculture and Fisheries, Supply, Works, the Admiralty, Fuel and Power, and the Scottish Office) to establish tri-partite Development Councils after consulting with any organization representing trade or workers' interests. The kind of activities which may be undertaken are chiefly investigations—into methods of production and new technical equipment, methods of training, design, new marketing techniques, etc. But the Councils are strictly limited in jurisdiction by what is specifically conferred by the Minister, and each individual council needs the approval of both Houses of Parliament. Their initial duration would be for 3 years.

Obviously, the matter of obtaining the cooperation of private industry is still in an experimental stage. The most interesting thing about it is that here all the proposals embody the socialist demand for a share in management by the workers.

The reports of the various Working Parties are published by His Majesty's Stationery Office. The subject is discussed in McClellan; G. M. A. Grube, "Home Front in Britain," *Canadian Forum,* June 1946; "Plan for Cotton Industry," *Labor and Industry,* January 1947; "State Monopoly for Cotton," *Economist,* November 30, 1946; "A Recipe for Hosiery," *Economist,* September 21, 1946; "The Furniture Report—a Summary," *Economist,* November 16, 1946; "Footwear Working Party's Report," *Labor and Industry,* October 1946. The Development Councils are explained in "Government and Industry," *Economist,* February 1, 1947.

B. *Investment Controls and the Bank of England.*

The government still has some wartime controls over industry, and they have been supplemented by others. The most important of these is its control over new investments, which are most significant in a country where new machinery and buildings must be procured as a necessary prelude to full-scale peacetime production. For supervising financing through the capital market, the government inherited and made permanent two war-time agencies, the Capital Issues Committee and the Public Works Loan Board, which latter canalizes all important municipal borrowing. The labor government implemented these by the establishment of the National Investment Council which had long been demanded by Laborite economists. Under the Borrowing (Control and Guarantees) Act of July 1946, any industrial firm desiring to sell securities must first obtain permission from the Capital Issues Committee which administers the policies laid down by the Council. There is a system of priorities designed to prevent an inflationary scramble for fresh capital, and to insure that due weight is given to the needs of the reconversion and export drives.

The same legislation is also designed to sustain full employment when the present impetus is spent. If the demands of private industry for fresh capital fall below a desirable level the Treasury can stimulate such demand by guaranteeing loans to private companies up to $200 million annually, and if necessary this can be increased. The government has also planned against a slump period to stimulate the economy by expenditures of its own on roads, forestation, and other projects which are now being readied for instant development.

Closely allied to labor's electoral demand for planned investments was the third point on the 1945 platform which read: "the Bank of England must be brought under public ownership and the operation of other banks harmonized with industrial needs." This pledge was fulfilled by the Bank of England Act, which was labor's second big piece of legislation. Surprisingly enough, this measure received little opposition, and the former Governor of the Bank, Lord Catto, remained after nationalization. The Treasury exercises its new control over the Bank by its appointment of the 16 Directors and by policy direction. The importance of the Act to Labor's investment policy is that it compliments the government's control over capital financing by giving it control over short-term credit,

which is usually obained chiefly through the banks. Because of the interrelations of the Banking system, ownership over this bank also gives the government control over the policies of the many private financial institutions.

The Bank of England Act is also important in the compensation pattern of the nationalization program. On the technical aspects of this we quote again from "Nationalization Measures":

> "This provided for us the transfer to the Treasury of the whole of the existing capital stock of the Bank of England and for the issue of Government stock yielding the same return to existing stockholders. The bank had £14,553,000 of stock outstanding and during the previous 20 years the average annual gross dividend had been 12%. As the stock was quoted on the Stock Exchange at about 400, the yield was about 3%. The government has therefore issued £400 of Government stock earning 3% for every £100 of former Bank of England stock. At any time after 20 years, the Treasury will have the option to redeem the new stock at par."

For further discussion on investment policies, we refer you to the McClellan, Murphy, Miller, and Winecour articles cited above, and to the official "Pattern of British Reconstruction" and "Nationalization Measures" also cited. On the Bank of England, more material will be found in R. F. Harrod, "Consequences of Nationalizing the Bank of England," *Political Quarterly,* July 1946; and K. R. Bopp, "Nationalization of the Bank of England and the Bank of France," *Journal of Politics,* August 1946. The investment legislation also includes an Exchange Control Bill which is discussed in "The Exchange Control Bill," *Economist,* November 16, 1946.

C. *Controls over Industrial Sites.*

A more novel control is that exercised over the location of new factories. Part of this control is connected with the program to re-invigorate the great depressed areas of Great Britain where had been concentrated the pre-war depression and where even today there is unemployment. The Distribution of Industry Act passed in the last months of the Coalition enables the government to acquire and clear derelict land and encourage the development of new industry in order to achieve a healthy economic balance instead of reliance upon one industry, which had been the pattern. This operates so that when National Cash Register wanted to establish a British location, its choice was limited to South Wales, Dundee, Clydeside, Cumberland, or Tyneside. Private industry objects that this forces them away from the centers of transportation, markets, and labor supply. The government answers that this is necessary in order to stop overcrowding in central England and to bring some measures of prosperity to the people in what are known as Development Areas.

Control over the location of industrial sites is also one aspect of the more extensive program which is sometimes referred to as nationalization of the land. Nationalization is really too broad a term to apply to the present legislation but it is used by Morrison and others to characterize their ultimate intentions. As Morrison said at the 1945 Party Conference, what the government needs for the present is the use of the land rather than immediate ownership over all of it, and that the measure provides.

Another vehicle for establishing this control is the extremely complex Town and Country Planning Bill of labor's second Parliamentary session. In introducing the legislation, Mr. Silkin, the Minister of Town and Country Planning, pointed out that such planning is especially important in a small, densely populated country where the demands on the lmited supply of land are heavy and often conflicting. The purpose of his legislation is to secure a proper balance between these demands so that the whole land is used in the best interests of all the people. Earlier ministries had recognized the need for some action to prevent the further diversion of agricultural lands to other uses and the further increase of slums, and had sponsored various planning acts. However, defects in machinery and powers had resulted in little being accomplished. The new Bill retains county councils as the primary planning machinery, but authorizes the creation of joint planning boards. Furthermore, it compels the local authorities to make extensive surveys and submit plans within 3 years.

The planners will allocate the use of all the land within their jurisdiction after considering the social, economic and geographical factors involved. Since the plans are intended as guides for long-term development, most of the allocating at present will be in broad terms, such as agriculture, housing, and industry, except for the areas in which development is expected within 10 years, in which case the plans will be very detailed. They will be given wide publicity in order to inform the present property-holders what they can expect and to encourage their participation. However, before the owner can undertake to develop his property or change its use even in conformity to the plans, he must obtain permission from the district councils or other agents of the Planning Minister. He may be refused and preference given to the town authorities if they desire to undertake the development themselves as part of a town plan. The Bill even encourages the authorities by giving them compulsary purchase powers at 1939 prices.

The most revolutionary part of the legislation is in the compensation provisions. If the government refuses to permit the owner to develop his land, it is under no compulsion to compensate him for depriving him of his development rights. As we understand it, the theory is that since most of the planning is for derelict areas, the land would have no development value if not for the government's efforts, and therefore compensating the owner would mean the government was paying for value which it had itself created. The net effect of this provision is to transfer most development rights in land to the state. However, the Bill does provide for compensation in hardship cases—those where there is a real and verifiable loss to the owner. Presumably this refers to land that had an obvious development value in 1947 apart from any plans. Furtermore, when the government does grant permission to change the use of property, it will levy a development charge on the increase in value which will result. This levy may be assessed on 100% of the increased value or at a lesser rate. In any case, it must be paid or secured before the owner can commence his project. As an alternative, the owner can ask the government to buy his land outright and then lease it to him at a charge covering its entire value. These provisions will be administered by a Central Land Board, in which the development rights will be vested.

Although this program seems strange in land-plenty America, there is pretty general agreement in Britain on its necessity. Even the usually critical *Economist* says,

> "If ever any Bill had a worthy and honorable purpose, this is it. The advantages of establishing effective control over all the forms of physical development so as to exorcise the sprawling suburb and the seaside shanty-town, so as to site factories near their workers and protect rich horticultural lands, so as to provide green belts and open spaces, and wide roads and spacious, uncrowded city centers—these advantages are well worth the getting, even at the cost of a new crop of controls."

The effect on private industry will be that the government controls the number and variety of new enterprises.

Americans may be interested in the controls it pro-

poses over outdoor advertising—a scourge in Britain as in America.

The Distribution of Industry Act is discussed in "Pattern of British Reconstruction," and "Progress in Development Areas," *Labor and Industry,* February 1947. The Town and Country Planning Bill is reveiewed extensively in "The Planning Bill," *Economist,* January 11, 1947; Lewis Silkin, "Town and Country Planning," *British Speeches,* January-February 1947; "Town and Country Planning," *New Statesman and Nation,* January 18, 1947; and "Sapping the Land Bastille," same publication, January 11, 1947.

Closely associated with Town and Country Planning is the Agriculture Bill, one of whose provisions is that land which is farmed inefficiently by its present owners may be taken over and operated by the government. For further material on this, see "British Agriculture," *Labor and Industry,* February 1947; "The Agriculture Bill," *Economist,* December 28, 1946; and the Miller and Murphy articles cited above.

D. *Miscellaneous controls.*

The decisions of private management are also amendable to the plans of the government under other measures. Following the sixth point in the 1945 electoral program, that "suitable economic and price controls should be enacted in order that priorities can be provided for the most important items," Labor enacted the 1945 Supplies and Services (Transitional Powers) Act. According to the Miller article, it retains the government's wartime powers to place restrictions on the manufacture of luxury consumer goods, to control raw material and retail prices, to place restrictions on the disposal and acquisition of certain raw materials, plants and industrial products.

6. SOCIAL SECURITY

The major portion of Labor's economic program is of a preventive nature, but the government recognizes that even if major social ills are avoided, there will still be individual ones to be cared for, and the tenth point of "Let us Face the Future" stated, "Legislation must be secured to extend social insurance over a wide field to include every individual." The new legislation impliments social security provisions which England has had for years, takes up all aspects of the famous Beveridge Report, but in many cases grants higher benefits and easier conditions.

The program is based on the National Insurance Act and the National Industrial Injuries Act administered by the new Minister of National Insurance and the National Health Service Act under the Minister of Health, both of them acting with the aid of advisory committees that include representatives of all interested parties. The first is financed by contributions from workers, employers and the state. It is compulsary for all employed persons with annual incomes over $416, voluntary for self-employed and non-employed persons, who pay proportionately more. All are insured against maternity, old-age and death, the self-employed are also insured against sickness, and the regularly employed are insured against all of these plus unemployment. These two acts started operating in the fall of 1946, along with family allowances of one shilling per week per child after the first.

The National Health Service Act gave the government to April 1948 to establish services whereby, according to Murphy: "every man, woman and child, from birth to death, will have medical services of all kinds, without the imposition of any fees. The buildings and equipment of all voluntary and public hospitals will be transferred to the Ministry of Health, with staffs becoming employees of regional boards." In effect, medicine will be nationalized, for "the sale of medical practises to individuals will be prohibited and the state will compensate doctors who desire to dispose of such practises to the government. A Medical Practises Committee will regulate the opening of new offices and the succession to old ones while country and borough councils will provide health centers and full health-visiting services in the home."

The best sources is "Social Security Legislation in Great Britain," *International Labour Review,* September-October 1946. Others are Murphy cited above; "Pattern of British Reconstruction"; "British Social Security," *Labor and Industry,* September 1946.

CONCLUSION

The time has not yet arrived to evaluate the effectiveness of Labor's program in providing full employment. The reader who is interested in making such an evaluation for himself would do well to keep up with the *Monthly Digest of Statistics,* issued by the Central statistical Office that is involved in the planning. The April 1947 issue gives some indication of progress that has been achieved so far. In January 1939 unemployment amounted to 1,270,000 as compared to 401,000 in January 1947. At the beginning of this year, there were 18,126,000 in industry, against 17,920,000 in the earlier year. As to the vital coal productivity—the number of wage earners rose from 692,000 in November 1946 to 703,000 in March 1947, and output index from 547 in August 1946 to 648 in March.

On the long-range problem, we recommend Philip S. Brown, "Prospective Income and Capital Formation in the United Kingdom," *American Economic Review,* September, 1946. He concludes that if full employment is maintained for 15-20 years, as is possible, industrial capabilities will expand by 50% but will still be outstripped by Russia and the United States. He has a very full bibliography on industrial conditions in Britain. Another and shorter summary of economic conditions is S. R. Dennison, "Hopeful Factors in the British Economy," *Foreign Affairs,* January 1947.

BRITISH EMPIRE

1. CANADA

Of the other socialist and labor parties, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation of Canada is probably most like the British Labor Party in philosophy and organization. So far the only place it has been put to the test of developing a practical program is the province of Saskatchewan, where the CCF has had power since June 1944. The socialization program there takes different forms than in Britain because of a different kind of economy. In a country where farming is the basis of life, the CCF is less interested in raising productivity of industry than it is in making the rest of the industrial system better serve the needs of the farmers.

Socialization of industry is proceding by two methods—the expropriation of old industries and the starting of new ones by the state. The procedure for expropriation is governed by The Department of Natural Resources and Industrial Development Act, 1944. Compensation is based on fair replacement value, deterioration and obsolescence, and damage to remaining property. If the owner and the appointed minister cannot agree as to amount, it is determined by an arbitrator named by the Attorney-General from the King's Bench. The masterstone of the program is the Crown Corporations Act, 1945. The Lieutenant-Governor in Council may, by order of the executive council, appropriate and take possession of any works used in the operation of any industrial or commercial enterprise where the taking is necessary for the operation of any business by a crown corporation constituted under the act.

In the utility field, the government has taken over the provincial lines of the Greyhound Bus Company and one of the principal power companies, in connection with which plans include expansion of rural electrification. In the industrial field, plants acquired or built by the government now include brick factory and ceramic works, woolen mill, box factory, shoe factory, tannery, printing plant. This will be expanded in the coming year to include a sodium sulphate plant and the manufacture of rock wool. In the insurance field, action was prompted by an investigation that showed fire losses were less than one-third of the premiums charged by the old companies. Here the government went into competition and issued all types of policies except life.

The government has also gone into two new types of enterprises, both of which are tremendous boons to the people involved. The Fur Marketing Service insures trappers a fair and reasonable cash return on their season's work. The government equipped a warehouse for the storage and grading of furs. Here are held regular auctions to which come representatives of the leading wholesalers in Canada and the States. The trapper or rancher receives the entire price less a 5% service charge. For the fisherman, the government built a storage locker and filleting plant at one of the principal lakes to permit year-round fishing and insure adequate prices. The fish are filleted, inspected, quick-frozen, packed in attractive waxed cartons, and stamped with the government label. The Natural Products Marketing Act, 1945 established the Saskatchewan Marketing Board for the purpose of providing for the promotion, control, and regulation of the transportation, packing, storage, and marketing of any product of agriculture, or of the forest, sea, lake, or river. Under it, there is also some control of the timber industry.

Over-all planning on public enterprises is done by an Economic Advisory Planning Board, which is now making an economic survey and 10-year plan of development. Economic machinery is also to include an Industrial Development Fund to create new industries. This projected program for expansion by no means excludes private enterprise, and such establishments are apparently to be aided with research and financial assistance. In fact, in the first 22 months of CCF government, private enterprise in the province increased to the extent of 167 provincial companies, 44 extra-provincial ones, and 641 partnerships.

What the CCF has been able to accomplish in the way of socialization in Saskatchewan is naturally limited by the powers of the provincial government. Its more extensive program for Canada as a whole is set out in the Regina Manifesto, which was adopted as the guiding principles of the party in 1933. Point 1 on planning is to be accomplished by a National Planning Commission consisting of economists, engineers, and statisticians. Point 2 calls for socialization of finance—banking, currency, credit, and insurance, to control currency, credit and prices. The machinery would include a Central Bank and a National Investment Board. Point 3 advocates socialization of transportation, communications, electric power, and all other industries and services essential to social planning, to be operated under the general direction of the Planning Commission. The platform also includes broad proposals for social security and hospitalization, such as have been carried out in Saskatchewan.

We found the most worthwhile publication to be the *Canadian Forum*. Morris C. Shumiatcher has written three useful articles for it, "Socialism and Social Welfare in Saskatchewan," in June 1945; "Saskatchewan Socialism Works," June 1946; and "Hospitals: Saskatchewan's New Public Utility," January 1947. We recommend also the *Forum's* "Action in Saskatchewan," in March 1947. See also L. H. Laing, "Socialists in Business," *Canadian Business*, September 1946; and "Highlights of New Forest Policy of Saskatchewan," *Canadian Lumberman*, February 1, 1947. The official organ of the provincial CCF is *The Commonwealth*. The best American articles are J. King Gordon's on "Action in Saskatchewan," appearing in the *Nation* August 17 and 24, 1946.

On the Canadian movement generally, the best American source available is the League for Industrial Democracy pamphlet, *Canadian Progressives on the March*, by M. J. Coldwell, published in 1944. A fairly good recent summary is W. E. Greening, "The Canadian Labour Movement," *Contemporary Review*, February 1947. The standard Canadian pamphlet is less satisfactory in "Canada. What Canadian Labour Wants," *Round Table*, March 1947.

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2. NEW ZEALAND

The New Zealand Labor Party which has been in power since 1936 has been involved in fewer socialization projects than the Canadian or British, largely because a large measure of socialization has already been achieved there. In the sixties and seventies of the last century telegraph, railroads, and the construction of highways and bridges were taken over by the government. At the same time, the government opened a life insurance agency and a trust office. In the period from 1891 to 1912, the government purchased some coal mines and started the retail sale of coal, opened a state fire insurance office, and sponsored much social legislation.

The first of the new nationalization measures since 1936 was concerned with the Reserve Bank. The government already had controlled one-third of the stock and 4 of the 6 directorates as a result of earlier legislation. It now becomes purely a state enterprise, run by a board of directors appointed by the governor and subject in general to the policies of the Minister of Finance. Another measure transformed radio broadcasting which had been run by an independent board into a government department under the supervision of a cabinet member. An interesting sidelight here is that the government has also organized a commercial radio service to be financed by advertising and to cater to lower tastes than the government program. Government control over transportation was reinforced by the establishment of a National Airways Corporation whose members are appointed by the Minister of Air and directed by him. The corporation will be financed by the government and empowered to acquire compulsarily the equipment of private companies. The fourth nationalization measure vested in the state ownership of all uranium in its natural state. Experimental work in radioactive substances is subject to state control.

In the productive field, the linen and flax industry became subject to controls that probably amount to nationalization. The instrumentality of control is the Flax Corporation of 8 Directors, of which 2 are appointed by the government, 2 represent the linen and flax growers, 2 the manufacturers who use the processed fiber, and 2 the employees. According to Lipson, cited below, "the Corporation has the power to grow and harvest the flax or arrange for it to be grown, to purchase crops, and to establish and operate factories for processing them." The surpluses of the Corporation go to the government.

Other government economic activities include an extensive social security program, housing, and control of agricultural prices through government marketing of butter, eggs, cheese, fruits, etc., both domestically and overseas.

We are greatly indebted to Leslie Lipson for his article, "Democracy and Socialism in New Zeland," *American Political Science Review*, April 1947. Marc T. Greene has written two useful summaries of the New Zealand situation: "New Zealand Advances Under Labor Rule," *United Nations World*, February 1947;

and "A Test of Socialism in New Zealand," *Foreign Affairs,* October 1946. On the November elections, which the Labor Party won by a slight majority, see "New Zealand. The General Elections," *Round Table,* March 1947 and "The New Zealand Elections," *Economist,* December 28, 1946. On the social security program, see "Amendment of the New Zealand Social Security Act," *International Labor Review,* March-April 1946. On the new labor legislation, see "New Factories Act in New Zealand," *International Labour Review,* November 1946. The May 1946 issue of the same has "Post-war Economic Stabilization in New Zealand."

3. AUSTRALIA

The Australian Labor Party has been in power since 1935. The constitution of the party states as its objective: "The Socialization of Industry, Production, Distribution and Exchange. This was elaborated in the platform to include banking and insurance, monopolies, shipping, public health, wireless transmission, sugar refining, and munitions." (See Ross, cited below.) However, it has apparently not undertaken any major industrial nationalization. As to banking—the Central Bank is largely a nationalized bank, in competition with trading banks for private banking business.

About the only satisfactory article of recent vintage is Lloyd Ross, "The Philosophy of the Australian Labor Party," *Antioch Review,* Spring 1947. He gives the historical background and then concludes that the party is lacking in socialist orientation. "Australia, After the Election," *Round Table,* March 1947 is mainly a discussion on wage-pegging and other anti-inflationary measures, not necessarily socialistic. A lengthy technical treatment of the Central Bank is given in J. S. G. Wilson, "Australia's Central Bank," *Journal of Political Economy,* February 1947.

4. AFRICA

The socialization process in the British Empire is even reaching into the colonies. We can illustrate this by the African colony, Nigeria. It has set up a public corporation to run the banana plantations that formerly belonged to Germans, and another to handle the distribution of electrical power. Pending public corporations in other parts of Africa would involve a hydroelectric plant in Central and Eastern Africa, the development of phosphate deposits in Uganda, and the extension of rice production in West Africa. The British government at home is also prepared to expend large sums to develop peanut plantations. Even more important, a recent White Paper recommended the compulsary acquisition of all mineral rights for the Crown, which would hereafter closely regulate mining, and eventually take it over. "Colonial Economics Changing," *Business Week,* January 18, 1947.

EUROPE

1. SCANDINAVIA

In Europe, the first nations usually thought of as socialized or semi-socialized are Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. The most striking recent developments we have heard about are taking place in Sweden. There, the prewar period had seen the nationalization of railways, electric power and other public utilities, a large government-owned lumber and pulp industry, and a big iron and steel works. The Social-Democrats took power in the August 1946 elections with promises to nationalize insurance, the importing of oil, gasoline and coal, and housing. Since then, they are also studying methods for nationalizing the shoe, sugar and armaments industries definitely, and any others that are monopolistic or run inefficiently. In the banking field, the present government inherited strong controls and is discussing implementing them by establishing a state bank.

In Sweden permanent bodies to effectuate cooperation between government and industries include an Investment Board for industrial building activity, a Commercial Policy Board for problems of trade policy, and the Industrial Production Board for locating new firms and eliminating frictional and seasonal unemployment.

The pre-war socialization programs of the Scandinavian countries are treated in many older works, including Laidler cited above. On recent developments, we relied chiefly on "Sweden and Nationalization," *Economist,* December 21, 1946. On similar developments in Norway, a promising article is J. R. Hight, "Norwegian Government Goes Into Steel Business," *Iron Age,* December 26, 1946.

2. FRANCE

The continental nationalization program that sounds most like Britain is France. The nationalization schedule started with some coal fields in December 1944 and continued with airways in June 1945, the Bank of France and the great deposit banks in December, certain insurance companies and gas and electricity in April 1946, and the rest of coal in May. Before the war, the state had controlled the railroads, and the telephone and telegraph system and exercised some control together with industry in the aircraft and aircraft engine plants. The latter are also fully nationalized now, together with the nation's largest automobile firm. During the period of nationalization, industrial production jumped from 18% of 1938 levels in August 1944 to 80-85% in the last part of 1946.

The French are apparently incorporating the principle of workers' control into the management of the nationalized enterprises. The Miners' Charter of February 1946 sets up local, regional and national committees to handle matters of discipline and conciliation, to fix the occupational grading coefficient, and to determine on wage increases for seniority, etc. In the power industry, there is a Superior National Staff Commission with 18 members to decide on staff questions. Nine represent the central services and are appointed by the Director General of Electricite de France and nine represent the staff, being appointed by the Minister. Of these, four represent the administrative and technical staff, three represent the wage earners, and two the salaried employees.

The National Planning aspect of the French economy is the new 4-year scheme known as the Monnet Plan, reported in November 1946 by the "National Council of the Plan for Modernization and Equipment of France" set up under de Gaulle in 1945. The central idea is that the nation should concentrate on modernization in order to overcome discrepancies in production such as that it takes a French worker five times as long as an American worker to produce a car. This contemplates strict government controls in coal, building materials, steel, transport, and agricultural machinery.

For an introduction to nationalization in continental Europe, we recommend Barbara Ward, "Europe Debates Nationalization," *Foreign Affairs,* October 1946. She reviews the conditions leading to the new economic program and summarizes most of them.

On nationalization, see "France Still on Middle Road," *Business Week,* November 23, 1946; "Nationalization of Banks and Industries in France," and C. Bettelheim, "Economic and Social Policy in France," *International Labour Review,* September-October 1946. On worker control, in addition to Bettelheim, see "Staff Regulations for Nationalized Industries and Public Services in France," *International Labour Review,* January-February 1947. The most comprehensive article on the new planning is "The Monnet Plan," *Economist,* December 14, 1946. For socialist interpretation, see Geleo and Andrea, "France's Four-Year Plan: Its Motive and Meaning," *Modern Review,* May 1947.

3. CZECHOSLOVAK REPUBLIC

In Czechoslovakia nationalization started even before liberation. As early as 1920 factory works councils had been given consultative powers in industry, and these councils took over the factories as they were abandoned by the Germans in retreat. The government in exile agreed during the war that enemy and abandoned property would be nationalized, and as soon as it returned it legalized the actions of the councils. Then in October 1945 Benes issued the four decrees that established broad nationalization, effecting about 65% of Czech industrial capacity. Broadly speaking, it affected all industries employing over 500 workers, and none with below 150. The extensive list and text of the decrees are given in Sharp, cited below.

The nationalized industries are formally constituted state enterprises, which have as their basic capital the net value of the property. Management is by a committee headed by a manager and including representatives elected by the employees and persons nominated by the Central Authority. The latter is selected by the government after consultation with trade unions and other organizations. Factory Works Councils, selected by secret ballot, are mandatory in all plants, whether nationalized or private. These councils do not themselves interfere with management, but serve with it on joint boards.

By far the most useful source is Samuel L. Sharp, *Nationalization of Key Industries in Eastern Europe,* Foundation for Foreign Affairs, Washington, D. C., 1946. Beside providing much of the information above, Sharp devotes space to the motives and conditions surrounding Czech nationalization. The other articles, all very good, are Karel Buzek, "Czechoslovakia in Transition," *Canadian Forum,* June and July 1946; "The Czech Compromise," *Business Week,* March 8, 1947; W. N. Hadsel, "Czechoslovakia's Road to Socialism," *Foreign Policy Reports,* February 15, 1947; and "Nationalization and the Czech Two-Year Plan," *Economist,* January 4, 1947.

4. POLAND

The basic nationalization law was promulgated in January 1946. The state takes over without compensation the economic enterprises of former German and Danzig owners and with compensation most other enterprises employing more than 50 workers per shift. The government may transfer textile industries and printing establishments to political and social organizatons or cooperatives. Accompanying the nationalization program is a four-year plan of reconstruction.

The best source on Poland is the Sharp pamphlet mentioned above which contains the text of the decree and supplementary discussion. Leon Goldenberg and Laure Metzger, "The Polish Nationalization Law," *Department of State Bulletin,* October 13, 1946, is naturally concerned chiefly with compensation. On the four-year plan, see the short articles in *Business Week* on October 12, 1946 and January 11, 1947.

OTHER RESEARCH MATERIAL

Religion

Apart from numerous worthwhile articles in religious magazines, with which the average pacifist is familiar, several books have appeared which are worth reading. Donald Attwater's *Modern Christian Revolutions* (Devon-Adair, 1947) will prove interesting to pacifists who think of themselves in this category. Other offerings run the gamut from *The Mind and Heart of Love* by M. C. Dorcy (Henry Holt & Co., 1947), a study of divine and human love, to Gershom Scholem's *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (Schocken Books, 1947); from the study of Quaker relief, *An Experiment in Friendship* by David Henshaw (Putnam's, 1947), to the criticism of institutional Christianity by Joseph Needham, *History Is On Our Side* (MacMillan, 1947). See also on Quaker work Florence Sanville's "From the Icy Mountains to Coral Strands," Survey Graphic, April 1947 and Anna Curtis' *The Quakers Take Stock,* (Island Press, 1947).

On the conscientious objector, we have seen: Henry Geiger, "Conscience in California," *Nation,* March 22, 1947, about the trial of the CO.'s who refused to be slave laborers; Hollis S. Barber, "Religious Liberty v. Police Power: Jehovah's Witnesses," *American Political Science Review,* April 1947, a discussion on the court decisions affecting J.W.'s; Julien Cornell, "Exemption from the Draft: A Study in Civil Liberties," *Yale Law Journal,* January 1947, discussing all cases for exemption and arguing that objectors should be allowed final judicial review before induction; Markham P. Bryant, "The Thirteen Thousand," *Antioch Review,* Spring 1947, on the prospects of the C.O.'s and their principle complaints against the alternative service program; and "Conscientious Objectors and the Supreme Court," *Social Service Review,* December 1946.

Race

On the American scene, race relations continue in importance. A. G. Mezerik studies the problem in relation to its southern background in an excellent series entitled "Dixie in Black and White" in the *Nation.* The March 22, 1947 item is about southern fights against discrimination, especially by the Baptist convention. The second in the series, March 29, is about the Talmadge fight in Georgia; April 19 is about the liberal Gov. Folsom of Alabama; and the May 3 article is on Texas.

Jack H. Pollack describes the southern disenfranchisement of Negroes in "Literacy Tests: Southern Style," *American Mercury,* May 1947. A more extensive and scholarly treatment is the *Columbia Law Review's* "Negro Disenfranchisement—A Challenge to the Constitution," appearing in January 1947, which deals with white primacy laws, poll tax, etc. Dr. Howard Odum's *The Way of the South* (Macmillan, 1947) is a long awaited result of careful research.

Three articles on racial discrimination in relation to the government are Paul Blanshard, "Jim Crow at the Canal," *Survey Graphic,* May 1947; E. T. Hall, Jr., "Race Prejudice and Negro-White Relations in the Army," *American Journal of Sociology,* March 1947; and L. D. Reddick, "The Negro in the United States Navy During World War II," *Journal of Negro History,* April 1947. The Reddick article is the most encouraging—recording the development of racial relations in the navy from extremely discriminatory toward integration.

Legal aspects of discrimination are dealt with in Alex Elson and Leonard Schanfield, "Local Regulation of Discriminatory Employment Practices," *Yale Law Journal,* February 1947, which discusses the possible types of regulations; and C. A. Chick, "Some Recent United States Supreme Court Decisions Affecting the Rights of Negro Workers," *Journal of Negro Education,* Spring 1947. The decisions give Negroes the right to picket stores not employing Negroes, outlaw peonage, and prevent unions from discriminating against them in bargaining agreements. For more general observations on the problem, see Lloyd H. Fisher, *The Problem of Violence: Observations on Race Conflict in Los Angeles,* (American Council on Race Relations, 1946); Lyman Bryson, Louis Finkelstein and Robert M. MacIver, *Approaches to Group Understanding,* (Harpers, 1947); Eugenet Hartley, *Problems in Prejudice,* (Columbia University Press, 1947); and Goodwin Watson, *Action for Unity* (Harpers, 1947) being a review of what is being

done to break down racial and religious barriers. Sinclair Lewis' *Kingsblood Royal* has created more than a ripple. A new approach to racial prejudice (it hurts your pocketbook) will be found in Bucklin Moore's *The High Cost of Prejudice* (Messner, 1947).

For better understanding the Negro people, we recommend: "Current Trends and Events of National Importance in Negro Education," *Journal of Negro Education,* Spring 1947, which includes material on teaching standards; Harry Washington Greene, *Holders of Doctorates Among American Negroes,* (Meador, 1946); Will Chasan, "Harlem's Aristocracy," *American Mercury,* June 1947; W. E. Burghart Du Bois, *The World and Africa,* (Viking, 1947).

On other minority problems, see Pauline Kibbe, *Latin Americans in Texas,* (Univ. of N. Mexico Press, 1947); Anne Emery, *Tradition,* (Vanguard, 1946) on the Nisei; Andrew W. Lind, *Hawaii's Japanese: An Experiment in Democracy,* (Princeton Univ. Press, 1947); and the excellent anthrology on Anti-Semitism, *The Wine of Violence* by Nathan Zuckerman (Association Press, 1947) as well as *With Firmness in the Right* by Cyrus Adler and Aaron Morgalith (Am. Jew. Comm., 1947) on American diplomatic action relating to Jews.

Labor

Peter F. Drucker, "Why Men Strike," *Fortnightly,* February 1947, puts managerial unfairness or appearance of it as the first cause of strikes, and insecurity as the last in a series of four; Benjamin M. Selekman, "Conflict and Cooperation in Labor Relations," *Harvard Business Review,* Spring 1947, is interested in the personal relations of the workers in the shop to each other; W. R. Dymond, "Union-Management Cooperation at the Toronto Factory of Leber Brothers Limited," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science,* February 1947, a 41-page review; Symer H. Slichter, *The Challenge of Industrial Relations,* (Cornell Univ. Press, 1947); Russell L. Greenman and Elizabeth B. Greenman, *Getting Along With Unions,* (Harpers, 1947) on how to make union agreements work.

For pro-labor articles on workers' problems and their unions, see: Jack Barbash, "Union Leadership," *Antioch Review,* Spring 1947, characterizing the dominant concerns of various well-known union leaders; Kathryn Close, "Steel Makers: 1937-1947," *Survey Graphic,* March 1947, a review of the union's activities; Heinz Eulan, "Voices Without Smiles," *Nation,* April 5, 1947, about the wage schedule in the Bell system; A. H. Raskin, "How Miners Live," *American Mercury,* April 1947 on company towns, sanitation and mine dangers; Dale Kramer, "Follow the Leader," *New Republic,* April 14, 1947, on accident and wage figures and speculating on successors to Lewis.

On "The guaranteed wage," see the article by that name in *Fortune,* April 1947.

On a general labor policy, see John A. Fitch, "The New Congress and the Unions," *Survey Graphic,* April 1947, arguments on both sides of the various labor bills; and H. W. Metz and Meyer Jacobstein, *A National Labor Policy,* (Brookings Institute, 1947).

See also, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States* by Philip Foner (Internation, 1947).

America

There have been many articles which might be included under this heading but we shall refer only to a few books. John Gunther's *Inside U. S. A.* (Harpers, 1947) is better than most Gunther's "Inside" series—perhaps because he stayed in America longer—but is fairly nationalistic. A much sounder research job from the economic approach is *America's Needs and Resources* by J. Dewhurst and Associates (Twentieh Century Fund, 1947).

Those who are interested in planning will find *American Planning* by Cleveland Rodgers (Harpers, 1947) and *Communitas* by Percival and Paul Goodman (Univ. of Chicago, 1947) most instructive.

Our government, and particularly the Supreme Court comes in for careful analyses in Edward Corwin's *Total War and the Constitution,* (Knopf, 1947), Charles Curtis, *Lions Under the Throne,* (Mifflen, 1947) and Wesley McEune's *The Nine Young Men* (Harpers, 1947). See also *President and Congress* by Wilfred Binkley (Knopf, 1947).

World Organization

The Research Bureau's study of functional international organizations last quarter makes it desirable to keep this material current.

On the United Nations as a whole, a six-page summary of recent developments is presented in "The State of World Organization," *United Nations World,* April, 1947.

On the Economic and Social Council, the best article this time is "Economic and Social Council. Achievements of the Fourth Session," *U. N. Weekly Bulletin,* April 8, 1947. On the various specialized activities of the Council, see: George A. Morlock, "Resolutons Adopted by the Economic and Social Council Relating to Narcotic Drugs," *Department of State Bulletin,* April 20, 1947; Marion M. Montague, "UN Progress in the Social Field," *World Affairs,* Spring 1947, about child welfare and housing. In the *U. N. Weekly Bulletin* issue of March 4, 1947, see the articles "Population Commissions' Program—Groundwork for International Organization," and "Commission on Status of Women, First Session Completed and Plan of Work Evolved." In the March 11 issue, see "Economic Commission for Europe Planned," and "Links with Economic and Social Council, Non-Governmental Organizations' Consultative Status." In the March 18 issue, see "Debate on Employment Policy, Economic and Social Council Discusses Commission's Report." This issue also contains the very important "Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East," an 8-page full study of the situation.

On the other functional agencies, see "New Transport Agencies Envisaged, Transport and Communications Commission Reports," *U. N. Weekly Bulletin,* March 4, 1947, a long article discussing the recommendation for a World Shipping Organization as a permanent successor to ECITO; John A. Loftus, "Report on ILO Petroleum Industry Committee Meeting," *Department of State Bulletin,* March 30, 1947; Herbert J. Abraham, "The General Conference of UNESCO, Paris, The Program in Action," *Department of State Bulletin,* April 13, 1947, a description of the principles of operation; Byron Dexter, "UNESCO Faces Two Worlds," *Foreign Affairs,* April 1947, an excellent discussion of the earlier organizations in the field and of the Russian approach. The "Atomic Energy Commission's Report" is discussed in the *U. N. Weekly Bulletin,* March 4 and 11, 1947. The first of these gives the report and the USSR proposals in parallel columns.

The best source on United Nations relief work is the April 1947 issue of *Survey Midmonthly* which devotes the major portion of the issue to articles on the 1947 crisis and what is being done by various agencies. See also: W. R. Gordon, "What Has UNRRA Done?" *Fortnightly,* February 1947, a good statistical article; Don-

ald S. Howard, "After UNRRA—What?" *Survey Graphic,* April 1947; William L. Clayton, "Post-UNRRA Relief: Purpose and Method," *Department of State Bulletin.* March 9, 1947, a statement of what the United States proposes to do; "Congressional Hearings on IRO Constitution," same issue, a statement by Acheson; and John C. Charnow, "The International Children's Emergency Fund," same publication, March 16, 1947.

On the trusteeship system, see Elizabeth H. Armstrong and William Cargo, "The Inauguration of the Trusteeship System of the United Nations," *Department of State Bulletin,* March 23, 1947, a summary of the various developments.

International trade organizations are the main theme of the Spring 1947 issue of *World Affairs,* which includes two articles, C. Thayer White, "Proposed International Trade Organization," and Huston Thompson, "International Trade Tribunal," and book review section on "Cartels." The best article we have seen on the International Bank is Nathanial Weyl and Max J. Wasserman, "The International Bank, an Instrument of World Economic Reconstruction," *American Economic Review,* March 1947, an excellent discussion of the theory and practice involved. For details on personnel and the problems in getting started, see Ladislas Farago, "World Bank: Council of Securities," *United Nations World,* April 1947.

On another aspect of trade organization, see John K. Havemeyer, "The Background and Present Status of the Inter-American Coffee Agreement," *Department of State Bulletin,* March 2, 1947; Francis A. Linville, "Draft Memorandum of Agreement Prepared for International Wheat Conference," same publication, March 16, 1947; and Joseph S. Davis, *International Commodity Agreements, Hope, Illusion, or Menace?* (Carnegie Endowment, 1947). On the problem of how to have trade organization with totalitarian nations, see George C. McGhee, "State Trading and Totalitarian Economics," *Department of State Bulletin,* March 2, 1947, a description of the kinds of state trade; and C. Hartley Grattan, "If We Really Want International Trade," *Harpers,* April 1947, a discussion of the problems with the hope that the United States will support a system that makes concession to totalitarian countries.

For general surveys of the situation, the article is James T. Shotwell, "Trade Disarmament," *Survey Graphic,* March 1947, and the book is Mordecai Ezekiel, *Towards World Prosperity,* (Harpers, 1947) which presents the views of 20 international experts on industry and agriculture.

On the government theory side consult A. C. Ewing, *The Individual, The State and World Government* (MacMillan, 1947); Karl Loewenstein, *Political Reconstruction* (MacMillan, 1947) and Joseph Schumpeter's *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy* (Harpers, 1947).

Great Britain

Miscellaneous articles on Britain and the Empire not treated in our main article are: Harold J. Laski, "Britain Without Empire," *Nation,* April 12, 1947; Vernon McKay, "Empire in Transition—British, French and Dutch Colonial Plans," *Foreign Policy Reports,* May 1, 1947; "Arms and Arithmetic," *New Statesman and Nation,* March 15, 1947 discussing the size and disposition of British troops abroad; Harley V. Usill, "West Africa—A study of Progress," *World Affairs,* Spring 1947, a pro-British story of British administration there; William A. Robson, "Post-War Municipal Elections in Great Britain," *American Political Science Review,* April 1947; Keith Hutchison, "The British Budget," *Nation,* April 26, 1947, a good explanation; Winston Churchill, "The Labor Government's Failure," *Commercial and Financial Chronicle,* April 3, 1947, an extensive criticism on all fronts; Maurice Edelman, "An Economic Entente," *New Statesman and Nation,* March 8, 1947.

Far East

On the Japanese occupation, we recommend: Mark Starr, "Japanese Trade Unions Today," *American Teacher,* March 1947; Oscar Weigert, "Labor Policies and Programs in Japan Under the Occupation," *Monthly Labor Review,* February 1947; William Costello, "Report from Tokyo," *New Republic,* March 31, 1947; Lawrence K. Rosinger, "The Occupation of Japan," *Foreign Policy Reports,* May 15, 1947; and "Submission of U. S. Draft Trusteeship Agreement for Japanese Mandated Island," *Department of State Bulletin,* March 9, 1947.

On the disputed issue of Korea, Robert T. Oliver takes the anti-Russian side in "The Impasse in Korea," *American Mercury,* April 1947 and "The Tragedy of Korea," *World Affairs,* Spring 1947. The pro-Russian position is presented in "US Policy Act II—Korea," *New Republic,* May 5, 1947.

On China, two current articles are C. W. Y. Meng, "The Chinese People Get in a Word," *United Nations World,* April 1947 and Paul M. A. Linegarner, *Yale Review,* Spring 1947. The first holds that Chinese public opinion wants the Americans to withdraw and Chiang to reform; the second calls for Russo-American unity in China, and seems to think Chinese unity would follow.

Miscellaneous articles are P. T. Bauer, "Nationalism and Politics in Maylaya," *Foreign Affairs,* April 1947; and Emil J. Sady, "Report on the South Seas Conference," *Department of State Bulletin,* March 16, 1947. See also Harold Isaac's book, *No Peace For Asia* (MacMillan, 1947) and *The Future of Freedom in the Orient* by Ralph Conistor (Norton, 1947).

Near and Middle East

Material on the Near and Middle East is plentiful now because of the various intense situations there and because of the appearance of a new quarterly, the Middle East Journal. On the Arabian countries, see: George Lenczowski, "The Communist Movement in Iran," *Middle East Journal,* January 1947, about the working class organization, Tudeh, which he says is a minority group supported by Russia; Andrew Roth, "Backstage in the Persian Theater," *Nation,* May 3, 1947, a more pro-Tudeh article; Andrew Roth, "Iraq: Black Gold and Poverty," *Nation,* April 19, 1947, about the oil field workers and the government and its manipulated elections; Raymond F. Mikesell, "Monetary Problems of Saudi Arabia," *Middle East Journal,* April 1947, which gives some insight on the oil companies and the general economy.

On the problem of Arabian expansion, the Arab League itself is defended by Cecil A. Hourani in "The Arab League in Perspective," *Middle East Journal,* April 1947 as a liberal union rather than Pan-Arab. The controversy between Egyptian Arabs and Britain is discussed by Robert Henriques in "Who Should Rule the Sudan?" *Nation,* May 10, 1947. On the Palestine problem, the two most interesting articles we saw were Edwin Samuel, "The Jewish Communal Village in Palestine," *Political Quarterly,* April-June 1947; and Eliahu Ben-Horin, "Palestine: Realities and Illusions," *Atlantic,* April 1947. The several books on the problem, all more or less pro-Zionist are: Bartley C. Crum, *Behind the Silken Curtain,* (Simon and Shuster, 1947); Richard Crossman, *Palestine Mission,* (Harpers, 1947) by a

British Member of Parliament who was on the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry; Sophie A. Udin (ed), *The Palestine Yearbook: Review of Events July* 1945 *to September* 25, 1946, (Zionist, 1946) and *Palestine, A Study of Jewish, Arab and British Policies,* (2 Vols., Yale Univ. Press, 1947), advertised as the definitive study prepared by Christians and Jews.

The very interesting Inter-Asian Relations Conference which met in India in March 1947 is discussed in Phillips Talbot, "Revolt in Asia," *New Republic,* April 28, 1947; and Achi Rangaswami, "Asia Prepares for Independence," *United Nations World,* May 1947. On India see also D. F. Karaka, *I've Shed My Tears* (Appleton-Century, 1947) and India's *Charter of Freedom* by the Indian Government.

A promising book on the culture, history, and social problem of the East is E. A. Spenser's *The United States and the Near East.* (Harvard Univ. Press, 1947).

Europe

One of the most interesting articles on Europe is Reinhold Niebuhr, "Labor Coalition in Holland," *Nation,* April 19, 1947, about the new Dutch Labor Party which is in a government coalition with the Catholics against the Calvinist partes. As to France, see *Foreign Affairs* for April 1947 which contains Andre Geraud, "The New French Constitution;" Charles Rest, "The French Financial Dilemma;" and Henry W. Ehrmann, "French Labor Goes Left." On Spain, for current developments see J. Alvarez del Vayo, "Francisco Franco," *Nation,* May 3, 1947.

In Eastern Europe, attention was centered on Greece, following the announcement of the Truman policy. The *Nation's* reporter on Greece, Constantine Poulos, discusses the situation in "What America Could Do in Greece" in the March 29, 1947 issue and "Report from Athens" in April 14. Holding that the new King Paul is even more totalitarian than was George, he believes we should send an economic mission with authority to stop expenditures if necessary. The text of the FAO report on Greece is given in "Economic Reports on Greece," *World Report,* March 25, 1947; summarized in "Economic Rehabilitation of Greece, FAO Mission Recommends Comprehensive Measures," *U. N. Weekly Bulletin,* April 1, 1947; and commented on in "What Greece Really Needs," *New Republic,* March 31, 1947. The plan of the American economic mission is discussed in Laura Vitray, "A Five Year Plan for Greece," *U. N. World,* May 1947. The recommendations of it and other missions are reviewed in George Britt, "The Greeks," *Survey Graphic,* May 1947.

The various currents in Italian politics are discussed in as many articles. See: Ignazio Silone, "The Crisis of Italian Socialism," *The Call,* April 2, 1947, on the split in the Socialist Party over unity with the Communists; Giuseppe Faravelli, "The Crisis in Italian Socialism," *Modern Review,* May 1947, a shorter account; Ernest O. Hauser, "Is Italy Growing Another Mussolini?" *Saturday Evening Post,* March 29, 1947, about Giannini and the Liberal and Democratic Front; and three articles by J. Alvarex del Vayox in the *Nation*: "Italy on the Hard Road Back," in March 22, on the Resistance; "Italy's Place in the World," in April 26, 1947, on Count Sforza; and "Vatican Versus Left in Italy," in April 5.

The best article on Germany is Joachim Joesten, "The Strange Ways of German Democracy," *Antioch Review,* Spring 1947, an account of the electoral system and results. See also: Feliz E. Hirsch, "The German Balance Sheet," *Current History,* March 1947; Jonathan Blow, "German Approaches the Cross-Roads," *Quarterly Review,* January 1947; George Lobbenberg, "The German Cartels and AMG," *Nation,* March 15, 1947; Allen W. Dulles, "Alternatives for Germany," *Foreign Affairs,* April 1947; M. S. Davis, "The New German Trade Union," *Fortnightly,* March 1947; and William P. Cumming, "What is Happening in the German Universities," *South Atlantic Quarterly,* April 1947, very good with detailed criticism and recommendations. A history of the Austrian situation since the depression is in Sir Walford Selby, "The Austrian Problem," *Contemporary Review,* March 1947. A history since the agreement of June 1946 is in Velma Hastings Cassidy, "The U. S. in the Allied Administration of Austria," *Department of State Bulletin,* March 9, 1947.

On the still more controversial parts of Europe, see: Edgar P. Young, "People's Republic Bulgaria," *Contemporary Review,* March 1947; Leland Stowe, "Hungary's Agrarian Revolution," *Foreign Affairs,* April 1947; and "Finland: the Next Phase," *New Statesman and Nation,* March 22, 1947; all of which are in favor of the current governments. The articles on Poland are not: Dorothy Thompson, "Poland Two Years After Yalta," *American Mercury,* May 1947; and Sidney B. Fay, "Poland's Troubled Elections," *Current History,* March 1947.

The most useful work on Russia we have seen is "Bibliography, Books and Articles on Russia Published in 1946," by Peter Pertzoff in *Russian Review,* Spring 1947, which includes listings in scientific and cultural journals. For articles, see: J. J. Abt, "The Soviet Wage System: The Role of the Trade Unions in Determining the Total Wage Fund as Part of the Economic Plan," *Soviet Russia Today,* March 1947; Walter Kolarz, "Russian Colonization," *Modern Review,* May 1947, about Siberian and other settlement; Keith Hutchison, "Everybody's Business — Russia and Reparation," *Nation,* March 22, 1947; Victor A. Kravchenko, "Who Will Succeed Stalin?" *Saturday Evening Post,* March 22, 1947; James Burnham, "The Goal of Soviet Policy," *American Mercury,* April 1947. The Spring issue of Public Opinion Quarterly is devoted to "American and Soviet Union," discussing Russian publications and public opinion. John Strohm's *Just Tell the Truth,* (Scribners) and *Over At Uncle Joe's* are popular books on Russia.

The American peace treaties with Europe are discussed by James F. Byrnes in "Senate Consideration of Peace Treaties With Italy, Bulgaria, Rumania, and Hungary," *Department of State Bulletin,* March 16, 1947. Compare this with Stephen Bonsal's *Suitors and Suppliants,* (Prentice-Hall, 1947), a study of the small nations at Versailles.

Latin America

The best survey of Latin America is Serafino Romualdi, "Labor and Democracy in Latin America," *Foreign Affairs,* April 1947, which is by an AFL man who led a recent delegation to investigate affairs in Argentina. On the totalitarian aspects of South American politics, see: Albert C. Hicks, "Election Day in Santo Domingo," *Nation,* May 10, 1947; William L. Munger, "How Peron Enslaves Argentine Labor," *American Mercury,* May 1947; Bryce Oliver, "The Totalitarian Threat to Brazil," *American Mercury,* April 1947; and Graham Hovey, "Uruguay Walks a Tightrope," *New Republic,* April 28, 1947. On Mexico, see Anita Brenner, "Aleman: Mexico's Man of Promise," *United Nations World,* April 1947; Alexander H. Uhl, "The Nineteenth Century Comes to Mexico," *New Republic,* May 5, 1947, an extensive article with graphs which contends Mexico is moving toward native capitalism; and Lilo Linke "Mexico and

the Land," *Fortnightly,* December 1946. R. A. Humphreys presents *The Evolution of Modern Latin America* (Oxford, 1947) and Wenzill Brown turns attention to the Caribbean in *Angry Men—Laughing Men* (Greenberg, 1947).

War Machinery

Here there is much book material, especially occasioned by the atom bomb. Liddell Hart's *Revolution in Warfare* (Yale Univ., 1947) is particularly timely. See also: Ansley Coale, *The Problem of Reducing Vulnerability to Atomic Bombs,* (Princeton Univ., 1947) and *Treason's Peace* by Howard Ambruster (Brechhurst, 1947) on the I. G. Farben industrial combine.

We recommend as of special interest to pacifists, "Social Implications of Modern Science," the January 1947 issue of *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* which contains articles on "The Problem of Values," "Science and Social Change." More specialized is the forum on "Should the Scientists Resist Military Intrusion?" in the *American Scholar,* Spring 1947, with Vannemar Bush, Philip Morrison, Louis N. Ridenour, Seymour Harris, Horbert Weiner, and Donald Young. See Ellis M. Zacharias, *Secret Mission,* (Putnams, 1947) which says atom bombing was unnecessary.

Also interesting are: Mary E. Harnden, "War Department Plan for Universal Military Training: a Criticism," *School and Society,* March 1, 1947; "Occupation Cost: Five Times as Large in 1947 as in 1919," *U. S. News,* March 7, 1947; Sylvanus M. Duvall, *War and Human Nature,* Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 125, published in 1947, which sees frustration as the cause of war. Of psychological value are: *Yank, The G.I. Story of the War* (Duell, Sloane, 1947) and *All But Me and Thee* by Brig. Gen. Elliott Cooke on psychoneurosis in the Army.

Other miscellaneous works include:

John Mitrany, *American Interpretations,* (Contact, 1946); John Fisher, "The Lost Liberals," *Harpers,* May 1947; and Barrows Dunham, *Man Against Myth,* (Little, Brown, 1947).

On business, we recommend from Keith Hutchison's series in the *Nation,* "Are Profits Too High?" in March 15, 1947; "Undistributed Profits" in April 5; "'Fair Trade' For Whom?" in May 3; and "The Vanisburg Building Boom," in the May 19 issue. Also on the same subject: Robert S. Allen, "Arsenal of Monopoly," *New Republic,* April 21, 1947, about the disposal of war plants; Simon O. Lesser, "Will Business Bring Down Prices?" *Nation,* April 19, 1947; Franklin P. Huddle, "The Outlook is Dim," *New Republic,* May 12, 1947. The May 1947 issue of the *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science* is entitled, "Free Enterprise—National or International," and contains pretty good articles on the government's role in a free enterprise economy.

The Winter 1947 issue of *Law and Contemporary Problems* is devoted to articles on the various angles of the housing problem. Also, very good on this is the LID pamphlet by Charles Abrams, *A Housing Program for America,* published in 1947.

In the civil liberties field, Robert E. Cushman describes "The President's Loyalty Purge" in *Survey Graphic,* May 1947. See also: Henry Steele Commager, "Washington Witch Hunt," *Nation,* April 5, 1947. The new Presidential Committee on Civil Rights is discussed in Robert Bendimer, "Civil Rights—Fresh Start," *Nation,* May 10, 1947. The report of the Commission on Freedom of the Press headed by Robert M. Hutchins is the University of Chicago's *A Free and Responsible Press.* The report is discussed by James T. Farrell in a series of 7 articles in *The Call* starting May 14, 1947. On freedom in radio, see Lou Frankel's articles in the *Nation.* On a slightly different tangent, the control over music, see Kurt List, "Fate of the Artist in America," *Modern Review,* May 1947.

On education, the best we've seen is Benjamin Fine, "Breakdown in the School," *Survey Graphic,* April 1947; and Agnes McDonald, "Little Red Schoolhouse," *New Republic,* May 12, 1947. R. B. Marston discussed the new Federal Aid Bill in "S474 Should be Enacted," *Journal of the National Education Association,* March 1947.

The problem of displaced persons and immigration is presented in: Samuel Tenenbaum, "Some Truths About Immigration," *American Mercury,* May 1947; Alvin Johnson, "Places for Displaced Persons," *Yale Review,* Spring 1947; Maurice R. Davie, *Refugees in America,* Report of the Committee for the Study of Recent Immigration from Europe (Harpers, 1947).

Various miscellaneous articles of interest are: Judson T. Landis, "Social Action in American Protestant Churches," *American Journal of Sociology,* May 1947; "Communication and Social Action," March 1947 issue of *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science;* "Women's Opportunities and Responsibilities," May 1947 issue of *"The Annals;* Eric Hodgins, "The Fuel Revolution," Fortune, April 1947, a discussion on possible ways of obtaining coal by new methods of mining; Florence E. Parker, "Cooperatives in the Pacific States," *Monthly Labor Review,* April 1947; *Operation of Consumer's Cooperatives in* 1945, Washington, Superintendent of Documents, 1947.

34. Southern Sociological Society

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESEARCH

SOUTHERN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

1948

Members of the Committee

Allen D. Edwards
Clarence E. Glick
C. Horace Hamilton
Homer L. Hitt
Irwin T. Sanders
Preston Valien
Guy B. Johnson, Chairman

Presented to the Southern Sociological Society

April 1949

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE SOUTHERN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY:

There were many things which your Committee on Research would like to have done. As usual, however, it is composed of busy people who live in widely scattered places and who could not even get together for a meeting because this would mean travelling long distances at their own expense. As usual, we have conducted our Committee discussions by mail--a slow and cumbersome interaction process. Under such circumstances, the Committee can do little more than scratch the surface of the research situation and report a few findings and observations to the members of the Society.

Early in January the Committee on Research sent a questionnaire to the 296 persons who were members of the Society as of January 31, 1948. This questionnaire asked for three things: (1) opinions on a proposed research workshop, (2) information on the proportion of time devoted to research or other functions, and (3) a listing of works published during the year 1948. The results of this survey, together with a few general comments, constitute the report of your Committee.

Up to the time this report was written, we had received returns from 183, or 61.8%, of the members of the Society. This number is so much larger than usual that it calls for some explanation. No doubt the questions relating to the possibility of holding a research workshop in connection with the annual meeting attracted replies from some members who might not have taken the trouble to reply otherwise. But a more important factor, in all probability, was the enclosure of a stamped and addressed return envelope with the communication which went to the members. There was no post-card follow-up for members who had not replied after thirty days. Apparently the "conscience value" of the return stamped envelope was rather strong. A member of your Committee, who wished to try this experiment, is absorbing the additional cost. However, since the difference in the cost of return stamped envelopes and the post-card follow-up is only about $5.00, we suggest that the Society might wish to authorize the Committee on Research in the future to consider this a legitimate expense item.

I. The Proposed Research Workshop

The Research Committee for last year, under the chairmanship of C. Horace Hamilton, collected some interesting statements from members on the question, "What do you consider the major weaknesses of sociological research in the South to be?" Those who attended the 1948 annual meeting will recall that there was some discussion of ways and means of improving the sociological research stiuation in the South. Certain perennial problems were recognized, such as: too much teaching lead, lack of thorough grounding in social theory, lack of familiarity with new research techniques, need for more cooperation between research people, need for more financial support for research. Various suggestions were made, among them the suggestion that the Society might sponsor a Research Workshop which would bring together those who were interested in trying to do something about these problems.

When President Hayes appointed the present Research Committee, he reminded it of the Workshop suggestion. He also took up with an official of the Social Science Research Council the possibility of the Society's applying for a grant in behalf of the Workshop. Your Committee was in something of a quandary, since it was operating on a suggestion rather than on formal instructions Should we proceed to set up a Workshop and hope that there would be enough

attendance to make it successful, or should we sound out the whole membership on the idea and ascertain the probable attendance? Naturally the Chairman had to assume the responsibility for certain decisions and procedures. He began by corresponding with other members of the Research Committee. While the reactions toward the Workshop idea were, on the whole, favorable, there was considerable variation of opinion on what sort of thing the Workshop might best do, and several members of the Committee had serious reservations concerning the worthwhileness of the project. It was decided to include in the annual research questionnaire some questions relating to the proposed Workshop. Members of the Committee agreed that the Chairman would have to make a decision on the basis of the returns and that a probable attendance of at least fifty persons would be the minimum on which to base a favorable decision.

By January 22 we had received 158 replies. Of these, 122 or about 80%, favored the idea of the Workshop. Exactly 50 members replied that they thought they could attend a Workshop for two days preceding the annual meeting. This looked rather good, but there was room for considerable doubt as to whether more than 25 or 30 of these could actually get time off from their work and attend at their own expense. The most discouraging aspect of the returns, however, was that among the 20 who said that they could help conduct a Workshop at their own expense, there were only four or five of our outstanding research people. It seemed to the Chairman that we would need a better representation of experienced research scholars if we were to conduct a successful workshop. While pondering over these matters, the Chairman received a letter from the Social Science Research Council saying that it would not be possible for the Council to consider a grant during its present fiscal year. The Chairman then wrote the members of the Research Committee and President Hayes that in his opinion it was not wise to proceed with the Workshop during the present year.

Since members of the Society may be interested in the final returns (183) on the questions relating to the Workshop, we present them here.

	YES	NO	DOUBTFUL, NO ANSWER, ETC.
IN FAVOR OF WORKSHOP IDEA	142	12	29
WOULD ATTEND WORKSHOP	57	72	54
WOULD HELP CONDUCT WORKSHOP AT OWN EXPENSE	22	114	47
WOULD HELP PROVIDED A GRANT IS OBTAINED	43	94	46

While it seemed wise not to try to undertake the Workshop this year, your Committee is aware that the above tabulation indicates a very strong interest in the idea of a Workshop. Therefore your Committee makes the following recommendations:

1. That the members present at the annual meeting vote on the question of whether they wish to have the Society undertake a Research Workshop during the coming year.

2. That, if this is the wish of the members, they vote on certain specific instructions as to time, place, length, and functions of the Workshop.

The next Research Committee, or a special committee on Workshop, operating under definite instructions, could proceed at once to try to obtain a grant, and it would have plenty of time to set up a really attractive program for a Research Workshop. Please think over these matters and come to the annual meeting prepared to discuss them.

II. Research And Other Activities Of Members

Members were asked to indicate on the research questionnaire the approximate proportions of their time devoted to research, teaching, administration, and other activities. The results of this survey supplement the information reported by the 1947 Committee on Research, and they should be of some interest to members of the Society.

Number of questionnaires sent out 296
Number of persons replying 183
Number not answering research questions 13
Number of replies used in tabulations 170

Number reporting some time spent in research 119
Number reporting no time spent in research 51

Note: In some of the tables which follow, the following abbreviations will be used:

R for Research — A for Administration
T for Teaching — O for Other Activities

TABLE 1

AMOUNT OF TIME DEVOTED TO RESEARCH

% of Time	Number of Persons	Percent
None	51	30.0
1 to 9%	15	8.8
10 to 24%	42	24.7
25 to 49%	31	18.2
50 to 74%	22	13.0
75 to 99%	4	2.3
100%	5	3.0
	170	100.0

TABLE 2

ACTIVITIES OF THOSE REPORTING NO TIME SPENT IN RESEARCH

Activities	No. Persons
T only	14
A only	3
O only	3
T and A	13
T and O	12
T, A and O	6
	51

TABLE 3
ACTIVITIES OF THOSE REPORTING SOME TIME SPENT IN RESEARCH

Activities	No. Persons	Activities	No. Persons
R only	5	R, T and A	20
R and T	32	R, T and O	26
R and A	5	R, A and O	1
R and O	8	R, T, A and O	22
		Total -- 119	

TABLE 4
DISTRIBUTION OF RESEARCH WORKERS WHO HAVE OTHER FUNCTIONS, BY PROPORTION OF TIME DEVOTED TO RESEARCH

A. Research Combined With One Other Function

Time Devoted To Research	R and T	R and A	R and O	Total
Over 50%	4	0	2	6
Fifty-fifty	5	0	3	8
Less than 50%	23	5	3	31
	32	5	8	45

B. Research Combined With Two Other Functions

Time Devoted To Research	R, T and A	R, T and O	R, A and O	Total
Over one-third	4	7	1	12
One-third	2	2	0	4
Under one-third	14	17	0	31
	20	26	1	47

C. Research Combined With Three Other Functions

Time Devoted To Research	R, T, A and O
Over 75%	0
50 to 75%	4
25 to 49%	3
Under 25%	15
	22

III. Comments

The foregoing tabulations merely confirm what most of us already knew. For one thing, full-time research workers among our ranks are very rare creatures. Only 5 of the 119 persons who reported some research activity are devoting their full time to research, and all of these are working in federally supported programs in state colleges of agriculture. Also we see, by referring to Table 1, that 108, or 63.5%, of our 170 respondents are devoting either no time or less than 25% of their time to research. Furthermore, as might be expected, teaching is the main job of our members. Of the 170 reporting, 145

are doing teaching or teaching combined with other functions. Again, research comes off rather poorly when combined with other functions. Of 45 persons who combine research with one other function, 31 are devoting less than half time to research; and of 47 who combine research with two other functions, 31 are devoting less than one-third time to research. Finally, we might point out that our tabulations actually overstate the amount of regular working time given to research, because many of our members have to "make" their own time if they are to get any research done. Quite a few who indicated that they devote five or ten per cent of their time to research appended such notes as, "On my own time," or "This includes Saturdays and holidays."

The main problems in our research situation, as viewed by your Committee, are as follows:

1. The need for more money and time for research work. This is largely a problem of finance and administration in the individual institutions with which our members are associated. The average institution simply does not have the money to afford the "luxury" of reducing teaching leads so that staff members can devote more time to research.

2. The need for a better quality of research work. Due to lack of time, lack of money, poor training, failure to keep in touch with improvements in theory and methodology, and other factors, there is undoubtedly a good deal of sub-standard "research" being done. The problem is largely one of individual training and initiative. In so far as the Society might undertake to do something about this situation, the best approach would seem to be to institute a continuing series of research conferences or workshops which might retrain and stimulate a sizeable number of research people. This, of course, would involve the problem of obtaining a grant from some foundation which is interested in our problems.

3. The need for more cooperation and coordination in research work. We believe that even under present conditions there is much that could be done by individuals and institutions to achieve better cooperation and coordination in research projects. There could be, and should be, more cooperation between the larger and more favored institutions and the smaller colleges, between white and Negro institutions, and between educational institutions and government agencies.

The following comments made by members of the Research Committee in the course of their "meetings by mail" are quite relevant to this discussion of these problems:

> ... The plan, as I understood it, was for the Research Committee to develop further plans for a coordinated research program for the South. I, for one, am still not very hopeful that an all-around acceptable program can be worked out or that a very high level of region-wide research may be obtained in this manner. We do not have an Oak Ridge Center in sociology, with numerous related probelms that can be "farmed out" to institutions with lucrative grants to go along with them, and the results then reintegrated at the Center....Frankly, I do not believe the possibility of establishing a Center is very realistic at this time...

A committee is not a research center; it is so difficult for a committee of persons scattered over a large geographic region to do an effective job of directing research and of administering the funds so as to obtain the greatest possible results....

One alternative is .... to find out through questionnaires sent to the membership how many persons now working on research projects, or contemplating undertaking projects, think their research could profit through having sociologists in other parts of the region contribute to it by making similar, sample, or control studies in the localities in which these other sociologists reside. This would call not only for an opinion, but also for a presentation of enough material about the projects to spell out in rather concrete terms just what would be involved in the collaboration .... (Note: This excellent suggestion came too late to be included in the questionnaire this year. Perhaps the next Research Committee would like to follow up on it.)

.....

..... I think our Research Committee might be rendering a real service if we found some way of stimulating and to some extent guiding research by those sociologists who are struggling all alone at some small college and who feel somewhat "out of the swim of things." For two years I was at _____ College and would have welcomed the chance to work with several other sociologists in other institutions on some common project on which we had agreed upon procedure and scope of study. The Research Committee might serve as a channel for crystallizing some such cooperative activities.

.....

It is my belief that one possible action the Committee might take is to select some willing and capable sociologist, either in or out of the region, to critically appraise the research turned out during the previous year in the region. This could be undertaken by the Chairman* of the Committee or by the Committee as a whole, but, as suggested above, it could be done by a competent person not of the Committee. (Note:* The Chairman did not take readily to this part of the suggestion!)

.....

I wonder if the Committee could take the function of improving and stimulating sociological research seriously enough to attempt to set up a set of standards which might be useful in facilitating research by college faculty members. I have in mind such things as a suggested maximum teaching load, suggested possible facilities for doing research, and the encouragement of faculty members to attend scientific meetings. Of course, the corollary to this would be the determination of the extent to which various colleges approximate these standards,.... If this were done it would then be possible to draw up a statement for submission to college administrators as to ideal standards and actual practice.... I believe that this could be done in such a way as not to compromise members of the Society, nor embarrass or antagonize college administrators.

The above comments represent the thinking of several of the members of the Research Committee. So far the Committee has not devised any ways of implementing good suggestions except by bringing them to the attention of members of the Society. Unfortunately, because of the impossibility of holding a meeting at the crucial time and because of a lack of continuity in the work of the Committee, the Committee does not begin to cut its wisdom teeth until about the end of its period of service. More than one member has commented on the lack of continuity, and one has suggested that the Committee could serve more efficiently if the personnel were kept intact over a period of several years.

We present in Section IV a listing of publications by members of the Southern Sociological Society during 1948. The list is not complete, of course, since it is based on the returns from the Research Committee Questionnaire. Of the 183 members who replied, 50 reported one or more publications. In many cases the bibliographical information given was not complete as to periodical volume numbers, dates, pages, etc. Book reviews, with the exception of two or three which seemed to make some contribution to method or theory, have been excluded.

Your Committee has considerable doubt as to whether this sort of list has enough value to members of the Society to justify its continuation. It takes time for members to report their publications accurately, and, at the best, from one-third to one-half of our members will fail to respond. It takes time and expense to compile the report and mimeograph it. Then, too, a good deal of the bibliographical information is readily available in the periodical indexes and book lists found in any good library. Therefore we raise the question, How useful have you found the sort of listing of publications which was first tried last year and which we have repeated this year? It may be that the Research Committee would do well to discontinue sending out questionnaires or publishing lists and devote all of its limited time and resources to the preparation of better Research Section programs at the annual meetings. Please think about these questions and be prepared to express your opinions at the annual meeting.

Due to the pressure of other duties and to a miscalculation of the date on which this report would have to be delivered to the Secretary of the Society for mailing, the Chairman of the Research Committee has had to proceed with mimeographing before receiving the formal approval of all members of the Committee. The report is therefore, at the moment, "unofficial".

IV. Publications By Members During 1948.

1. Atlanta Urban League. (Grace T. Hamilton, Sec.) Report on Hospital Care of the Negro Population in Atlanta, Georgia. Atlanta, 1948.

2. _____. A Supplemental Report on Public School Facilities for Negroes in Atlanta, Georgia. Atlanta, 1948.

3. Baker, Catharine M. Human Relations in the School. University of Kentucky, Lexington.

4. Beard, Belle Boone. "The Aged -- Ten Million Displaced Persons." Proceedings, New York State Conference of Social Work, Albany, May 1948.

5. _____. "When I am 70." Home Quarterly, Methodist Publishing Co., Nashville, December 1948.

6. _____. "Geriatric Social Work, a Preventive Field." Virginia Public Welfare, December 1948.

7. Bonser, Howard J. Opportunities for Getting Started in Farming in Tennessee. Research Monograph No. 235, Dept. of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, University of Tennessee.

8. Borinski, Ernst. "The Social Science Laboratory at Tougaloo College." Journal of Educational Sociology, December 1948, pp. 276-86.

9. _____. "Erwachsnenbildung in Amerika." In Dekendes Volk, 2, Jahrgang Heft 3, March 1948, Braunschweig, Germany.

10. Brearley, H. C. "Are Southerners Really Lazy?" American Scholar, December 1948.

11. Brooks, Lee M. "Hawaii's Puerto Ricans." Social Process in Hawaii, August 1948, pp. 46-57.

12. Cox, Oliver C. Caste, Class and Race. New York: Doubleday & Co.

13. Dickins, Dorothy. "Consumption Patterns of Cotton-Farm Families and an Agricultural Program for the South." Rural Sociology, March 1948.

14. _____. "The Farm Home Improves Its Equipment." Journal of Home Economics, December 1948.

15. Douglas, George A."Social Values: a 'Must' Concern of the Social Scientists." Journal of the Alabama Academy of Science, December 1947.

16. "Ferriss, Abbott L. "Rural-Farm Level of Living Indexes for Two Southeastern States." Social Forces, May 1948, pp. 420-30.

17. Foreman, Paul B. (With others). Criminology: A College Library Resources Checklist. Oklahoma A & M College, Stillwater, Oklahoma.

18. _____. "The Theory of Case Studies." Social Forces, May 1948, pp.408-19

19. _____. "Negro Lifeways in the Rural South." American Sociological Review, August 1948, pp. 409-418.

20. Freeman, Felton D. "The Army as a Social Structure." Social Forces, October 1948.

21. _____. "Immigration to Arkansas." Arkansas Historical Quarterly, Fall 1948.

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CHRISTIAN CONCEPTS OF CAPITAL AND LABOR

By Hugh Brimm

There is nothing of news in the statement that we are living in times of tremendous stress and strain. Internationally we are divided into the opposing camps of **communism** and **democracy.** Within our own country there are other marks of division. Economically we are divided into the ranks of capital and labor. Lines of race, religion, political affiliation, and national origin further divide, segregate, and intensify the already complex problems of human relations.

As Christians we should be both alert to and concerned about these vital problems. A major part of our responsibility as "peacemakers" is to promote understanding in human relations by demonstrating the better way of Christian love.

In this discussion we are concerning ourselves, not with the whole area of human relations, but with only one aspect—human relations in modern business. Here, we are face to face with the problems of economic group relationships as represented by management or capital on the one hand and labor on the other. It shall be our objective to find an answer to the following question, **"How can management and labor work together in ways to attain industrial peace?"**

First, let us face the staggering realization that American industrial output is measured today in terms of hundreds of billions of dollars. Industrial expansion is going on all about us at breath-taking speed. This expansion is resulting in greater employment, higher per-capita income, and more leisure time for the American worker.

In 1850, an average of twenty-seven cents worth of goods and services were turned out in an hour's work. The average working time that year was twelve hours a day for six days a week. Today the average hourly output per man is more than five times as great and the work week has been reduced by almost one-half! We are also using nearly 100 times as much mechanical energy per man-hour of work.

We who live in the southern regions of our great nation are witnessing one of the greatest industrial developments of modern times. Agriculture, the long-

(Continued on Page 2)

WHY CHURCHMEN OPPOSE UMT

By Donald B. Cloward

If Universal Military Training is good for American youth, why one might ask, is the strongest opposition to it coming from churchmen, who from the beginning in America have pioneered in character building through the family, the school, and the church? Yet the best informed churchmen can generally be found vigorously opposing any program of UMT for our eighteen-year-olds.

Were I a member of the Congress, I would want to weigh carefully this fact before voting for UMT. Surely this sentiment is not to be dismissed as either Communist-inspired nor yet the overflow of romantic pacifism. For these same churchmen have been forthright in exposing Communism as antithetical to Christian faith and practice. Moreover, only a small minority among them can readily be classified as pacifists. They largely supported action in Korea and have bowed to the necessity of selective service as a crisis measure.

What Is Good for Youth?

But it should cause a congressman to ponder when the church leadership stands almost solidly against a bill which the Defense Department says is wise and good and useful. Religious leaders make no claim to being military experts. They respect the peculiar gifts of men trained in military combat and in times of crisis have put the lives of themselves and their children wholly in the hands of the generals and the admirals. But if the military is now claiming competence in what is good Americanism for our youth, then it is time to challenge them.

Isaiah, out of the distant past, had a word of profound wisdom for our confused day when he said: "Woe unto them that call evil good, and good evil; that put darkness for light, and light for darkness; that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter."

The military record is bad—very bad. Ask anyone who has tried to live a normal civilian life in the proximity of a military establishment what happens to community life as a result of a large concentration of troops nearby? Every vice already present in the community is increased a hundredfold. It seems to be an inevitable consequence

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POSITIVE STEPS TOWARD PEACE IN OUR TIME

Christians have their own divine commission to proclaim the kingdom of God and His righteousness at home and abroad. God is a God of judgment as well as of mercy. In His sight all nations, including our own, and all men, including ourselves, have left undone those things which they ought to have done and done those things which they ought not to have done. We are called to recognize the just condemnation of His judgment but if we turn to Him in repentance and faith we shall avail ourselves of His mercy. We are called to be steadfast in prayer for all the peoples of the world that they may learn the things that belong to their peace; for our nation and our government, that they may become willing to serve the purposes of God.

Powerful forces have pushed mankind to the brink of an awful abyss. The first and urgent task is to check these forces. Therefore, these are not suggestions for a long range program for building peace—these are immediate steps for the present. It is imperative that we take them lest we lose the basic democratic principles upon which our way of life rests.

Here, then, are ways in which each of us can work, ways that will unite us in a world of good-will.

1. Redouble our efforts to reconcile men with God.

To this basic task we must re-dedicate ourselves with renewed devotion. The peace of God is the only peace which will endure. It can come only when men know Him as a child lovingly knows its own father. Our resources in the realm of the spiritual, unlike the military and material resources of war, are limitless. It was not an atom bomb that made Saul of Tarsus into Paul, the flaming evangel for Christ; it was not bacteriological warfare that lifted the Roman Empire off its hinges, but it was the power of God working through the lives of those who prayed for spiritual resources to be channeled through their lives.

This is a time for prayer. Also it is a time for action. Men of good will must promptly lay hold of the means at hand to increase the margin of safety against war. This is a task in which every one can play a constructive part.

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CAPITAL-LABOR (Continued)

time keystone of Southern economy, has been made to share its place in the sun with new and rapidly growing industries. In 1946, for example, four of the five states which led the nation in industrial construction contracts were Georgia, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. Factories, large and small, are becoming the core of industrial communities all over the South where once open country and rolling fields were all that met the human eye.

This is the "new South," an industrial South, rich in raw materials, rich in hydro-electric power, and rich in human resources from which can be drawn an abundant labor supply.

Human Factors

These are some of the economic factors that measure our story of national success. But there are other factors, equally important, if not more so. They are the human factors, the men with the wealth to provide the factories and the men with the skill to operate them. Full production, as we know it today, is by no means an accidental development of economic and technological forces. It is largely the result of the improvement of human relations.

Production was first expanded when men came together to pool their capital resources and to unite into manufacturing associations. Such was the "organization" of capital. The next step forward came when laboring men and women united into voluntary associations for the purpose of dealing with management.

Organized labor in America is more than one hundred and fifty years old. Behind are long years of bitter struggle for economic justice as opposed to sweatshops, the lockout, blacklists, and the exploitation of women and child labor. Labor's only alternative to organization was serfdom. It has struggled for organization, for its rights and for human benefits because it did not want that serfdom. In this process of organization, labor has developed with management a new technique, collective bargaining, an indispensable technique to modern business and our industrial strength.

Collective Bargaining

Through the processes of collective bargaining, contracts and agreements are reached. Labor unions are demonstrating more and more that they are responsible organizations in carrying out their contracts. However, on the other hand, many in the general public have the feeling that labor is not at all reliable, that labor is always on strike in violation of its contracts. This is not true. It is a fact that when management and labor are in periods of strife and of differences resulting in strikes and work stoppages, the press and radio give much space and time to the crisis struggle. On the other hand, when negotiations are conducted without strife, notice is not given at all.

For example, in 1946, when there were more strikes and work stoppages than in any recent year, there were more than 200,000 contracts negotiated between management and labor. Less than five per cent of these resulted in strikes. In other words more than ninety-five per cent of the contracts were settled to the mutual satisfaction of both groups.

In a number of recent studies and reports from large corporations, independent research groups are pointing to the co-operative achievements of industrial peace between management and labor. The National Planning Association, composed of leaders from the ranks of both management and labor, is currently making a series of studies on the "Causes of Industrial Peace." When completed it will be a detailed report on the labor relations of fifteen large corporations in America.

The results of these studies are making clear the following propositions:

(1) Company profit and good industrial relations are reconcilable and in fact essential to each other;

(2) Industrial organizations are social as well as economic and technological structures. The welfares of a company and its employees are inseparable;

(3) A worker is an individual as well as a union-member and employee. His dignity, recognition, and job-satisfaction are vital to high productivity.

(4) These values of employer and employee must be mutually communicated, understood, and observed.

Industrial relations programs incorporating these principles are working. They have provided a basis for co-operation, in concerns which have established them, that has increased production, profit per unit produced, and the material and spiritual well-being of their employees.

In their relationships both management and labor have come to realize that there are certain fundamentals of human nature which cannot be ignored. These cannot be ignored if human relations are to be creative and peaceable.

First is the essential dignity of man. Every man has certain basic human rights which must be respected. Such dignity demands self-expression, an opportunity to advance, and a sense that one has attained a point of usefulness in life. Second, man must have the esteem and respect of others. More than anything else he wants to be recognized as a person and to possess the confidence that he will be treated like a human being in all relationships.

Third, man yearns for survival. Food, clothing, housing, and other essentials are rightly his. He wants to know that he has access to them.

Finally, man reaches out for security. It is not sufficient that he have bread for today, but that there also be bread for tomorrow. He needs to have the confidence that he will be able to face illness, possible disability, and, ultimately, old age with financial security.

Challenge to Christians

As we face this vast field of human relations, we are made to realize that, as Christians, we have a tremendous challenge. Our churches and denominational schools must continue to produce men and women of character and integrity who will take with them the ideals of the Christian life into their economic professions, whether they become leaders in the ranks of labor or whether they take their places behind the desks of management.

All of us, through a serious and unprejudiced study of the problem, need to bring ourselves to a thorough understanding of all that is involved in the human relations of industry. The implications are of tremendous significance for both Christianity and our democratic way of life.

—Reprinted from the Baptist Student, February, 1952.

In the struggle between communism and democracy, what we do to our colored neighbors at home is equally important as what we do for our white friends abroad.—Liston Pope.

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U M T (Continued)

of large concentrations of military personnel. Great masses of men living in close proximity to each other, and away from the normal relationships of home and family, living under the restraints so necessary to military life, certainly do not live at their best or even at their near best. "Operation Killer," which is the ultimate goal of military education, can never hope to overcome the very evils inherent in its ultimate aims.

It, therefore, becomes sheer hypocrisy for the Defense Department to talk piously about military training being good for American youth. If they have any arguments in support of UMT, let them confine them solely to military necessity. Parents, educators, and the clergy are best equipped to talk about morals and character education needed for good citizenship. They, rather than the military, have demonstrated that they can, given a reasonable chance at young life, produce these qualities.

[Rev. Donald B. Cloward is executive secretary of the Council on Christian Social Progress of the American Baptist Convention, 152 Madison Avenue, New York 16, New York.]

ALCOHOLISM—SELF-INDUCED

Dr. Haven Emerson, Professor Emeritus of Public Health Practice at Columbia University, former Commissioner of Health of New York City, and one of the outstanding authorities on alcoholism, stated in an article in the Christian Science Monitor of October 26, 1951:

"In speaking of alcoholism as a sickness, we have been led into a slovenly cutting of corners in language and are deceiving ourselves as to the truth.

"The currently popular theory that alcoholism is simply a sickness and hence that no one is responsible for excessive drinking is misleading and mischievous.

"A great deal of muddled thinking and writing and lack of clear definition has resulted, with frequently unhappy effects.

"This attitude is welcomed by the liquor industries because with it to build on they appear before the public as blameless, claiming merely to 'serve the universal needs of the people,' a few of whom are found to be unfortunate in respect to personality and emotional development and become medical and social problems as chronic alcoholics.

"Misjudgment as to the facts about alcoholism based on the sickness idea has done much harm to the educational campaign to teach people self-restraint, choice, and intelligent abstinence.

"THE CAUSE OF ALCOHOLISM IS, OF COURSE, THE EXCESSIVE AND PERSISTENT DRINKING OF BEVERAGE ALCOHOL. Probably more than half of all alcoholics began their use of alcohol without any physical, mental, or personality deviation from normal.

"This group became abnormal chiefly because of their excessive and in the first place 'moderate' and socially acceptable use of alcohol, which created for them many problems similar in character to those seen in psychoneurotics who make up somewhat less than half of the chronic alcoholics.

"True, an alcoholic, acute or chronic, occasional, continuous, compulsive, habitual, or as a victim of his addiction is a sick person. Alcoholism is a form of intoxication due to the presence of ethyl alcohol in the body.

"The state of alcoholism, a sickness, is self-induced and so different from the common conception of a sickness as not to be properly described as such, but as a SELF-INDUCED POISONING BY A NARCOTIC DRUG."

RISING TIDE OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

The Children's Bureau of the Federal Security Agency reported recently that juvenile court cases in 1949 in 413 courts in twenty-two states totaled 70,616. This represents a ratio of about 12 for every 1,000 children in the country between seven and seventeen years of age.

Reports from 218 courts that have been reporting for many years showed that juvenile court cases dropped from a peak of 71,117 in 1945 to 51,994 in 1948 and then rose to 54,028 in 1949. The Children's Bureau said that the preliminary figures for 1950 indicated a continued upward trend.

The claim of the Christian church to transcend the differences between races has always been challenged by Mohammedanism; today the new challenge of our times comes from Communism.—Ernest J. Bingle, London, England.

A MEDIEVAL PRAYER

A librarian in Dagenham, England, is said to have found a copy of a prayer written by a medieval purchaser of land in that district, it reads:

"O Lord, Thou knowest I have mine estates in the City of London and that I likewise lately purchased an estate in fee-simple in the County of Essex. I beseech Thee to preserve the two Counties of Middlesex and Essex from fire and earthquake, and as I have a mortgage in Herefordshire I beg Thee to have an eye of compassion upon that county. For the rest of the counties, Thou mayest deal with them as Thou art pleased."

PEACE (Continued)

2. Do not tolerate complacency about war.

Some of us may ourselves be complacent about war. If not, each of us knows some who are. So each one can do something to reduce the sum total of that complacency. We are witnessing today the shameful spectacle of men in national leadership who are pushing legislation which they know can only be obtained by frightening the American people. Others may feel that they are peculiarly qualified to exercise political leadership and that they can best ride into power on a wave of emotion. Those who influence public opinion may feel that sensationalism is needed to arouse and alert the American people. Those who do such things are following the doctrine that it is possible to get good by doing evil. The fact is that panic started for one purpose seldom stops until it has overshot the chosen mark.

3. Combat a mood of hysteria or blind hatred.

Each of us is aware of focal points of war hysteria and blind hatred. We know perhaps some of the individuals, groups and publications who are spreading that mood. Each, by writing to political leaders or editors, can do something to stop the development of unreasoning mob emotion. Hitlerism was built both upon the myth of racial supremacy and the rabid hatred of a minority people. We must avert the Hitlerian spirit in America.

4. Reject fatalism about war.

Each of us knows some who think that war is inevitable and that it is better to get it over quickly so as to relieve the strain of waiting and to anticipate the Soviet development of atomic power. Each can do something to change that mood of fatalism and impatience.

5. Oppose primary reliance on military strategy to meet Communist aggression.

Each of us has, or can have, influence with leaders in Congress or in the Administration or in political parties and can urge that they do not concentrate on military measures as though these alone would assure peace, but concern themselves also with economic, social, political and moral counter-measures against the threat of war.

In present conditions of international anarchy, where international law and international police power are lacking, national military strength is necessary, while we continually strive for the multilateral reduction and control of armaments through the United Nations. But the main defenses of what we treasure are to be found in non-military measures which will change the conditions favoring the spread of

(Over)

despotism. To provide those defenses is not the task for military advisers. Therefore, the American people, in conformity with the principle of democratic government, should not permit policy making to pass predominantly into the hands of those who think primarily in military terms, as is too much the case today.

6. Press for positive programs which have immediate possibilities for peace and justice.

Each of us can use our voice and our vote in behalf of constructive measures by our government to increase the margin of safety, from war, such as programs for recovery, for increased social welfare, for a covenant on human rights and for a greater support of the United Nations and its many approaches to a better world.

We belong to a free society, and we cherish for ourselves and for others freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, freedom of petition, and freedom to vote. It is such freedoms which are threatened and which we want more fully to achieve and to preserve. Most of us would fight rather than surrender them, even though they might well be lost by fighting. These freedoms can, we are confident, be preserved if they are now used in ways to avert the immediate danger of war. In a free society every citizen has a duty of action.

POLICE AND THE PUBLIC

The key role of the police in Southern race relations has long been recognized. Learned studies by experts have pointed to it again and again. The press, in the South and elsewhere, has documented it in news and editorial columns. The plain people of the region have acknowledged it by turning appraising eyes on the police whenever race is a public issue.

This critical attention, however galling or unjustified it might seem at times to the policemen concerned, is quite understandable. For policemen are symbols. They represent the official conscience of society; they are the custodians of justice at the everyday level, where it is closest to the ordinary person.

So when a society is deeply occupied with a moral problem—in this case, Negro-white relations—policemen assume a bigger-than-life importance. If they perform badly, they do so not just as men wearing uniforms, but as the embodiment of law in their communities. If they perform well, the same thing holds true, except that unfortunately the news value may be less.

In the past, Southern police systems have drawn more blame than praise for their role in race relations. But recently another more hopeful trend has appeared. In town after town over the South a new quality of law enforcement is emerging. Police officers are winning merited acclaim for averting mob violence, safeguarding unpopular prisoners, protecting the innocent, curbing illegal activities of hate groups, and in general enforcing the law impartially and humanely. There are still far too many instances of police violence, forced confessions, and application of a double standard based on race. But such instances are occurring less frequently and are finding less public sanction than ever before.

How quickly this trend will become the normal and accepted pattern of Southern law enforcement depends in large part on public opinion. Police systems do not exist in a vacuum. In fact, they probably reflect more accurately than most of our institutions the temper of the public. When law enforcement is found wanting in fairness or efficiency, thoughtful citizens will ask themselves such questions as these:

Have we created in our community the atmosphere of tolerance and respect for the individual which breeds good law enforcement?

Have we made known to police authorities our interest in sound police practices?

Have we bothered to find out under what conditions our policemen are selected and do their work—qualifications, pay, training, recognition for service?

Have we given as much attention to the problems, shortcomings, and achievements of our police force as we have to those of our schools, churches, civic and welfare agencies?

In a typical community, the answer to each of these questions is likely to be "No." The day-to-day activities of the police—be they good, bad, or indifferent—commonly go unnoticed, uncriticized, unpraised. Only when crisis comes, or when lax or violent police practices erupt into headlines, are local citizens roused from their apathy. The police may well complain that their difficult job is made no easier by this unconstructive public attitude.

In order to help those who are concerned with these problems in their community, the Southern Regional Council has prepared a study booklet entitled, **RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT.** It is a carefully documented survey of the changing trends of modern police practices in the southern regions.

There is a valuable check list by which you, the concerned citizen, can measure the practices of your own community.

The price of the booklet is 15c. Send stamps or coin to this office for your copy.

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Louisville 7, Kentucky

THE PREVALENCE OF ALCOHOLISM

Speaking at the University of Washington, Seattle, on June 12, 1951, Dr. E. M. Jellinek, formerly Director of the Yale School of Alcohol Studies, and now Chairman of the International Committee on Alcohol Problems of the Mental Health Section of the World Health Organization, stated that there were **now** in the United States: 3,800,000 alcoholics and, in addition, 3,000,000 problem drinkers. "I would not argue with you if you said there were 7,000,000 alcoholics and problem drinkers in all," said Dr. Jellinek.

OUR HEALTH

". . . Less than 10,000,000 of our 146,000,000,000 people have professional, , full-time health departments to guard their water, milk, and meat supplies from contamnation, to supervise disposal of sewage and garbage, and control communicable diseases."

"Forty million Americans lack the basic protection of full-time health departments. Another 85,000,000 have only the dubious protection of understaffed health departments."

—Senator Hill (Ala.)

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The Churches and SEGREGATION

An Official Statement and Resolution adopted by the General Board of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U. S. A. in Chicago, Illinois, June 11, 1952

The Churches and SEGREGATION*

INTRODUCTION

As Christian disciples work together, their redemptive power in society is heightened. That power is released most transformingly when, in motive and method, it flows directly from the mandates of our Lord. In this statement, the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U. S. A. sets forth some of the clear implications of Christ's command, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

I. THE PATTERN OF SEGREGATION

Segregation is the externally imposed separation or division of individual persons or groups, based on race, color or national origin. It is practiced, with some difference of emphasis, in all sections of the country. In many places, segregation is established and supported by law. In others, it is almost as rigidly enforced by social custom and economic practices.

Segregation is an expression of the superiority-inferiority attitudes concerning race, color or national origin held tenaciously by vast numbers of Americans. Segregation is not only the expression of an attitude; it is also the means by which that attitude is transmitted from one generation

*"The Churches and Segregation" is a revision of an official statement titled "The Church and Race Relations" approved by The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America at a special meeting in Columbus, Ohio, March 5-7, 1946.

to another. Children in our society, observing minorities as we segregate them, cannot easily escape the inference that such minorities are inferior.

Moreover, segregation as practiced in the United States probably has more effect on the attitudes of the young than the formal teachings of the schools about democracy or of the churches about Christian brotherhood.

Segregation subjects sections of our population to constant humiliation and forces upon them moral and psychological handicaps in every relation of life. Still more devastating is the moral and spiritual effect upon the majority.

Segregation has meant inferior services to the minority segregated. The theory of "separate but equal" services does not work out in practice; segregation is always discriminatory. Discrimination sets apart those discriminated against so that in effect, they are segregated spiritually and psychologically, if not always physically.

Segregation as applied to our economic system denies to millions of our people free access to the means of making a living and sets for them insurmountable obstacles in their efforts to achieve freedom from want.

At all times and particularly in great crises, segregation makes it impossible to utilize fully large sections of our manpower. It seriously limits the contributions of racial and cultural minority groups to the ongoing life of our people in every aspect of our national existence.

Segregation handicaps our Nation in international relationships. At a time when the United States has come to play a leading role among the nations of the free world, our racial practices which are publicized abroad are made the basis of charges of hypocrisy against the Nation. These charges reverberate throughout the world in a period when the largely submerged non-white groups are becoming self-conscious, striving for recognition of their dignity, for autonomy and equal opportunity. The world community which we are seeking to build must rest on genuine respect for the worth of persons who are created equally the sons of God.

Large numbers of our citizens are being dis-

franchised and discriminated against as a result of the fears and mutual suspicions engendered by the pattern of segregation. These cause unnecessary confusion in dealing with important public issues, create unreal political divisions and give rise to a type of political appeal that threatens our democracy and democratic institutions.

Segregation increases and accentuates racial tension. It is worth noting that race riots in this country have seldom occurred in neighborhoods with a racially mixed population. Our worst riots have broken out along the edges of and in rigidly segregated areas.

Above all, the principle of segregation is a denial of the Christian faith and ethic which stems from the basic premise taught by our Lord that all men are created the children of God. The pattern of segregation is diametrically opposed to what Christians believe about the worth of persons and if we are to be true to the Christian faith we must take our stand against it.

II. THE CHURCHES AND THE PATTERN OF SEGREGATION

The pattern of segregation in the United States is given moral sanction by the fact that churches and church institutions, as a result of insensitiveness and social pressure, have so largely accepted this pattern in their own life and practice.

A. Segregation in Church Practice

While the pattern of segregation is too common in our public education at all levels, it is even more general in the churches in worship and fellowship. There are large areas of the public education field where racial separation is not practiced and only a relatively few churches which are racially inclusive in practice.* Furthermore, the

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*FACTS ABOUT SEGREGATION IN THE CHURCHES

"There are approximately 6,500,000 Protestant (church members among) Negroes. About 6,000,000 are in separate Negro denominations. Therefore, from the local church through the regional organization to the national assemblies over 90% of the Negroes are

pattern of segregation in public education appears to be changing more rapidly than in the churches.

While there are some exceptions among the communions and in certain interdenominational agencies, notably councils of churches, nevertheless, religious bodies are generally divided on a racial basis, in national organizations, in regional bodies and in local congregations. The acceptance by the churches of this pattern of segregation is so prevalent that fellowship between white and nonwhite Christians in the United States is frequently awkward and unsatisfactory.

It should be noted, however, that the communions have expressed an increasing concern for the elimination of segregation from the churches and society. Since the statement titled "The Church and Race Relations" was adopted by the Federal Council of Churches in 1946, the national bodies of twenty communions have issued statements that sanction the practice of an inclusive ministry to all people without regard to race, color or national origin. Nine of these national church bodies have renounced the pattern of segregation both in their own fellowship and in society; two have placed emphasis on the elimination of discrimination; and nine have indicated their concern for justice and opportunity for all people. In addition to defining denominational policy, these statements have served as a basis for launching denomina-

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without association in work and worship with Christians of other races except in interdenominational organizations which involve a few of their leaders. The remaining 500,000 Negro Protestants, about 10%, are in denominations predominantly white. Of these about 95%, judging by the surveys of six denominations, are in segregated congregations and are in association with their white denominational brothers only in national assemblies, and, in some denominations, in regional, state or more local jurisdictional meetings. The remaining 5% of the 10% in white denominations are members of local churches which are predominantly white. Thus only one-half of one per cent of the Negro Protestant Christians of the United States worship regularly in churches with fellow Christians of another race. This typical pattern occurs, furthermore, for the most part in communities where there are only a few Negro families and where, therefore, there are only on an average two or three Negro individuals in the white churches." (Racial Policies and Practices of Major Protestant Denominations, by Frank Loescher — Re-

tional programs for the improvement of racial and cultural relations.

While members of racial groups other than the one to which a majority of the congregation belongs are not absolutely barred by a rule from attendance, in many local churches the self-consciousness which their presence arouses bars them from freedom to worship in fellowship, and even from the initial contact.

At the level of the local church there are some encouraging examples of pastors, church officers and congregations who have come to grips with the dilemma of the segregated church. There are congregations and especially Sunday church schools and vacation church schools which are racially inclusive, and there are other church groups in the process of becoming so. These efforts need to be more widely known and the methods employed shared more fully with others.

A church located in a community in which the population is changing has a responsibility to serve the people of that community without regard to race, color or national origin. National and regional denominational bodies as well as councils of churches should encourage local congregations to consider this responsibility and cooperate with them in achieving this type of service.

However, the local church faces the difficult, although not insurmountable, obstacle of segre-

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search Study — 1946. Available in manuscript form at the office of the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, The National Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, New York.)

The statistical table found on page 68, "The Protestant Church and the Negro," by Frank Loescher, published in 1948, indicates that 860 churches out of 17,900 to whom questionnaires were sent, reported Negro participation in predominantly white churches. This indicates that 4.8% of the churches in six communions reported Negro participation.

In a cooperative study of 13,597 churches, 1331 predominantly white churches in three communions reported membership or attendance by persons of one or more racial minority groups. This indicates that 9.8% of the total number of churches in three communions are racially inclusive in membership or attendance. (1952) (See article titled "Protestant Churches—Are They Racially Inclusive?" by Alfred S. Kramer, in THE CITY CHURCH, Volume III, Number 2, March, 1952.)

gated housing in both the city and the suburbs. When a church is located in a community where segregated housing limits the population to one racial or cultural group, the people whom the church serves will tend to be limited to that racial or cultural group. Churches and councils of churches should, therefore, take definite steps to help create unsegregated residential communities where normal day-to-day relationships will develop among people of all races, colors, creeds and national origins.

B. *Racial Practices in Church Hospitals Similar to those in Non-Church Hospitals*

The racial practices of hospitals controlled by or affiliated with communions are little different from such practices in other hospitals. Negro nurses, doctors and patients are excluded from many church hospitals just as they are from similar institutions secularly controlled. To some degree this exclusion applies to other minority racial and cultural groups. The correction of this situation is complicated by the fact that in many instances these church hospitals have lost their close organic connection with the communions and have come more and more to accept the standards of the secular community. Some are private institutions no longer connected with the church even though their religious or denominational names still imply such a connection. However, a number still maintain a more or less definite relationship with the communions.

C. *Segregation in Church-Related Educational Institutions*

Church-related educational institutions established for constituencies predominantly white are somewhat less segregated than hospitals. There are church-related schools at all educational levels which have always maintained the practice of admitting students without regard to race, color, creed or national origin and there are others which have adopted this practice. Nevertheless, there are still large numbers of our church schools which would no more depart from the practice of exclu-

sion than would secular institutions under similar circumstances. Some of these schools resort to devices to avoid accepting qualified Negro, Jewish or Oriental students. Even after admission, some schools fail to fulfill the obligation of completely integrating members of minority racial and cultural groups into the life of the institution.

D. Theological Institutions Frequently Practice Exclusion

The changes which have been made recently by a number of theological seminaries in their policies and practices so as to admit students without regard to race, color or national origin, are commendable. However, there are still others which practice exclusion on the basis of race, color or national origin. In view of this, it is not strange that large numbers of our white ministers are uncertain and lack concern about race relations. On the other hand, ministers who are members of minority groups frequently doubt the sincerity of their brethren of the majority group. Fellowship among ministers in this country is frequently strained and unsatisfactory. It will continue to be so as long as we practice segregation to any extent in ministerial training. Association among persons of different racial groups, in their training, should be a vital part of the education of ministers.

E. The Churches and Employment Practices

The employment of ministers in a segregated pattern continues the strained and unsatisfactory fellowship which often exists in the theological institutions. With few exceptions, ministers who are members of racial and cultural minority groups must serve congregations which are composed of members of their own groups. This system of employment tends to perpetuate the segregated local church. Ministers should be called or appointed to churches primarily on the basis of character, ability and qualifications set up by the communion or local church, rather than on the basis of race, color or national origin.

Moreover, it is not customary for state, area or

national denominational and interdenominational boards and agencies to employ members of minority racial and cultural groups as professional or executive staff for service at home and abroad. The exception to this is occasional employment in work involving either their own particular group or race relations. It is noted with satisfaction that the communions and the interdenominational agencies now employ persons rather generally in secretarial and clerical positions on the basis of character and ability, without regard to race, color or national origin. What has been accomplished in this regard should be adopted as a pattern in the employment of professional or executive staff. The Christian witness of the churches which calls for fair employment practices in the community, state and Nation is immeasurably strengthened by a demonstration of fair employment practices in the life and work of the churches.

F. The Responsibility of the Churches to Eliminate Segregation

Christians in the United States, more than ever before, honestly desire that quality of Christian fellowship which brings to the total Church the gifts of all for the spiritual enrichment of each. Efforts directed toward such spiritual enrichment are frequently confused and ineffectual because of the pattern of segregation which defeats goodwill. Many persons find themselves frustrated when they attempt to live out their Christian impulses within a racially segregated society.

The Church, when true to its higher destiny, has always understood that its gospel of good news has a two-fold function, namely:

> To create new men with new motives;
>
> To create a new society wherein such men will find a favorable environment within which to live their Christian convictions.

The churches in the United States, while earnestly striving to nurture and develop individuals of goodwill, have not dealt adequately with the fundamental pattern of segregation in our society

which thwarts their efforts. This must be corrected. The churches should continue to emphasize the first function. In addition, they must launch a more comprehensive program of action in fulfillment of the second function. This is imperative now.

III. THE NATIONAL COUNCIL AND SEGREGATION

The communions and the interdenominational agencies have faced this question and taken action on it. A number of the interdenominational agencies which merged to form the National Council of Churches had renounced the pattern of segregation based on race, color or national origin as unnecessary and undesirable and a violation of basic Christian principles. A number of the communions have adopted the 1946 statement of the Federal Council of Churches and others have adopted statements of their own on this question.

The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. in its organizational structure and operation, renounces and earnestly recommends to its member churches that they renounce the pattern of segregation based on race, color or national origin as unnecessary and undesirable and a violation of the Gospel of love and human brotherhood. While recognizing that historical and social factors make it more difficult for some churches than for others to realize the Christian ideal of non-segregation, the Council urges all of its constituent members to work steadily and progressively towards a non-segregated church as the goal which is set forth in the faith and practice of the early Christian community and inherent in the New Testament idea of the Church of Christ. As proof of our sincerity in this renunciation, the National Council of Churches will work for a non-segregated church and a non-segregated community.

IV. THE CHURCHES SHOULD ASCERTAIN THE FACTS ABOUT THEIR OWN PRACTICES

We urge that in studying their own practices, the churches use the following statement of principles as a standard of measurement:

A. Membership

All persons who accept Christ as Lord and Master and the doctrinal standards of the communion ought to be invited and welcomed into membership of our communion's parish churches.

B. Fellowship

Christian fellowship means that all who accept Christ as Lord and Master are united by bonds of brotherhood which transcend race, color or national origin.

C. Worship

Worship opportunities inclusive of all groups ought to be available both regularly and frequently, so as to make such worship a normal expression of our common worship of God without self-consciousness or embarrassment.

D. Outreach of the Minister

The outreach of the minister should be inclusive. This means that his services ought to be available to persons of all groups in the community without discrimination.

E. Educational and Welfare Services

Church-related schools, colleges, hospitals, homes for children and the aged and other institutions have a responsibility to serve persons who are members of their communion without regard to race, color or national origin.

Church camps, conferences and projects conducted for the purpose of training persons for leadership or participation in the program and activities of the churches have a responsibility to serve the churches and their members without regard to race, color or national origin.

F. Employment

Christian churches demonstrate belief in the essential worth of persons because they are the children of God when they provide full oppor-

tunities for the employment at all levels and on the same basis of character and ability, of all persons found in the membership of their communion, including those from racial and cultural minorities.

V. THE CHURCHES SHOULD ELIMINATE SEGREGATION FROM THEIR OWN PRACTICES

If the churches would remove the validity of the charge implied by the world when it says "Physician, heal thyself," they should act promptly and decisively to eliminate segregation from their own practices, taking steps to formulate plans of action based on answers to the following essential questions:

A. Membership

How many churches are there in our communion in which people are not welcome to membership because of race, color or national origin? What actions are necessary to correct this situation?

B. Fellowship

Does racial segregation or exclusion create a chasm which places profound limitations upon Christian fellowship within the life of a geographical community? If so, what should be done to remove these limitations?

C. Worship

What is the extent of racial segregation or exclusion in the services of worship provided by our communion? What steps are necessary to correct this situation?

D. Outreach of the Minister

Is the outreach of the minister inclusive of all people? Are his services available to persons of all groups in the community?

E. Educational and Welfare Services

What is the extent of racial segregation or ex-

clusion in the practices of schools, colleges, seminaries, hospitals, homes, camps, young people's conferences and similar institutions affiliated with our communion? What are the steps that should now be authorized and carried out by the responsible boards of the communion to rectify these practices?

F. Employment

Do the local, state and area organizations, national boards and general ecclesiastical offices of our communion provide opportunities for employment on the basis of character and ability without regard to race, color or national origin? If not, what administrative procedures should be proposed within our communion to bring employment practices within its entire life into conformity with the ideals of a "non-segregated church and a non-segregated community?"

VI. THE CHURCHES SHOULD HELP TO RELIEVE COMMUNITY TENSIONS

Churches, having chosen to renounce the pattern of segregation as a violation of the Gospel of love which is committed unto them, and having outlined steps by which that pattern shall be eliminated from their own practices, should at the same time direct their attention to the community, at the national, state and local levels.

In order that the community may sense the transforming power of organized religion in relieving community tensions arising from the pattern of segregation, the churches should assume responsibility for dealing with such questions as discrimination in employment, housing, education, health and leisure-time activities. We should cooperate with other organizations in the formulation and execution of a community-wide plan of action to eliminate patterns of segregation and to change the policies and practices that create tensions.

OUR HOPE AND STRENGTH

We thank God, especially in a time when so many men are estranged from Him and from one

another, that He has created us "of one blood" and through Christ has brought Christians into one family. It was by God's power that Christ's disciples lived and worked in love. This faith that Christians are "one body in Christ," commits us inevitably to the task of transcending barriers of race, color and nationality in our churches and in our communities until we may, by His Grace, one day demonstrate our faith that "we are members one of another."

Department of Racial and Cultural Relations
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST
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BUILDING THE PEACE

The United Nations

Dumbarton Oaks Proposals *for a* General International Organization

To be the subject of

THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE *at San Francisco, April 25, 1945*

THERE SHOULD be established an international organization under the title of The United Nations, the Charter of which should contain provisions necessary to give effect to the proposals which follow.

Chapter I. Purposes

The purposes of the Organization should be:

1. To maintain international peace and security; and to that end to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means adjustment or settlement of international disputes which may lead to a breach of the peace;

2. To develop friendly relations among nations and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;

3. To achieve international cooperation in the solution of international economic, social and other humanitarian problems; and

4. To afford a center for harmonizing the actions of nations in the achievement of these common ends.

Chapter II. Principles

In pursuit of the purposes mentioned in Chapter I the Organization and its members should act in accordance with the following principles:

1. The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states.

2. All members of the Organization undertake, in order to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership in the Organization, to fulfill the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the Charter.

3. All members of the Organization shall settle their disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security are not endangered.

4. All members of the Organization shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the Organization.

5. All members of the Organization shall give every assistance to the Organization in any action undertaken by it in accordance with the provisions of the Charter.

6. All members of the Organization shall refrain from giving assistance to any state against which preventive or enforcement action is being undertaken by the Organization.

The Organization should ensure that states not members of the Organization act in accordance with these principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Chapter III. Membership

1. Membership of the Organization should be open to all peace-loving states.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE PUBLICATION 2297
CONFERENCE SERIES 66

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LOOK
AMERICA'S FAMILY MAGAZINE

Scans a Book of Modern Song

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SING A SONG of FRIENDSHIP

By IRVING CAESAR

SING A SONG OF FRIENDSHIP

The ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH and the AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE are proud to reproduce these musical messages of international good-will. We believe that these songs from Irving Caesar's new book Sing a Song of Friendship will sing themselves into the hearts of people the world 'round, building peace and brotherhood.

We are indebted to LOOK Magazine for permitting us to reprint this feature from their issue of Oct. 1, 1946.

For Additional Copies Write to:

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
212 Fifth Ave. New York 10, N. Y.

American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Ave. New York 16, N. Y.

Songs for the United Nations

The United Nations' Assembly will soon meet again in New York for a six weeks' session. During that period, Irving Caesar (see page 8) will publish a book of new purposeful songs entitled: *Sing A Song of Friendship.* His nineteen songs range in subject matter from racial intolerance to a musical plea that we make the world of tomorrow, today! Caesar's work was inspired by the United Nations. LOOK presents five of the songs that represent that organization's purpose as stated in the preamble to its Charter . . . a plea for human rights.

From the preamble of the United Nations' charter:

We the peoples of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind . . .

The song: This Is Our Last Chance for Peace

We must try forever to remember,
September second nineteen forty-five,
It was on the second of September,
We knew at last our freedom would survive;

The Japanese who fought with
might and fury,
Surrendered to the brave and true Allies,

They came aboard our battleship Missouri,
And signed before our gen'rals' very eyes—

And then while hearts were filled
with jubilation,
By radio a gen'ral told the nation—
Refrain:
People of America, people ev'rywhere,

The miracles of science never cease,
Submarines and radar and
bombers in the air,
This is our last chance for peace!

Learn a lesson from
The atomic bomb
That mighty nations fear,
People, I implore,
Put an end to war,
Or our world will disappear,

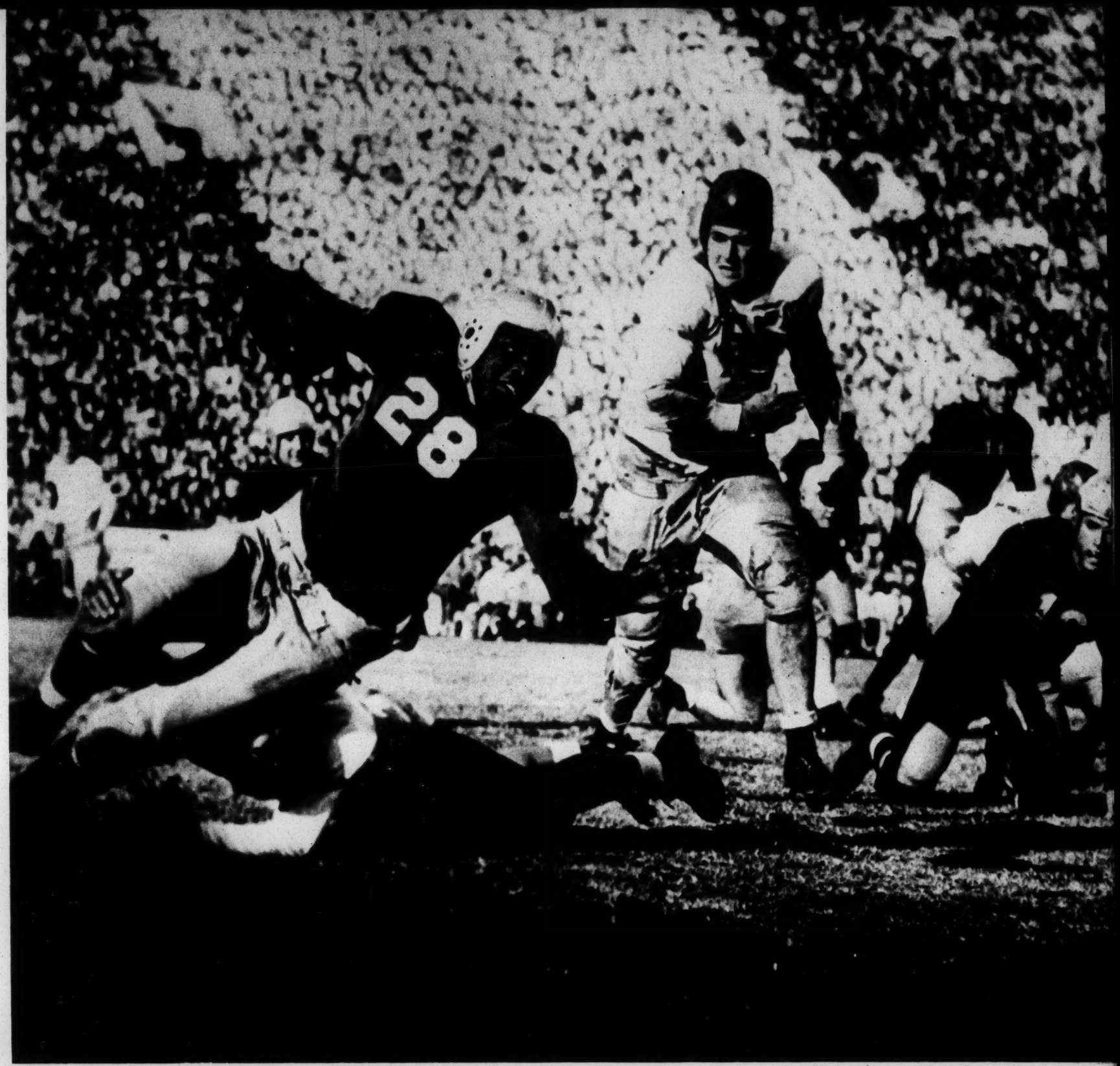
People of America, people of the world—
From now on may our happiness increase,
Learn in God to trust,
Or return to dust,
This is our last chance for peace!

From the preamble of the United Nations' charter:

To reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small . . .

The song: It Is Always Music to His Ear

You may pray on Saturday or Sunday,
It is always music to His ear,
Though you pray on seven days or one day,
He is ever close enough to hear;
Pray in a cathedral, in a
synagogue or church,
A temple, mosque, or tabernacle—
He won't need to search,
Pray in any language, to Him they
all are dear,
Pray, for it is music to His ear,
It is lovely music to His ear!



From the preamble of the United Nations' charter:

To promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom, and for these ends to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors, and . . .

The song: Thomas Jefferski

I have a little friend whose name
ends with a "ski"
And yet my little friend looks just
like you and me;
Last night I asked my father why a name
like that should be,
And this is what my father said
as I sat on his knee—
Refrain:
A "ski" a "witz" or "off" or "cu" when
added to a name,
Just teaches us the family or town from
which it came,
A name like Thomas Jefferson in some lands
o'er the sea,
Would not be Thomas Jefferson but
Thomas Jefferski;
Or "Jefferwitz" or "Jefferoff" or maybe
"Jeffercu"—
So do not let a "ski" or "off" or "witz"
seem strange to you,
I feel the same towards ev'ry name no
matter how it ends,
For people with the strangest names can be
the best of friends!

From the preamble of the United Nations' charter:

To unite our strength to maintain international peace and security and . . . to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples . . .

The song: Election Day

Election day, election day,
The best day of the year,
We prize it in the U. S. A.
Where freedom is so dear,
Poor man, rich man, doctor, teacher,
Worker, farmer, lawyer, preacher,
By our votes can be elected,
Or defeated and rejected;
"Vote for me"—plead Smith and Jones and Brown,
So you see, the voter wears the crown,
Though Smith may win, and Brown may lose,
Still when we've had our say,
We're loyal to the one we choose,
Till next election day!

From the preamble of the United Nations' charter:

Have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims. Accordingly our respective Governments . . . have agreed to the present Charter of the United Nations and do hereby establish an international organization to be known as the United Nations.

The song: Fifty Friendly Nations

Fifty nations met in San Francisco,
Brought together by a single dream,
Nations small and great,
They said, "We'll rid the world of hate,
Provided we keep working like a team;"

Just imagine fifty friendly nations,
Dreaming, planning, working with a will,
They said, "We'll unite,
And with our might protect the right,
and peace alone is right—it's
wrong to kill;"
Fifty nations made a solemn promise,
Ev'rywhere all people shall be freed,
Ev'ry life protected, ev'ry
right respected,
Ev'ry language, race and creed;
"Youth" they said, "No more
must play the martyr,
Sacrificed in battle through the years,"
So proclaimed the San Francisco charter,
When fifty nations signed away their fear!

Popular songwriter Irving Caesar now writes of international goodwill

Irving Caesar

His newest work tells hope of mankind in song

LOOK LISTEN

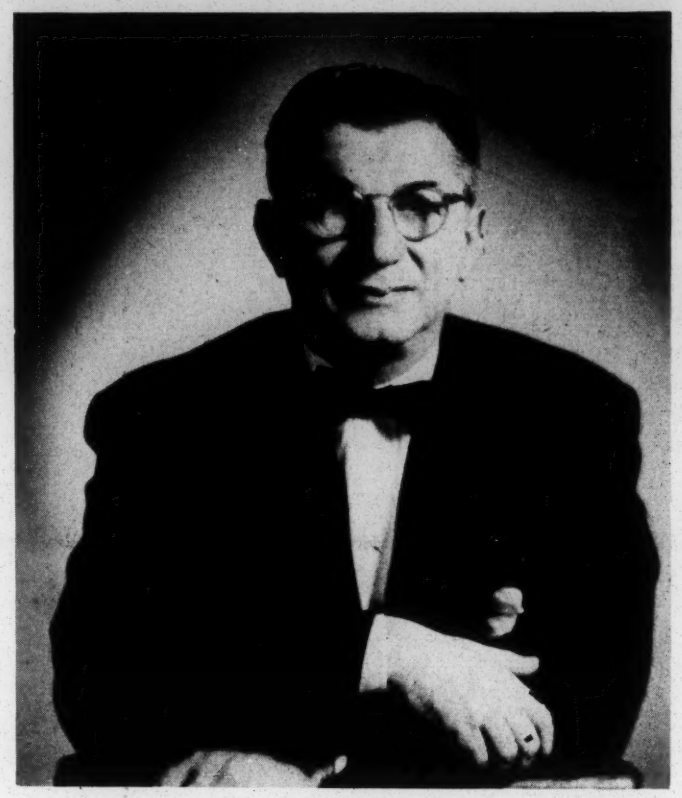
Irving Caesar writes lyrics America sings. His list of perennial song hits contains *Tea for Two, Swanee* and *Just a Gigolo.*

Now he wants a world to sing the 19 purposeful songs he is publishing this month in a book entitled, *Sing a Song of Friendship* (see page 3).

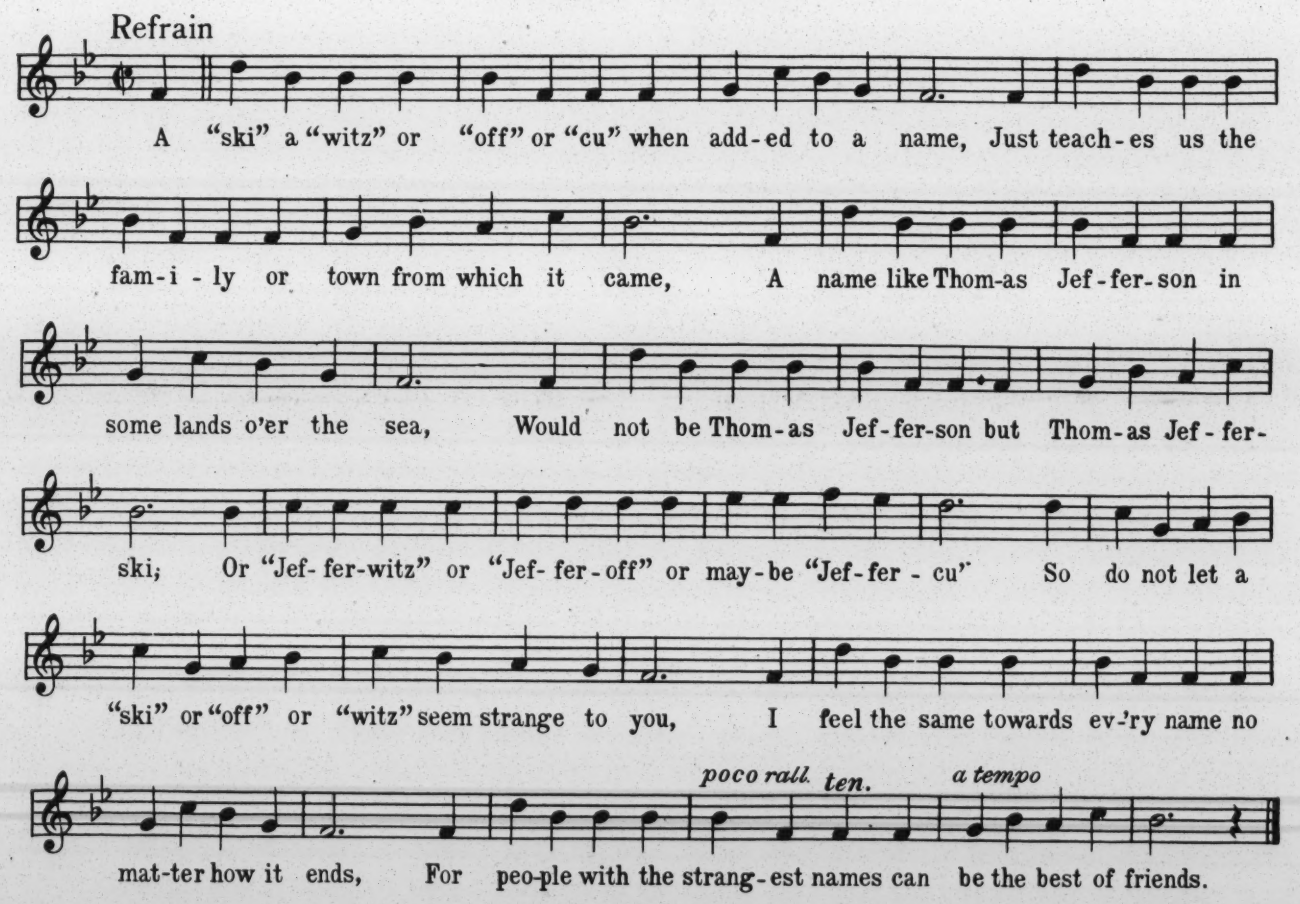
Energetic, unmarried Irving Caesar was born 51 years ago on New York's east side. At the age of 5 he managed a one-fingered rendition of *One Sunday Afternoon.* When he was 9, Caesar wrote a school song that inspired the basketball five to a championship. During World War I, he accompanied Henry Ford's Peace Ship which went with a cargo of good intentions to stop the spreading war. Caesar contributed propaganda songs designed to have the battling soldiers sing their way to peace. The venture was ill-fated but Caesar had found his life work. His professional career was successfully started after he got an idea for a song that he and the late George Gershwin finished in 30 minutes. The song was *Swanee.* In 1938 he did his famous group, *Sing a Song of Safety.* Millions of children have since been tunefully admonished:

"An automobile has two big eyes, to see where it is going.
And if you don't use your own two eyes, its horn will start blowing."

With his new group, *Sing a Song of Friendship,* he is making the musical plea: Let's Make the World of Tomorrow Today!



Thomas Jefferski



RULES OF PROCEDURE

FOR THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

(United Nations Document No. E/33/Rev. 3, 15 March 1947)

I. SESSIONS

Rule 1

The Economic and Social Council shall hold at least three sessions a year. One of these sessions shall be held shortly before the opening of the regular session of the General Assembly.

Rule 2

Sessions shall be held at a date fixed by the Council at a previous meeting.

Rule 3

A session of the Council shall also be held within thirty days of the request thereof:

(a) by a majority of its members;

(b) by the General Assembly; or

(c) by the Security Council, acting in pursuance of Article 41 of the Charter.

Rule 4

A session of the Council shall also be held if the Security Council, the Trusteeship Council, or any Member of the United Nations, or a specialized agency* requests a session and the President of the Council agrees to the request. If the President does not agree, he shall, within four days of the receipt of the request, inform the other members of the Council of the request and of his refusal and shall at the same time enquire whether or not they support the request for a session. If, within eight days of this enquiry, a majority of the members of the Council explicitly concurs in the request, the President shall summon the Council to meet within the next fifteen days.

Rule 5

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* When the term "specialized agency" is used in these rules, it refers to specialized agencies brought into relationship with the United Nations.

Rule 5

The President of the Council, with the concurrence of the Vice-Presidents, may also call a session of the Council and fix the date thereof.

Rule 6

Each session shall be held at the seat of the United Nations unless in pursuance of a previous decision of the Council or at the request of a majority of its members another place is designated

Rule 7

The President of the Council shall notify the members, through the Secretary-General, of the date of the first meeting of each session. Such notification shall be sent:

(a) at least eight days in advance, when a session is called upon the request of the Security Council acting in pursuance of Article 41 of the Charter;

(b) at least twelve days in advance in cases referred to under Rule 4; and

(c) at least twenty-one days in advance in all other cases.

Rule 8

The Council may decide at any session to adjourn temporarily and resume its meetings at a later date.

II. AGENDA

Rule 9

The provisional agenda for each session shall be drawn up by the Secretary-General in consultation with the President, and shall be communicated to the members of the Council, all other Members of the United Nations, to the specialized agencies and to the non-governmental organizations in Category A*, together with the notice convening the Council.

* That is, a non-governmental organization recognized in accordance with Paragraph 1 (a) of Part IV of the Report of the Committee on Arrangements for Consultation with Non-Governmental Organizations adopted by the Council on 21 June 1946.

Rule 10

Rule 10

The provisional agenda shall include:

(a) all items proposed by the Council at a previous meeting;

(b) all items proposed by any Member of the United Nations;

(c) all items proposed by the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Trusteeship Council, a specialized agency or a non-governmental organization in Category A.

Rule 11

Before the Secretary-General places an item proposed by a specialized agency or a non-governmental organization of the type referred to in Rule 10 upon the provisional agenda, he shall carry out with the agency or organization concerned such preliminary consultation as may be necessary.

Rule 12

The first item on the provisional agenda of any session of the Council shall be the adoption of the agenda.

Rule 13

The Council shall set up an Agenda Committee composed of the President, the two Vice-Presidents and two other members who shall be elected at each session of the Council to hold office until replaced at the next session. The President shall be the chairman of the Agenda Committee.

Rule 14

The Agenda Committee shall prior to each session consider the provisional agenda and make recommendations thereon to the Council at the first meeting of the session, including suggestions as to the inclusion or deferment of items and the order in which they shall be considered. A Member of the United Nations, a specialized agency or a non-governmental organization in Category A, which has requested the inclusion of an item in the provisional agenda, shall be entitled to present its views through its representative at any meeting of the Agenda Committee at which the question of the inclusion of the item is discussed.

Rule 15

Rule 15

The Council may revise the agenda. If the session has been summoned in accordance with Rules 3, 4 and 5, priority shall be given to those items which have occasioned the session.

III. REPRESENTATIVES, ADVISERS AND CREDENTIALS

Rule 16

Each representative on the Council may be accompanied by such alternate representatives and technical advisers as he may require.

Rule 17

The credentials of representatives, and the names of alternate representatives, shall be submitted to the Secretary-General, and the President and the Vice-Presidents shall examine them and submit their report to the Council.

IV. PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENTS

Rule 18

The Council shall elect a President, a first Vice-President, and a second Vice-President, from among the representatives of its members.

Rule 19

The President and Vice-Presidents shall hold office until their successors are elected at the first meeting of the Council on or after the first of January in each year and shall be eligible for re-election.

Rule 20

If the President is absent from a meeting or any part thereof, the first Vice-President, or in the latter's absence, the second Vice-President shall preside.

Rule 21

If the President ceases to be a representative of a member of the Council or is incapacitated, the first Vice-President shall serve for the unexpired term. If the first Vice-President ceases to be a representative of a member of the Council or is incapacitated, the second Vice-President shall take his place.

Rule 22

Rule 22

A Vice-President acting as President shall have the same powers and duties as the President.

Rule 23

In the case of a Member of the Council which is for the time being represented by the President, an alternate delegate shall at the discretion of the President be permitted to participate in the proceedings and to vote in the Council. In such a case the President should not exercise his right to vote.

V. COMMITTEES OF THE COUNCIL

Rule 24

At each session, the Council may set up such committees as it deems necessary and refer to them any questions on the agenda for study and report. Such committees, composed of members of the Council, may be authorized to six while the Council is not in session.

VI. SECRETARIAT

Rule 25

The Secretary-General shall act in that capacity in all meetings of the Council. He may authorize a deputy to act in his place at meetings of the Council.

Rule 26

The Secretary-General shall provide and direct the staff required by the Council, its committees and such subsidiary bodies as may be established by it.

Rule 27

The Secretary-General shall be responsible for keeping the members of the Council informed of any questions which may be brought before it for consideration.

Rule 28

The Secretary-General or his deputy may at any time, upon the invitation of the President of the Council or of the Chairmen of committees of the Council and subsidiary bodies, make either oral or written statements concerning any question under consideration.

Rule 29

Rule 29

The Secretary-General shall be responsible for all the necessary arrangements for meetings of the Council.

Rule 30

Before any proposal which involves expenditure from United Nations funds is approved by the Council the Secretary-General shall prepare and circulate to members (a) a summary report of the financial implications of the proposals; and (b) estimates of costs involved in each proposal.

VII. LANGUAGES

Rule 31

Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish shall be the official languages, and English and French the working languages of the Council.

Rule 32

Speeches made in either of the working languages shall be interpreted into the other working language.

Rule 33

Speeches made in any other of the three official languages shall be interpreted into both working languages.

Rule 34

Any representative may make a speech in a language other than the official languages. In this case he shall himself provide for interpretation into one of the working languages. Interpretation into the other working language by an interpreter of the Secretariat may be based on the interpretation given in the first working language.

Rule 35

Verbatim records shall be drawn up in the working languages. A translation of the whole or part of any verbatim record into any of the other official languages shall be furnished if requested by any delegation.

Rule 36

Rule 36

Summary records shall be drawn up in the working languages. A translation of the whole or part of any summary record into any of the other official languages shall be furnished if requested by any delegation.

Rule 37

The Journal of the Council shall be issued in the working languages.

Rule 38

All resolutions, recommendations and other formal decisions of the Council shall be made available in the official languages.

VIII. VOTING

Rule 39

Each member of the Council shall have one vote.

Rule 40

Decisions of the Council shall be made by a majority of the members present and voting.

Rule 41

The Council shall normally vote by show of hands except that any representative may request a roll call which shall then be taken in the English alphabetical order of the names of the members.

Rule 42

The vote of each member participating in any roll call shall be inserted in the record.

Rule 43

On decisions relating to individuals, a secret ballot shall be taken.

Rule 44

If, when one person or member only is to be elected, no candidate obtains in the first ballot the majority required, a second ballot shall be taken, confined to the two candidates obtaining the largest number of votes. If in the second ballot the votes are equally divided, the President shall decide between the candidates by drawing lots.

Rule 45

Rule 45

When two or more elective places are to be filled at one time under the same conditions, those candidates obtaining in the first ballot the majority required shall be elected. If the number of candidates obtaining such a majority is less than the number of persons or members to be elected, there shall be additional ballots to fill the remaining places, the voting being restricted to the candidates obtaining the greatest number of votes in the first place, the number of candidates being not more than twice as many as the places remaining to be filled.

Rule 46

If a vote is equally divided on matters other than elections, a second vote shall be taken at the next meeting. If this vote also results in equality, the proposal shall be regarded as rejected.

IX. PUBLICITY OF MEETING

Rule 47

The meetings of the Council shall be held in public unless the Council decides otherwise.

Rule 48

At the close of each private meeting, the Council may issue a communique through the Secretary-General.

X. RECORDS

Rule 49

Summary records of the meetings of the Council, its committees and subsidiary bodies shall be kept by the Secretariat. They shall be sent as soon as possible to all members participating in the meeting who shall inform the Secretariat not later than twenty-four hours after the circulation of the summary record, of any changes they wish to have made. Summary records of public meetings shall be sent as soon as possible after the close of the session to all Members of the United Nations and to the specialized agencies.

Rule 50

Verbatim records of the meetings of the Council shall be kept by the Secretariat. The verbatim records of public meetings shall be available to the public. The verbatim records of private meetings shall be available, when the Council so decides, to

representatives

representatives of the Members of the United Nations only.

Rule 51

As soon as possible the text of all resolutions, recommendations and other formal decisions adopted by the Council, its committees and subsidiary bodies, shall be communicated by the Secretary-General to the members of the Council, and as soon as possible after the end of the session, to all Members of the United Nations and to the specialized agencies.

Rule 52

The summary records and relevant documents of private meetings of the Council, its committees and subsidiary bodies, shall be distributed to the Members of the United Nations if the Council so decides.

XI. CONDUCT OF BUSINESS

Rule 53

A majority of the members of the Council shall constitute a quorum.

Rule 54

In addition to exercising the powers conferred upon him elsewhere by these rules, the President shall declare the opening and closing of each meeting of the Council, shall direct the discussion, ensure the observance of these rules, and shall accord the right to speak, put questions, and announce decisions.

Rule 55

During the discussion of any matter, a representative may rise to a point of order, and the point of order shall be immediately decided by the President in accordance with the Rules of Procedure.

Rule 56

During the discussion of any matter, a representative may move the adjournment of the debate. Any such motion shall have priority in the debate. In addition to the proposer of the motion, one representative may speak in favour of and one against the motion.

Rule 57

The Council may limit the time allowed to each speaker.

Rule 58

A representative may at any time move the closure of the debate whether or not any other representative has signified his wish to speak. If application is made for permission to speak against the closure it may be accorded to not more than two speakers.

Rule 59

The President shall take the sense of the Council on a motion for closure. If the Council is in favour of the closure the President shall declare the closure of the debate.

Rule 60

Resolutions, amendments and substantive motions shall be introduced in writing and handed to the Secretary-General, who shall circulate copies to the representatives twenty-four hours in advance, unless the Council decides otherwise.

Rule 61

Parts of a proposal may be voted on separately if a representative requests that the proposal be divided.

Rule 62

If two or more amendments are moved to a proposal the Council shall first vote on the amendment furthest removed in substance from the original proposal and then on the amendment next furthest removed and so on until all the amendments have been put to the vote.

Rule 63

When an amendment revises, adds to or deletes from, a proposal, the amendment shall be voted on first, and if it is adopted, the amended proposal shall then be voted on.

XII. COMMISSIONS

Rule 64

The Council shall set up such commissions as may be required for the performance of its functions, and shall define the powers and composition of each of them. The Council may authorize commission to set up subsidiary bodies.

Rule 65

Unless otherwise decided by the Council, each commission shall elect its own officers and adopt its own rules of procedure.

Rule 66

The Rules of Procedure of the Council shall apply to the proceedings of commissions and subsidiary bodies until they adopt their own rules of procedure.

Rule 67

When the report of a commission is under consideration, the Council shall invite the chairman of the commission, or a person designated by him, to participate without vote in the discussion on the report.

XIII. AMENDMENTS AND SUSPENSIONS

Rule 68

Any of these rules may be amended or suspended by the Council, provided the proposed amendments or suspensions are consistent with the Charter.

Rule 69

These rules may not be amended until the Council has received a report on the proposed amendment from a committee of the Council.

Rule 70

A rule of procedure may be suspended by the Council provided that twenty-four hours' notice of the proposal for the suspension has been given. The notice may be waived if no member objects.

****

STRUCTURE OF THE ECONC

SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

*INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION

*FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS

*UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

*INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION ORGANIZATION

INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT

INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND

WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION (Interim Commission)

INTERNATIONAL REFUGEE ORGANIZATION (Preparatory Commission)

INTERNATIONAL TRADE ORGANIZATION (proposed)

UNIVERSAL POSTAL UNION

INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATIONS UNION

COORDINATION COMMITTEE

GENERAL ASSEM

ECONOMIC AN

SOCIAL COUNCI

18 members elected for 3 years by General A

(Decides by simple majority of those present a

COMMITTEE ON NEGOTIATIONS WITH SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

AD COMM

COMMITTEE ON ARRANGEMENTS FOR CONSULTATION WITH NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

*The General Assembly approved the agreements which ha by the Committee on Negotiations with Specialized Agenc agencies into relationship with the United Nat

NOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

AT THE CONCLUSION OF ITS FOURTH SESSION (MARCH 29, 1947)

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COMMISSIONS

- ECONOMIC AND EMPLOYMENT (15 members)
  - SUBCOMMISSION: EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC STABILITY
  - SUBCOMMISSION: ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
- TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS (15 members)
- STATISTICAL (12 members)
  - SUBCOMMISSION: STATISTICAL SAMPLING
- FISCAL (15 members)
- POPULATION (12 members)
- SOCIAL (18 members)
  - INTERNATIONAL CHILDREN'S EMERGENCY FUND
- HUMAN RIGHTS (18 members)
  - SUBCOMMISSION: FREEDOM OF INFORMATION AND OF THE PRESS
  - SUBCOMMISSION: PREVENTION OF DISCRIMINATION AND PROTECTION OF MINORITIES
  - DRAFTING COMMITTEE ON THE BILL OF RIGHTS
- STATUS OF WOMEN (15 members)
- NARCOTIC DRUGS (15 members)
- ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR EUROPE
- ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR ASIA AND THE FAR EAST

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New AFRICA

Council on African Affairs
Monthly Bulletin

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Southern Regional Council

The United Nations and Non-Self-Governing Territories

THERE are roughly 300 million inhabitants of colonial countries throughout the world. These people have no direct representation or voice in the United Nations. Openly in revolt in many areas and everywhere impatient of the slow progress toward self-government, these people will be anxiously watching the current session of the United Nations General Assembly.

For at the present meeting the members of the United Nations will have before them for the first time reports regarding the conditions of the people in the majority of the colonies, submitted by the governing powers in accordance with Article 73(e) of the Charter. After considering these reports, the delegates will be called upon to decide what specific measures the United Nations should and will take toward promoting the well-being and self-government of the colonial peoples, the the objective stated in Article 73 to be "a sacred trust" accepted by all the member states.

So far as the special category of colonies known as trusteeship territories is concerned, the Assembly will be called upon to review and approve the work of Trusteeship Council which held its first meeting earlier this year (see June issue of *New Africa*).

There are at present only 9 trusteeship territories including the Pacific Islands under the U.S.—whereas there are 74 other areas which have been designated "non-self-governing territories" (the term itself has never been defined) thus coming within the scope of Article 73. Of these the United Kingdom has 43, France 16 (four of which were taken off the list this year), the United States 7, Netherlands 3, New Zealand 2, and Belgium, Australia and Denmark one each.

At the tremendous overflow rally in New York on September 11, called by the Progressive Citizens of America, the demand that the American government adopt a democratic policy in both domestic and foreign affairs was voiced by Dr. Kingdon, Henry Wallace, Lena Horne and Paul Robeson, shown here (l. to r.) chatting together during the meeting.

Last year's General Assembly meeting, despite the opposition of the colonial powers, voted to establish a special committee to examine the information submitted concerning the non-self-governing territories, with a view to aiding the General Assembly in its consideration of the information and in determining how best to utilize it. This decision represented a victory for those delegates who argued that the information reports should not be merely "filed and forgotten," but should serve as the basis for constructive U.N. action on behalf of the colonial millions.

The Preliminary Skirmish

The special committee met at Lake Success from August 28 to September 12 and prepared its report for the Assembly. The committee was composed of the colony-holding powers mentioned above and an equal number of non-colonial states elected by the General Assembly—Brazil, China, Cuba, Egypt, India, Philippines, the Soviet Union, and Uruguay.

Sharp differences of opinion arose between the representatives of the colonial powers and the elected delegates over the character of the information reports submitted and questions of future procedure. On some of these points of difference, however, the representatives of Brazil, China, Cuba and Uruguay either abstained or voted with the colony-holding powers.

Information reports were available for only 57 of the 74 non-self-governing territories and these reports varied markedly in form and substance. The Soviet delegate, Jacob Lamokin, called the attention of the committee to the general absence of information on such matters as the relative living standards of the indigenous and non-indigenous inhabitants of the colonies, electoral procedures, civil rights, discrimination, land tenure, corporal punishment, and tax and tariff structures.

Notwithstanding the excuses given by the representatives of the colonial powers for the incompleteness of data submitted, the committee was compelled to draw the conclusion that the "information transmitted up to this date does not draw a sufficiently clear picture of the living conditions of the peoples of the non-self-governing territories." Proposals were made for securing the submission of more uniform and complete reports in the future.

Disagreement on Political Information

At the first meeting of the committee the Philippine delegate, General Romulo, and the Soviet delegate criticized the failure of the colonial powers to give adequate information regarding the participation of peoples in the colonies in local self-government and their general political progress, and the failure to include this item in the agenda of the committee along with matters of education, health, labor and economic conditions. It was noted that the United Kingdom reports

(*Continued on next page*)

were completely void of such political information, whereas the United States reports had included such political data.

This same question arose again and again during the subsequent meeting of the committee. Representatives of the colonial powers insisted upon adherence to the literal wording of Article 73 (e) which calls for the submission of "statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to social, economic and educational conditions" in the non-self-governing territories. The Soviet, Indian, Egyptian and Chinese delegates, on the other hand, argued that Article 73 *as a whole* clearly implied that information on political progress was required and that, further, it was impossible to separate political factors from educational, economic and social conditions.

The committee finally voted that the transmission of political information should be regarded as optional but that it should be "duly noted and encouraged" by the General Assembly.

The strongest proposals with regard to this question and other functions of the U.N. in relation to non-self-governing territories were advanced by the Soviet representative. He recommended that a special questionnaire be prepared by the Secretary General following consultation with members of the committee in order to secure "fuller and more accurate information;" that the administering authorities should give "detailed data on the participation of the populations in the local organs of the administration;" that the Secretary General should transmit summaries of information from unoffical organizations and individual in the colonies together with the official governmental information; that U.N. representatives should make yearly on-the-spot-examinations of conditions in the colonies; and that the committee should examine petitions from local populations of the colonies, together with official information submitted.

None of these proposal secured the support of the majority of the committee, although in at least one instance the vote was as close as 5 to 6.

Criticism of Colonial Conditions

It fell to the Indian delegate, Dr. P. Pillai, and the Soviet delegate, Mr. Lamokin, to provide the committee with detailed information on such colonial matters as discrimination in educational expenditures and facilities and the inadequacy of educational service in Kenya and other territories; discrimination in wages; the deterioration of health because of malnutrition and other factors; discrimination in immigration regulations in East African colonies; the evils of labor migration; and the expropriation of land and resources in colonies by foreign monopolies.

Authorities such as Lord Hailey and various official documents were cited in substantiation of these charges. The Egyptian representative, Taha bey El-Sayed Nasr, joined in this criticism. These representatives pointed out that the information submitted by governments failed to give adequate data on these matters.

The representatives of the colonial powers at first attempted to bar discussion of the substance of the information and to hold the committee strictly to questions of procedure. When this failed, they argued that conditions in the colonies should be compared with conditions in independent countries in the same geographical area.

The delegate of the United Kingdom, Mr. Poyton, was most insistent on this matter, asserting that *"these territories are not backward because they are non-self-governing, but are colonial territories because they are backward."*

The British, French and Belgian delegates all gave instances of what their governments had done to promote the welfare of their colonial dependencies. They failed, however, to refute any of the specific points of criticism made by the Indian and Soviet representatives.

Proposals on Future Procedure

One of the most important positive recommendations of the committee to go before the General Assembly was initiated by the Indian representative.

After amendments by the U.S., Australia and Cuba, which detracted from its original effectiveness, the proposal, as approved, recommended that a special committee be constituted "to examine the information transmitted . . . on the economic, social and educational conditions in non-self-governing territories, and to submit reports thereon with recommendations as it may deem fit, and with such substantive recommendations as it may deem desirable relating to functional fields generally but not with respect to individual territories."

It was further recommended that the committee be composed of those states transmitting information for their colonies and an equal number of elective members. This is the composition of the committee originally established and also of the Trusteeship Council, and experience has demonstrated that the point of view of the colonial powers prevails in such an arrangement. Attempts to recommend a larger number of elective members on the committee were defeated.

It now remains for the General Assembly to consider and act on the proposals from its special committee. It is to be hoped that the Assembly's decisions will be truly liberal and in the interest of the colonial peoples.

Analysis of Information

The statistical tables which appear on other pages of this issue were compiled by the Council on African Affairs from the information reports transmitted by the United Kingdom government.

The tables, as a whole, reveal the incompleteness of the data presented for many of the territories. They also reveal clearly that the health and educational needs of the peoples in the areas dealt with are far from being satisfactorily met by government and are, indeed, shockingly neglected in many instances, particularly in the African territories.

The same conclusions may be drawn from the information transmitted by the other colonial powers. Analysis here presented has been confined to the British colonies, partly because they are the most numerous and partly because the statistical information presented is in general more uniform than for the colonies of the other powers.

Eighteen of the British colonies with largest population in Africa, the Caribbean and Asia have been used as the basis of this analysis of educational and health services. No information report has yet been submitted by the United Kingdom for Nigeria with its population of over 22 million and, therefore, it is not included in the analysis.

It is obvious, of course, that statistical tables of this type have their disadvantages. Expenditures for education and health, for example, may include varying items in different territories. And figures for total and school populations in most of the colonies are merely estimates or guesses. Further, the number of doctors or hospital beds should be supplemented by information as to their quality, distribution and accessibility to the population. Nevertheless, the tables *do show the general picture of educational and health needs in the colonial territories.*

Expenditures for education and health in Table I exclude expenditures for buildings and maintenance and for vocational education (unless indicated as government-aided) where such expenditures are separately listed. For comparative purposes, all sums of money have been converted to U.S. currency at present rates of exchange: £ Sterling=$4.00, $ Hongkong=$.25, $ Malay and Singapore=$.47½, $ Trinidad=$.83⅓.

ALL INFORMATION IN THE TABLES, UNLESS OTHERWISE INDICATED, IS FOR THE YEAR 1946. BLANK SPACES IN THE COLUMNS DENOTE THE ABSENCE OF INFORMATION IN THE REPORT FOR THAT TERRITORY.

Educational and Health Services in the British Colonies

TABLE I — EXPENDITURES

	Total Population	Total Expenditure of Government (in U.S. $)	Total Govt. Expenditure on Education (in U.S. $)	Total Govt. Expenditure on Health (in U.S. $)	% of Total Govt. Expenditure for Education	% of Total Govt. Expenditure for for Health
Barbados	195,398		$887,312	$456,560		
Basutoland	1,434 (E) 559,273 (A)		601,532	249,200[a]		
Bechuanaland	260,000 (A)[b]	$1,575,828	225,156[c]	242,704	14.3	15.4
Br. Guiana	381,324		1,315,360	1,401,455		
Br. Somaliland	700,000	2,306,520	51,580	257,128	2.2	11.1
Gambia	249,266	2,150,672	87,952	210,436	4.1	9.8
Gold Coast	3,571,176	26,830,892	3,540,800	2,138,428	13.2	8.0
Hong Kong	1,600,000	41,963,394	1,555,216	1,951,919	3.7	4.7
Jamaica	1,314,028	30,454,448	3,971,372	3,183,980	13.0	10.5
Kenya	21,020 (Ar.) 23,284 (E) 78,588 (I) 3,920,000 (A)[d]		36,920 (Ar.) 680,820 (E) 388,752 (I) 628,480 (A)[e]	1,926,588		
Malaya	5,000,000	73,449,250	[h]	4,505,977		6.1
Mauritius	428,273	13,076,326	739,647	821,261	5.7	6.3
N. Rhodesia	21,919 (E) 1,658,807 (A)[f]	11,595,152	352,132 (E) 819,268 (A)	810,516	3.0 (E) 7.1 (A)	7.0
Nyasaland	2,230,955	4,825,944	408,600	402,568	8.5	8.3
Sierra Leone	1,768,480[g]	7,333,928	408,136	657,464	5.6	9.0
Singapore	948,303	23,042,936	1,693,454	2,409,470	7.3	10.5
Trinidad	558,605	132,083,476	1,872,049		1.4	
Uganda	3,997,690	13,592,000	1,335,340	1,800,176	9.8	13.2

Footnotes for Table I

Ar.—Arabs, E—Europeans, I—Indians, A—Africans.

a Includes expenditures for sanitation and water supplies.

b No population figures given in information report.

c Of which $84,808 was estimated as expenditures of Native Treasuries.

d There are also 5,993 Goans and 21,020 Arabs.

e In addition, there was an "administrative and general" expenditure of $135,992.

f There are also 1,119 Asiatic and 789 "Colored."

g 1931 Census.

h Report on expenditure for education covers only 9 months of 1946.

We Won't Do Anything About Discrimination, South African Government Tells U. N.

Through its Chairman, Paul Robeson, the Council on African Affairs sharply assailed the report of the South African Government to the United Nations, released on September 15, refusing to abolish legal racial discrimination in that country and acknowledging that "no progress has been made in the settlement of the dispute" between the governments of South Africa and India in pursuance of the resolution adopted by the General Assembly last year based on the complaint of the government of India.

"The South African Government's statement speaks open defiance of the United Nations," said Paul Robeson, "since it condemns and refuses to abide by the decision of the members of the United Nations arrived at last year after prolonged and careful consideration. The statement attempts to revive once more all the arguments which were debated at length and voted down at that session of the Assembly. Those arguments, summarized, amount to the rejection of the right of the United Nations to intervene in settling an international dispute arising from the South African government's policy of maintaining white supremacy."

Continuing, the Chairman of the Council on African Affairs stated, "The South African Government hides behind the charges that the UN Charter is neither explicit nor binding in its provisions concerning the guarantee of 'human rights and fundamental freedoms' to all people 'without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion,' and that other nations also practice discrimination in various forms.

"It is for these very reasons," he said, "that the case against the Union of South Africa should be pressed by the United Nations as a clear demonstration to the peoples of America, Africa and the world that the Charter's provisions regarding racial equality are NOT mere empty idealistic expressions which can be ignored and violated with immunity by members of the organization."

TABLE II — EDUCATION

	Govt. Expenditure per head of total population (in U.S. $)	Average annual attendance in Govt. or Govt.-aided primary schools.	Govt. estimate of % of primary pupils to total school-age population.	% of primary pupils in relation to total population.	Govt. estimate of % of literacy.	Average annual attendance in Govt. or Govt.-aided post-primary and vocational schools.	% of secondary and vocational pupils in relation to primary pupils.
Barbados	$ 4.54	21,375[a]	62.8	10.9		2,597[a]	12.1
Basutoland	1.08	63,416[a]	75.	11.3	45.0	914[a]	1.4
Bechuanaland	.87						
Br. Guiana	3.45	47,756	66.4	12.5		3,291[b]	6.9
Br. Somaliland	.07	77	.5	.011	0.0014	none	none
Gambia	.35	2,126[a]	.9[c]	0.85		393[a]	18.5
Gold Coast	.99	71,603		2.0		1,716	2.4
Hong Kong	.97	30,306[b]	57.	1.9		6,035[b]	19.9
Jamaica	3.02	133,175	76.	10.1	74.4		
Kenya[g]	1.76 (Ar.) 29.24 (E) 4.95 (I) .16 (A)	573 (Ar.) 3,182 (E) 12,848 (I) 175,000 (A)[a]	20. (Ar.)[d] 100. (E) 100. (I)[e] 35. (A)[f]	2.7 (Ar.) 13.7 (E) 16.3 (I) 4.5 (A)		[g]	
Malaya		385,696[h]	29.[i]	7.7	28.[i]	7,594[h]	2.0
Mauritius	1.74	27,557	53.8	6.4		1,914	6.9
N. Rhodesia	16.07 (E) .49 (A)	2,306 (E) 108,881 (A)[a]	58. [k]	10.5 (E) 6.6 (A)		330 (E) 98 (A)[a]	14.3(E) .09 (A)
Nyasaland	.18	155,125 (A)[a]		7.0		76 (A)[a]	.049
Sierra Leone	.23	15,536	4. [l]	.88	5. [m]	1,865	12.0
Singapore	1.75	65,325[a]	55.	6.9		6,644[a]	10.0
Trinidad[g]	3.35	67,469	72.	12.1	54.2[n]	[g]	
Uganda	.33	92,851 (A)[a]	15.(A)	2.3		3,345 (A)[a]	3.6
England (1938)[o]	***8.55[p]***	***18,174,668[s]***	***84.2***	***13.5***		***6,387,805[t]***	***35.1[t]***
United States (1942)	***17.25[r]***	***4,204,223***		***10.9***		***425,618[t]***	***10.1[t]***

Footnotes for Table II

[a] No break-down of students in government aided and non-aided schools. Students in the latter schools, where separately listed, are not included in this analysis because such schools in most cases do not measure up to even the lowest standards of primary educational instruction.

[b] No average attendance figures given. Such figures give the only true picture of actual attendance and have been used in this analysis whenever available instead of total enrollment figures. In colonies and other agricultural areas school attendance is very irregular because of poverty, sickness, seasonal employment and other factors.

[c] For the Protectorate, 92% of population. Estimate for Bathurst, 8% of population, is 60%.

[d] For male, 5% for female.

[e] For male, 70% for female.

[f] For male, 15% for female.

[g] No break-down of students in primary and post-primary schools or in government-aided and non-aided schools (see footnote *a* above).

[h] No average attendance given and no break-down of government-aided and non-aided students (see footnotes *a* and *b* above).

[i] For Malayans, almost half of population. Estimate for Chinese is 39%; Indians, 45%.

[i] For Malayan male popultion. Male Chinese 43%; male Indians, 34%.

[k] For male, 30% for female.

[l] For the Protectorate. Estimate for the Colony, less than one-tenth of area, is 55%.

[m] For the Protectorate. Estimate for Colony is 30%.

[n] In 1931.

[o] Source: Cmd. 6013: Report of Board of Education, 1938-1939.

[p] In 1938, population was 38,700,000 and expenditure £67,645, 598 (1£=$4.89.)

[q] Source: U.S. Dept. of Commerce, 1946.

[r] In1942, population was 134,664,924 and total expenditure for education was $2,322,698,-000. There is a varying difference in expenditures for Negroes and whites, per pupil, in the 17 southern states and District of Columbia, where separate school systems are maintained; in 1941-2 Alabama spent $31.87 per white student for instruction and $12.15 per Negro student; Mississippi spent $26.04 per white, $6.25 per Negro.

[s] Total enrollment. Average attendance of primary and secondary students combined was 85.6 per cent.

[t] Vocational students not included.

TABLE III — HEALTH

	Govt. expend. per head of population (in U.S. $)	Infant mortality rate per 1000	Death rate per 1000	Number of inhabitants for each doctor	Number of hospital beds per 1000 of population
Barbados	$2.34	157.	16.8	4,348	1.5
Basutoland	.45	[a]	[a]	33,333	0.6
Bechuanaland	.93			177,170	1.
Br. Guiana	3.68	94.	15.4	4,700	10.
Br. Somaliland	.37			65,444	0.8
Gambia	.84	103.4	22.8	25,000	0.07
Gold Coast	.60	109.8	26.1	50,000	0.4
Hong Kong	1.22	109.	14.2	3,570	2.5
Jamaica	2.42	89.3	13.3	5,519	2.2
Kenya	.48	[b]	[b]	17,856	1.
Malaya	.90	92.		16,557	4.4
Mauritius	1.92	145.2	29.5	6,000	3.
N. Rhodesia	.48	[c]	[c]	33,333	1.5
Nyasaland	.18	[d]	[d]	20,000	0.8
Sierra Leone	.37	208. [e]		38,000	0.4
Singapore	2.54	89.7	16.1	5,000	2.5
Trinidad		78.5	13.8		
Uganda	.45	109.6[f]	19.6[f]	20,000	0.7
England and Wales (1943-44)	***7.90***[g]	***45.***	***11.6***	***939***[k]	
United States (1944)	***6.49***[g]	***total 39.8*** ***white 36.9*** ***non-white 60.3***	***total 10.6*** ***white 10.4*** ***non-white 12.4***	***white 728***[i] ***Negro 3,750***[i]	***12.5***[m]

Footnotes for Table III

[a] "No record." [b] "No vital statistics available. [c] Vital statistics given for Europeans only. [d] Figures given for Europeans and Asians. "Vital statistics in respect of Africans not available." [e] For Freetown only.

[f] In 1945.

[g] Population was 39,111,000. Total expenditure for health (including sewerage, refuse removal, and similar services) was £77,248,-534. Source: British Inf. Service.

[h] In 1944, population was 138,083,449 and total expenditure for health (exclusive of incidental health expenditures relating to army, navy, education and other functions) was $906,000,000.

[i] White doctors (172,000) in proportion to total white population and Negro doctors (4,000) in proportion to Negro population in 1947.

[m] 1,729,945 beds in hospitals registered with the American Medical Asso.

[k] Based on total of 41,629 registered doctors. Source: British Inf. Service.

Nigerian Delegation Turned Down at Colonial Office

On August 13th, the delegation of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons under the leadership of Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe visited the Colonial Office to discuss with the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Arthur Creech Jones, the memorandum which they had previously laid before him recommending amendments in the Nigerian Constitution and raising certain other matters. If this delegation was received with perhaps a little more show of grace and courtesy than has been extended to some delegations from West Africa within recent years, the result of their mission was nonetheless equally unsuccessful.

Mr. Creech Jones made it clear that it was the intention of the Government to give the constitution which was introduced in 1945 a fair trial and that there was no question of changes being made until experience had shown what was required in the way of amendments. He considered the constitution flexible and adaptable. The government, Mr. Creech Jones emphasized, intended to do all in their power to assist the political, economic and social progress of Nigeria. He strongly urged the delegation to cooperate in this great task.

In regard to some of the other points raised in the memorandum and in the discussion, the Secretary of State informed the the delegation that these would require study and that he hoped to give a reply as soon as possible.

Following the unsatisfactory conference, the delegation took its appeal directly to the British people at meetings in Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, Cardiff, Edinburgh and Glasgow.

The attitude of the Labor Government towards the claim of Nigeria for a more democratic constitution once more demonstrates the identity of views which exists between them and the Tory opposition in imperial matters. Apart from the unrepresentative character of the Legislative Council of Nigeria, there are other features of the constitution which are, to say the least, oppressive.

Take, for example, the subject of local taxation. The Government of Nigeria fixed the contribution of Native Authorities to the central revenue from direct tax at the amounts paid in by them during the year 1943-44. The remainder and the whole of any additional proceeds from any increase in the direct tax was to be retained by the Native Authorities themselves. It was claimed that the Native Authorities would thereby be encouraged "to adopt progressive policies." In actual fact this arrangement has led the Native Authorities to extort as much taxation as possible from their people.

Mrs. Funimilays Ransome-Kuti, a member of the Nigerian Delegation, writing in the London *Daily Worker,* has recently exposed some of the abominable practices resorted to in the collection of taxes. She states: "In Abeokuta and Ijebu Provinces of Western Nigeria . . . poll-tax and income-tax are forcibly demanded of women . . . Young girls are sometimes stripped naked in the streets by the men officially designated collectors in order to ascertain whether they are mature enough to pay tax or not."

Evidently the government intends to give this system of taxation—and the reprehensible practices which result from it—a "fair trial" before experience shows what amendments are needed.

DESMOND BUCKLE, *London.*

The Council on African Affairs Calls Upon The General Assembly of The United Nations

—to condemn the South African Government for its failure to place the mandate territory of South West Africa under U.N. trusteeship, and to reiterate the request that this be done forthwith.

—to launch a U.N. investigation into the general denial of human rights to non-white peoples in the Union of South Africa, in view of the failure of the South African Government to seek a solution of the dispute regarding discrimination against Indians in that country, in accordance with the resolution adopted by the General Assembly last year.

—to give maximum implementation to the provisions of the U.N. Charter pertaining to colonial and minority peoples.

—to recommend immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from Palestine, Indonesia, Egypt and the Sudan, and all other non enemy areas where they remain against the will of the inhabitants, and to seek settlement of the problems of these areas through the United Nations, acting in the interest of the inhabitants of the areas concerned.

We urge all American citizens to make known their support of these proposals by writing to the U.N. Secretary-General, Mr. Trygve Lie, and to members of the U.S. Delegation to the U.N., Lake Success, N. Y.

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for September, 1947

ERRATUM

In TABLE II — EDUCATION, the last two lines for England and the United States should read:

England						
(1938)°	***8.55[p]***	***4,204,223***		***10.9***	***425,618[†]***	***10.1[†]***
United States						
(1942)	***17.25[r]***	***18,174,668[s]***	***84.2***	***13.5***	***6,387,805[†]***	***35.1[†]***

From: Division of Public Liaison, December 16, 1947
Department of State,
Washington 25, D. C.

REPORT TO ORGANIZATIONS
on the
UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON WORLD TRADE AND EMPLOYMENT
at Havana, Cuba

Over a thousand delegates from sixty-three countries were present for the opening sessions of the World Conference on Trade and Employment called by the United Nations at Havana, Cuba, on November 21. Conferees estimated that the nations present carry on from 90 to 95 per cent of all international trade.

Conference Organization

The conference was greeted on the opening day by the President of Cuba, Ramon Gra San Martin, with other statements of welcome by Assistant Secretary-General Cohen of the United Nations, M. Max Suetens of Belgium who had served at Geneva as President of the Preparatory Committee for the Conference and by representatives of the International Monetary Fund and the International Labor Organization. At the second plenary meeting on November 22, Sergio Clark of Cuba was elected President of the conference and M. Max Suetens of Belgium, first vice-president. Six other vice-presidents representing India, Egypt, New Zealand, Switzerland, Costa Rica, and Czechoslovakia were also elected. Six working committees of the conference have been set up: Committee I dealing with Employment and Economic Activity; Committee II on Economic Development; Committee III on General Commercial Policy; Committee IV dealing with Restrictive Business Practices; Committee V on Inter-Governmental Commodity Agreements; and Committee VI dealing with Organization.

A steering committee for the conference composed of eighteen members includes officers of the conference, chairmen of the committees, and representatives of China, France, the United Kingdom and the United States.

Voting

The conference on December 1 adopted two proposals on conference voting submitted by President Sergio I. Clark (Cuba). It was agreed that decisions of the Conference and its committees should be taken without recourse to a vote whenever possible. Should a vote prove necessary, only UN member states would have the right to cast ballots, the ruling established by the Economic and Social Council.

General Debate

The conference opened with a general debate on the draft Charter which was adopted on August 22 by the eighteen countries of the Preparatory Committee on Trade and Employment of the UN which had met in Geneva, Switzerland, during the spring and summer months. Forty-five countries and three non-governmental

organizations took part in the general debate.

Delegates emphasized that the Charter being considered in Havana must be a code of conduct to govern the commercial relationship of the nations of the world whatever their differing economic and political internal structures. Many of the countries emphasized the necessity of lowering tariff barriers and reducing other restrictions on the flow of trade. It was generally agreed that the constructive work done in preparing a preliminary draft Charter would facilitate the effective achievement of a final draft Charter in Havana.

The main concern of a majority of countries has been the problem of economic development, the argument of many undeveloped nations being that the present draft of the Charter "grants benefits only to the economically strong countries and requires disproportionate obligations from the underdeveloped nations". It is argued that some of the commercial policy provisions of the Charter which deal with tariffs, quotas, preferences, and so on provide greater benefits to highly developed nations, such as the United States, and influence negatively the underdeveloped countries. Some countries stated that the Charter should not in any way prevent underdeveloped nations from establishing new industries. There were frequent references to the scarcity of dollars throughout the world and the serious problems such shortages posed in economic recovery activities.

Work of Committees

General debate in plenary session was completed on December 3. Since then meetings of the various committees have been proceeding both for general discussion and for consideration of the many amendments to the Charter submitted by various countries. The deadline for submitting proposed amendments was December 6.

Committee I - Employment and Economic Activity

This committee deals with Chapter II of the ITO draft Charter and its chairman is Mr. J. J. Dedman of Australia. In the general discussion which proceeded for several days the following nations spoke: U. S., Australia, Italy, New Zealand, France, Mexico, Dominican Republic, Cuba, Haiti, Argentina, Uruguay, United Kingdom and Turkey. Several countries expressed agreement with the Chapter as drafted in Geneva while others expressed some concern on such questions as the stability of the United States economy and its willingness both to accept imports and increase long-term foreign investment. Considerable discussion proceeded on the question of possible provisions concerning migratory labor between nations. Almost all speakers in the general discussion emphasized the importance of this Chapter to the Charter.

Committee II - Economic Development

This committee deals with Chapter III of the draft Charter and

has as chairman Ramon Beteta of Mexico.

There was considerable discussion in this committee on procedural problems and on the use of Spanish as a working language. Certain members agreed that a footnote to Chapter III seems to equate the term "economic development" with the term "reconstruction", and various measures were proposed to handle the question. Various delegates stressed the importance of economic development in relation to the problems facing under-developed countries and the contribution to the world economy of any progress they made. Two practical ways of promoting economic development through international cooperation were advanced; one, by means of giving to countries both needed financial help and technical advice on the best exploitation of their resources, and two, by encouraging investments on a bilateral and possibly multilateral basis, keeping in mind the necessity of avoiding double taxation.

Committee III - General Commercial Policy

Under the chairmanship of Dana Wilgress of Canada, this committee deals with Chapter IV of the Charter. Debate proceeded on the possibility of raising tariffs and establishing new preference systems by underdeveloped countries as a means of stimulating economic development. Another view, advanced by a representative of a hard currency country, was that today hard currency countries are isolated and some provision must be made for them. The spokesman for the so-called underdeveloped countries repeated views expressed at the opening plenary sessions on the possible handicap to them of specific commercial policy items in this chapter.

Committee IV - Restrictive Business Practices

This committee, concerned with Chapter V of the Charter, has as chairman Mr. Charlone of Uruguay. The general discussion of Chapter V revealed considerable agreement with its basic approach. There was some concern, voice by a Latin American delegate, over inclusion of publicly-owned firms within the provisions of this Chapter.

Committee V - Inter-Governmental Commodity Agreements

This committee, dealing with Chapter VI of the Charter is chaired by George Hakim of Lebanon. Strong statements were made by various delegates in support of this Chapter. Some questions were raised regarding commodities covered by this chapter, relations between FAO and ITO, the selling of primary agricultural products in a controlled market while buying manufactured goods in a free market, and the meaning of the term "efficient producer" used in this Chapter.

Committee VI - Organization

Erik Colban of Norway is chairman of this committee. The only

major issue yet discussed in this committee has been on the pros and cons of any separate customs territory being permitted to adhere to the ITO Charter without any reference to the competent metropolitan governments.

United States Delegation

The United States delegation to the Havana meeting is as follows:

Chairman: William L. Clayton,
Adviser to the Secretary of State.

Vice Chairman: Clair Wilcox, Director,
Office of International Trade Policy,
Department of State.

Delegates:

Jere Cooper,
United States House of Representatives,

James Grove Fulton,
United States House of Representatives.

Harry C. Hawkins,
Minister-Counselor for Economic Affairs,
American Embassy,
London, England.

Herbert W. Parisius,
Director, Areas Branch,
Office of International Trade,
Department of Commerce.

A. Willis Robertson,
United States Senate.

Oscar B. Ryder, Chairman,
United States Tariff Commission.

George Bronz,
Special Assistant to the General Counsel,
Treasury Department.

Leroy D. Stinebower,
Deputy United States Representative to the
United Nations Economic and Social Council.

Alternate Delegates:

Edgar B. Brossard, Commissioner,
United States Tariff Commission.

John W. Evans,
Trade Barriers Policy Adviser,
Department of Commerce.

Morris Fields, Chief,
Commercial Policy Section,
Office of International Finance,
Treasury Department.

National Security Adviser:

Harold H. Neff,
Special Assistant to the Secretary of the Army,
Department of National Defense.

Political Adviser:

Albert F. Nufer,
American Ambassador,
San Salvador.

Labor Adviser:

John H. G. Pierson,
Special Assistant to the Under Secretary of Labor,
Department of Labor.

Legal Adviser:

Seymour J. Rubin,
Assistant Legal Adviser for Economic Affairs,
Department of State.

Agricultural Adviser:

Robert B. Schwenger,
Special Assistant to the Director,
Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations,
Department of Agriculture.

Non-Governmental Advisers:

John Abbink, Past-Chairman,
National Foreign Trade Council, Inc.

Kenzie S. Bagshaw, Chairman,
Executive Committee,
National Grange.

H. W. Balgooyen, Member,
Adivsory Group, International
Economic Relations Committee,
National Association of Manufacturers.

Homer L. Brinkley, Secretary-Manager,
American Rice Growers Cooperative Association,
National Council of Farmers Cooperatives.

John Brophy, Director,
Industrial Union Councils,
Congress of Industrial Organizations.

John Dickey, President,
Dartmouth College.

Elvin H. Killheffer, Member,
Foreign Commerce Department Committee,
United States Chamber of Commerce.

Lee Minton, President,
Glass Bottle Blowers Association,
American Federation of Labor.

Mildred Northrup,
Associate Professor of Economics,
Bryn Mawr College.

James G. Patton, President,
National Farmers Union.

Wilbert Ward, Past-President,
Bankers Association for Foreign Trade.

H. L. Wingate, President,
Georgia Farm Bureau,
American Farm Bureau Federation.

Technical Advisers:

Honore M. Catudal, Adviser,
Division of Commercial Policy,
Department of State.

Hubert F. Havlik, Acting Chief,
Division of Investment and Economic Development,
Department of State.

Edmund H. Kellogg, Specialist,
Division of International Organization Affairs,
Department of State.

Donald D. Kennedy, Chief,
International Resources, Division,
Department of State.

John M. Leddy, Adviser,
Division of Commercial Policy,
Department of State.

Robert P. Terrill, Associate Chief,
International Resources Division,
Department of State.

Oscar Zaglitts, Acting Head,
Foreign Agricultural Policies Division,
Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations,
Department of Agriculture.

Liaison Officer:

Morris N. Hughes, First Secretary,
American Embassy,
Habana.

Press Officer:

Roger W. Tubby,
Office of Special Assistant to the Secretary
For Press Relations,
Department of State.

Public Relations Officer:

Eleanor E. Dennison, Executive Secretary,
Executive Committee on Economic Foreign Policy,
Department of State.

Technical Secretary:

J. Robert Schaetzel,
Special Assistant to the Director,
Office of International Trade Policy,
Department of State.

Executive Secretary:

Basil Capella,
Division of International Conferences,
Department of State.

Speaking in the opening days of the conference, Will Clayton, Chairman of the U. S. Delegation, voiced the hopes of the American Delegation when he said:

"There will, of course, be differences of opinion among the many nations represented here. Suggestions for changes will be made, and some of them adopted. However, I believe that this Conference will reach agreement on the Trade Charter in substantially its present form.

"....the objectives of the Charter have been widely approved in the United States by many of our newspapers, by leading members of both major political parties, as well as by important labor, business and farm groups and individuals. This is not surprising. Thoughtful people everywhere realize that economic warfare and unemployment and hunger are as dangerous to the peace of the world as military aggression. We must, therefore, agree to work for the establishment and maintenance of world-wide economic order and high levels of production and employment. This we shall try to do at Havana."

From: Division of Public Liaison
Department of State
Washington 25, D.C.

February 6, 1948

REPORT TO ORGANIZATIONS
on
UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON WORLD TRADE AND EMPLOYMENT
at Habana, Cuba.

This is an interim report on developments at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Employment at Habana, Cuba, where representatives of approximately 60 countries, carrying on from 90 to 95 per cent of all international trade have been meeting since November 21, 1947. The purpose of the Conference is to agree on a charter for an International Trade Organization as a specialized agency of the United Nations. The Charter will be presented to the governments of the participating countries for ratification. It is to embody principles and standards for the conduct of international economic relations in fields relating to trade, employment, international investment, and economic development.

The basic working document of the Conference is the Draft Charter, approved at Geneva on August 20, 1947 by a Preparatory Committee of eighteen nations set up by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.

Because of the highly technical aspects of the Charter, covering many substantive questions each of which might in itself be the basis of an international conference, and because almost two-thirds of the countries present have not participated in earlier international discussions on the proposed Charter, the Habana conference has been characterized by thorough and extensive discussion of every aspect of the proposed ITO.

In view of the United Nations Economic and Social Council meeting at Lake Success, a special plenary session of the Habana meeting was called on February 5 to adopt a resolution for presentation at this session of ECOSOC. The resolution recommends that ECOSOC undertake investigations and studies regarding maintenance of full employment; study and recommend appropriate action covering international aspects of population problems as they relate to employment, production and demand; and with other agencies consider the problems of temporary or seasonal migration of workers.

Various divisions of subject matter contained in the Draft Charter have been considered and modified at Habana by six main committees, each of which has established subcommittees and working parties to deal with specific problems and questions.

Agreement on a very large proportion of the Charter has been reached at the subcommittee and main committee levels. The

document being developed at Habana will represent compromises between widely divergent views of different national delegations on important questions. These compromises have been reached through long-drawn-out study, extensive debate, and cooperative effort in hundreds of meetings of subcommittees and main committees.

Principal Issues Being Discussed

The Chairmen of the six main committees, in a report to the General Committee in mid-January, revealed that of the one hundred articles in the Geneva Draft Charter, forty had been agreed upon by the main committees or subcommittees and substantial agreement on an additional forty was in sight. Outstanding and unresolved were seven principal issues involving remaining articles of the Geneva Draft.

They were: (1) Is a member country which wants to use quantitative restrictions for economic development, such as quotas to be required to obtain prior ITO approval for their use?

(2) What limitations should be placed on a member's freedom to enter into new preferential arrangements?

(3) What should be the composition of the Executive Board of the ITO? Should it have permanent seats for the chief economic powers?

(4) What should be the composition and function of the Tariff Committee of the ITO? Is it to determine whether an ITO member has failed to carry out its obligations to negotiate for the reduction of trade barriers, and is there to be a right of appeal against Tariff Committee decisions on such matters?

(5) To what extent should recourse to the International Court of Justice from ITO decisions be permitted?

(6) What rules should be established to govern relations between ITO members and non-members?

(7) Should an Economic Development Committee, which would deal with the special problems of underdeveloped countries, be established under the ITO?

Reviewed below are some of the questions discussed in the six Committees.

Committee I - Employment and Economic Activity

This Committee has been dealing with Chapter II of the ITO Charter. This Chapter as approved by the members of the

Committee involves the first international recognition of the relation between domestic stabilization policies and international trade policies. It recognizes the relation between domestic labor standards and competitive situations in international trade and envisages the first commitment on the part of governments to maintain domestic employment and domestic labor standards in the interest of maintaining improved relationships in international trade.

Committee II - Economic Development

Agreement has been reached on articles 9 through 12 on development and investment. The question of international investment for economic development in article 12, Chapter II, posed very real obstacles at the beginning of the Habana meeting. Agreement, however, has been reached on a draft which provides that the members of ITO recognize that international investment, both public and private, can be of great value in promoting economic and consequent social progress; and that the international flow of capital will be stimulated according to the extent that members afford nationals of other countries opportunities for investment and security of capital. Members have the right to take any appropriate safeguards to ensure that foreign investment not be used to interfere with internal affairs or national policies; at the same time they are committed to undertake to provide reasonable opportunities and adequate security for foreign investments suitable to them; to give due regard to avoiding discrimination as between foreign investments; and without prejudice to existing international agreements to which members are parties, to enter into mutually acceptable consultation or negotiations, upon the request of any member, directed toward encouraging capital investment for economic development with adequate security and safeguards.

A proposal has been advanced that an Economic Development Committee be set up under the aegis of the ITO has involved considerable debate. Questions have been raised on: How such a committee should be composed, whether of technical or political experts; what the place of such a Committee would be within the ITO organization; what relation it might have to other United Nations groups concerned with economic development questions.

Committee III - Commercial Policy

Agreement has been reached on most of Chapter IV, and over fifty countries are agreed on technical articles on such subjects as anti-dumping and countervailing duties, valuation for customs purposes, marks of origin, statistics and trade terminology, formalities concerned with imports and exports and publication and administration of trade regulations. On the question of freedom of transit of goods through a foreign country, maritime nations are authorized to grant special

transport facilities to landlocked nations without thereby incurring the obligation to grant similar facilities to non-landlocked nations under the most-favored-nation principle. This major agreement on the technical articles represents a monumental advance since the Preparatory Commission meeting in London in the winter of 1946 when the eighteen countries present thought that agreement on those articles was impossible.

One of the questions before the Conference has been an amendment that those nations not in balance of payments difficulties should be free to invoke quantitative restrictions on imports and exports when their domestic economy seemed likely to be threatened by an excess of either. While this amendment has been voted down in committee consideration, an effort is being made to see how this situation can be appropriately met within the framework of the Charter.

Committee IV - Restrictive Business Practices

The Committee has completed work on Chapter V, which represents the first approach ever made in an international instrument toward international action with respect to restrictive business practices. Member nations agree, in effect, to take domestic action designed to prevent practices harmful to international trade whenever such actions restrict production or trade, or otherwise interfere with the basic objectives of ITO. Cases in point are abuses of patents, trade-marks, and copyrights.

Committee V - Inter-Governmental Commodity Agreements

Work has been substantially completed on Chapter VI of the Charter and represents the first international agreement among so many countries on the general principles of commodity policy. Discussion of this committee revolved around two basic considerations: first, that the action taken by any one government to correct maladjustments in respect to one or more commodities should not adversely affect the interests of other nations; and, secondly, that action taken jointly by governments in the interest of producers should not adversely affect the interests of consumers. This chapter recognizes the power possessed by governments to enter into agreements affecting primary commodities, but establishes the two safeguards mentioned above.

Committee VI - ITO Interim Commission

Following the end of the Habana Conference, it is proposed that an Interim Commission be set up to carry on from the end of the conference until the ITO Charter has received sufficient ratifications by national governments to hold its first

international conference. It is to develop a provisional agenda and make the necessary arrangements for the first meeting of the ITO. All members of the Habana conference signing the Final Act of the conference are eligible to membership on the Interim Commission which then chooses an Executive Board of eighteen members, and elects an Executive Secretary.

Some nations have argued that the Interim Commission with a Secretariat of around twenty be housed at Lake Success, in order to take advantage of easy access to the United Nations Department of Economic Affairs as well as other United Nations departments and certain specialized agencies such as the FAO and International Monetary Fund.

Other nations have argued that the Secretariat be housed in Geneva because of dollar shortages of many countries. David Owen, Assistant Secretary General for Economic Affairs of the United Nations speaking in Habana on February 4, suggested that meetings of the Interim Commission could be held either in New York or Geneva, but also indicated that it might be easier and more advantageous to place the Secretariat at Lake Success.

37-United Nations

THE STRUGGLE FOR LASTING PEACE

A RECORD OF UNITED NATIONS ACHIEVEMENTS BY

TRYGVE LIE

Introduction to the THIRD ANNUAL REPORT to the General Assembly of the United Nations by the Secretary General 5 July 1948

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Accomplishments

of the

United Nations

ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Foreword

In April, 1945, the United Nations charter was signed. The organization itself has been in existence only three years. In spite of political disagreements and threats of war, the organization through commissions and agencies (some of them in existence only a few months) has piled up a record of steady achievement. We do not attempt to list them all here. We do list some which may not make headlines but do affect the building of a peaceful world.

World Health Organization (W.H.O.)

1. Checked cholera epidemic in Egypt in the fall of 1947, assembling seven tons of anti-cholera vaccine and other medical supplies from fifteen countries. The epidemic was confined to Egypt and there brought under control in two months.

2. Reduced malaria in some sections of Greece from an incidence of 95% to 5%, due to extensive DDT anti-mosquito campaign.

3. Will test 50,000,000 European children for tuberculosis this year, and vaccinate 15,000,000 against the disease. (This will be administered by the Danish Red Cross under the advice and with the assistance of the W. H. O.)

4. Has awarded fellowships for study to 193 health specialists from nine countries.

5. Has missions carrying on special field service in China, Italy, Ethiopia, Greece, Poland, Austria, Hungary. (This through funds turned over to it from UNNRA.)

6. Is giving top priority to programs for prevention of malaria, tuberculosis, venereal diseases, and is promoting maternal and child health.

United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)

1. Conducted a campaign in 1947 for rebuilding educational systems in devastated areas. (In the United States alone, $100,000,000 was raised in money and supplies.) The campaign will continue in 1948.

2. Has provided books, materials, scientific equipment for laboratories, musical instruments, and fellowship and training scholarships for teachers and students.

3. Has prepared "pilot projects" in latest techniques for mass attacks on illiteracy for Haiti, China, and British East Africa.

4. Is establishing four offices for scientific cooperation in the Middle East, the Far East, India and Latin America.

5. Is prepared to send out educational missions for advice to any government which requests it.

International Refugee Organization (I.R.O.)

1. Is providing food, clothing and shelter for 656,831 displaced persons.

2. Has helped 100,000 displaced persons find new homes.

3. Is seeking resettlement for 850,000 displaced persons and refugees.

International Civil Aviation Organization (I.C.A.O.)

1. Rescued 69 persons from "Bermuda Sky Queen" forced down in the Atlantic as part of the routine work of an ICAO weather and rescue station in the North Atlantic.

2. Has started work on international standards on airworthiness of craft and personnel licensing.

Food and Agriculture Organization (F.A.O.)

1. Has sent agricultural experts to:
   - Siam to boost rice production.
   - Venezuela to increase production of vegetable oil.
   - The Middle East to teach modern farming methods.
   - The Near East to begin work on irrigation and draining projects.
   - Peru to establish refrigeration facilities for its fishing industries.
   - Iran, Czechoslovakia, and China for agricultural aids.
   - Poland for increasing soil fertility and the supply of dairy cattle.
   - Greece to establish a program for rehabilitating and developing agricultural land, water potentialities and related industries.

2. Is preparing a report to boost food production.

3. Has sent supplies of hybrid seed corn to experimental farm schools in Europe.

4. Has organized schools to help technical agricultural experts to "catch up" with agricultural advances made during the last few years.

5. Has held international meeting on control of insects, rats and infestation by fungi in stored foods. (Recommendations sent to U. N. member nations. Will help establish control programs on request by member nations.)

6. Is forming Rice Council for Southeast Asia after having held meetings in India and in the Philippines on rice production.

7. Has held meeting in Cairo in spring of 1948 to draw up plans for small, quick, economical irrigation developments so that food production can be made more certain and adequate.

8. Is arranging regional conference at Cairo.

9. Is studying regional organization for Latin America.

International Trade Organization (I.T.O.)

1. Held organizing conference at Havana where fifty-three nations accepted the charter defining trading and commercial practice.

The Economic and Social Council

This agency supervises and coordinates the programs of a number of commissions and other bodies, such as:

1. International Children's Emergency Fund

feeding 3,000,000 children and nursing and expectant mothers in Europe

planning to extend its program through additional sum authorized by U. S. Congress, and with the help of some of the money raised through the United Nations Appeal for Children now being carried on in forty countries

2. Advisory Social Welfare Services, first begun by UNRRA, which

has sent 24 consultants to 9 countries to re-establish social welfare services

has granted fellowships to 109 top social workers from 12 countries

3. Narcotic Drugs Commission which

is furthering a remarkably effective international narcotic drug control system

exerted gentle pressure at its 1947 meeting which succeeded in curbing the smuggling of opium from Mexico to the U. S.

4. Commission on Human Rights which

has drafted an International Declaration of Rights to go to 58 member governments for comment and then to the General Assembly

has also drafted a Convention stating certain rights which will be binding upon the states ratifying it.

5. Economic Commission for Europe which

has broken bottlenecks, choking European production through (a) efficient truck and railroad transportation; (b) allocation of steel and coal supplies, and (c) export planning and co-operation.

The Trusteeship Council

1. Has received and considered carefully petitions from natives of a number of trust areas.

2. Has nine territories now under its supervision.

The Security Council

Has dealt with over a dozen political disputes and "situations" affecting international peace, such as:

1. Russian troops in Iran.

2. British and French troops in Syria and Lebanon.

3. Franco Spain as a threat to the peace.

4. Disputes between Greece and her three northern neighbors.

5. Fighting between Dutch and Republicans in Indonesia. It succeeded in effecting a truce

6. India-Pakistan dispute.

The General Assembly

Functioned as the world's chief forum and policy-making body

1. Considering questions ranging all the way from disarmament to a proposal for the translation of the classics, from the future of refugees and millions of dependent peoples to the details of United Nations administration, at its first session.

2. At its second session:

established an Interim Committee of the General Assembly, a Special Committee in the Balkans, and the Korean Commission which supervised the recent elections in Southern Korea.

had full debate regarding discrimination against Indians in South Africa and regarding relations with Franco Spain.

made decision concerning partition of Palestine.

voted to establish an International Law Commission to help codify and develop international law.

reached compromises after heated debate concerning war-mongering, false and distorted reports, and war criminals.

approved trusteeship agreements submitted by Australia, New Zealand and the United Kingdom.

proposed trusteeship for South West Africa.

received reports of Secretary General, Security Council, Economic and Social Council, and Trusteeship Council.

approved agreements with five "specialized agencies."

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE SP

(Based on information available June 22, 1949)

MEMBERS	United Nations	ILO	UNESCO	FAO	ICAO	Fund	Bank	WHO	IRO	ITU[5]	UPU[6]	MEMBERS	Uni Nati
AFGHANISTAN	▲	▲	▲		▲			▲		▲	▲	LEBANON	▲
ALBANIA		▲						▲		▲	▲	LIBERIA	▲
ARGENTINA	▲	▲	▲		▲			▲		▲	▲	LUXEMBOURG	▲
AUSTRALIA	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	MEXICO	▲
AUSTRIA		▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲		▲	▲	MONACO	
BELGIUM	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	NETHERLANDS	▲
BOLIVIA	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲			★	▲	NEW ZEALAND	▲
BRAZIL	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲		▲	▲	NICARAGUA	▲
BULGARIA		▲						▲		▲	▲	NORWAY	▲
BURMA	▲	▲		▲	▲			▲		▲		PAKISTAN	▲
BYELORUSSIAN S.S.R.	▲							▲[4]		▲	▲	PANAMA	▲
CANADA	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	PARAGUAY	▲
CEYLON		▲		▲	▲			▲				PERU	▲
CHILE	▲	▲		▲	▲	▲	▲	▲		▲	▲	PHILIPPINES	▲
CHINA	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	POLAND	▲
COLOMBIA	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲			▲	▲	PORTUGAL	
COSTA RICA	▲	▲		▲		▲	▲	▲		★	▲	RUMANIA	
CUBA	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲			▲	▲	SAN MARINO	
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲		▲	▲	SAUDI ARABIA	▲
DENMARK	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	SOUTHERN RHODESIA	
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	SPAIN	
ECUADOR	▲	▲	▲	▲		▲	▲	▲		▲	▲	SWEDEN	▲
EGYPT	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲		▲	▲	SWITZERLAND	
EL SALVADOR	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲		▲	▲	SYRIA	▲
ETHIOPIA	▲	▲		▲	▲	▲	▲	▲		▲	▲	THAILAND	▲
FINLAND		▲		▲	▲	▲	▲	▲		▲	▲	TRANSJORDAN	
FRANCE	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	TURKEY	▲
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GUATEMALA	▲	▲		▲	▲	▲	▲		▲	▲	▲	U. OF SOUTH AFRICA	▲
HAITI	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲			▲		▲	▲	U.S.S.R.	▲
HONDURAS	▲		▲	▲		▲	▲	▲		▲	▲	UNITED KINGDOM	▲
HUNGARY		▲	▲	▲				▲		▲	▲	UNITED STATES	▲
ICELAND	▲	▲		▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	URUGUAY	▲
INDIA	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲		▲	▲	VATICAN CITY	
IRAN	▲	▲	▲			▲	▲	▲		▲	▲	VENEZUELA	▲
IRAQ	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲		▲	▲	YEMEN	▲
IRELAND		▲		▲	▲			▲		▲	▲	YUGOSLAVIA	▲
ISRAEL	▲	▲			▲			▲					
ITALY		▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲		
KOREA											▲★★	*TOTAL OF MEMBERS*	59

E SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

, 1949)

	United Nations	ILO	UNESCO	FAO	ICAO	Fund	Bank	WHO	IRO	ITU[5]	UPU[6]
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RS	59	61	46	58	54	48	48	64	18	73	88

NOTES

ABBREVIATIONS

ILO - - - - - - - - - - - - -International Labor Organization
UNESCO - - - - - - United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
FAO - - - - - - - - - - - Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
ICAO - - - - - - International Civil Aviation Organization
Fund - - - - - - - - - - - - - - International Monetary Fund
Bank - - - - - - - - - -International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
WHO - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - World Health Organization
IRO - - - - - - - - - - - International Refugee Organization
ITU - - - - - - - - - International Telecommunications Union
UPU - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - Universal Postal Union

1. Yugoslavia gave notice of withdrawal from the ILO in June 1947. This will become effective in July 1949 unless notice is given to the contrary.

2. Monaco in process of becoming a member of UNESCO within the near future.

3. Spain is not participating in ICAO although legal debarment from membership will not become effective until 28 states nave ratified amendment to ICAO Convention debarring Spain.

4. Byelorussia, Ukraine, USSR have announced their resignations from the WHO, but since the WHO Constitution, does not provide for withdrawal, they are legally considered members pending action by the WHO Assembly.

5. In addition to the members shown on this chart, ITU's total membership of 73 includes the following, which have full membership rights:

   Belgian Congo and Territories of Ruanda-Urundi
   French Protectorates of Morocco and Tunisia
   French Colonies, Protectorates and Overseas Territories under French Mandate
   Indonesia
   Portuguese Colonies
   Colonies, Protectorates and Overseas Territories under the Sovereignty and Mandate of Great Britain
   Territories of the United States

6. In addition to the members shown in this chart, UPU's total membership of 88 includes the following, which have full membership rights:

   Algeria
   Belgian Congo
   Indo-China
   The whole of the Overseas Territories of the French Republic and Territories administered as such
   Germany★★
   The whole of the British Overseas Territories, including the Colonies, the Protectorates, and the Territories under Mandate or under Trusteeship Exercised by the United Kingdom
   Japan★★
   French Morocco
   Indonesia
   Curacao and Surinam
   Portuguese Colonies in West Africa
   Portuguese Colonies in East Africa, in Asia, and Oceania
   Spanish Colonies★★
   Spanish Morocco★★
   Tunisia
   The whole of the possessions of the United States

★The following are eligible to join the ITU when they accede to the Constitution: Bolivia, Costa Rica, Liberia, Paraguay, Yemen

★★ A protocol of the UPU Convention signed in July 1947 prevents Germany, Japan, Korea, Spain, Spanish Morocco, and the Spanish Colonies from adhering to the Convention until such time as diplomatic relations with these states are regularized.

UN

A UNITED NATIONS BULLETIN REPRINT

STATEMENT
ON
THE WORLD SITUATION

By

TRYGVE LIE
SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS

The Text of the Secretary-General's Introduction to his Sixth Annual Report to the General Assembly Nov. 1951

PUBLISHED BY
UNITED NATIONS
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INFORMATION
NEW YORK
October 1951

Toward a Free World

Long-Range Planning under Democratic Control

by

LEWIS MUMFORD

An Address

delivered at a
Conference on World Order,
Rochester, New York, November 13, 1951.
Conference theme: "Toward a Free World."
Sponsored by The Church Peace Union
and The World Alliance for
International Friendship through Religion

THE CHURCH PEACE UNION
170 East 64th Street
New York 21, New York

CN

UNITED NATIONS

What It Is . . . .

What It Does . .

How It Works . .

New York

THE GREAT MAJORITY OF MANKIND—at that time some 1,700,000,000 people represented by the delegates of 50 nations—resolved on June 26, 1945, "to combine our efforts" to make a secure and better world through "an international organization to be known as the United Nations." On that day, at San Francisco, they signed the CHARTER.

Some weeks later, Poland signed in a space reserved for her, as she had been an original signatory of the United Nations Declaration in 1942, but had been unable to participate in the Conference. In 1946, four other nations were admitted; in 1947, two; and in 1948, 1949, and 1950, one each, bringing the total to 60.

To maintain international peace and security; to develop friendly relations among nations based on the equal rights and self-determination of peoples and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen peace; to achieve co-operation in solving international economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction of race, sex, language or religion; to be a center for harmonizing the actions of nations in achieving these ends: these are the purposes of the United Nations.

The United Nations is founded on these basic principles:

- All Member States are sovereign and equal.
- All are pledged to fulfil their obligations under the Charter in good faith.
- All are pledged to settle their disputes by peaceful means and in such manner as not to endanger peace, security and justice.
- In its international relations no Member shall use or threaten force against the territory and political independence of any state or behave in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.
- All are pledged to give every assistance to the United Nations when, in accordance with the Charter, it takes any action, and also *not* to give assistance to any state against which the United Nations is taking action to preserve or restore peace.
- So far as it is necessary to preserve peace and security, the organization shall ensure that countries which are not Members shall also act in accordance with the principles of the Charter.
- The United Nations shall not intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state except when it is acting to enforce the peace.

Membership in the United Nations is open to all peace-loving states which accept the obligations of the Charter and are judged by the organization to be able and willing to carry out these obligations.

With a scope fully as extensive as the whole range of international relations, the United Nations had necessarily to be organized as a group of bodies and the Charter therefore created six "principal organs."

These are the GENERAL ASSEMBLY, the SECURITY COUNCIL, the ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL, the TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL, the INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE and the SECRETARIAT.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

• The main deliberative organ of the United Nations and the nearest equivalent yet to a Parliament of Man is the General Assembly. Meeting usually once a year, the General Assembly has the right to discuss and make recommendations on all matters within the scope of the Charter. It also has the right to discuss the powers and functions of all other organs. It initiates studies and makes recommendations to Member States and to other organs for promoting international co-operation in political, social, economic, cultural, educational and health matters. To help in maintaining international peace and security, the Assembly established, in November 1950, a Peace Observation Commission and a Collective Measures Committee.

The one exception to the Assembly's powers to make recommendations arises when the Security Council is dealing with a dispute or situation. In this event, the Assembly may discuss the matter but cannot make a recommendation unless requested to do so by the Council.

All Member States are represented in the General Assembly, and each has one vote though it may send as many as five representatives to the sessions. On ordinary matters, the Assembly reaches its decisions by a simple majority of those present and voting, and on important matters, by a two-thirds majority.

The Assembly's power to discuss the working and functions of the other organs gives it a central position in the organization. All the organs of the United Nations, including the Security Council, submit annual and special reports to the General Assembly whose duty it is to consider these reports. The Assembly further elects the six non-permanent members of the Security Council, all the 18 members of the Economic and Social Council, and a varying number of members of the Trusteeship Council. Voting independently, the General Assembly and the Security Council elect the judges of the International Court of Justice. Upon the recommendation of the Security Council the General Assembly admits new Members and appoints the Secretary-General who controls the Secretariat.

It is the General Assembly which holds the purse strings, for it considers and approves the budget of the whole organization and apportions the expenses among the Member States. The United Nations is maintained by contributions from its Members.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL

• Eleven members, five of them permanent and six elected by the General Assembly, compose the Security Council, the organ on which Member States have conferred primary responsibility for maintaining peace and security. In performing its functions the Security Council acts on behalf of the Member States, all of whom have agreed to accept and carry out its decisions.

The five permanent members are China, France, the U. S. S. R., the United Kingdom and the United States. The non-permanent members are elected by the General Assembly for two-year terms, and are not eligible for immediate re-election.

Each member of the Security Council has one vote. Decisions on procedural matters are made by an affirmative vote of at least 7 of the 11 members. Decisions on substantive matters also require only 7 votes, but these 7 must include the concurring votes of all the 5 permanent members: this is the rule of "Great Power unanimity," popularly referred to as the "veto." When the Council is taking measures for pacific settlement, a party to the dispute must abstain from voting.

Because the maintenance of peace requires constant vigilance and may call for prompt action, the Security Council is in permanent session and generally meets at least once a fortnight. Should it so decide, the Council may hold its meetings at places other than headquarters.

The Security Council has the right to investigate any dispute or situation which might lead to friction between two or more countries, and such disputes or situations may be brought to the Council's attention either by one of its members, by any Member State, by the General Assembly, or by the Secretary-General, or even, under certain conditions, by a state which is not a Member of the United Nations.

It has the right to recommend ways and means of peaceful settlement and, in certain circumstances, the actual terms of settlement.

In the event of a threat to or breach of peace or an act of aggression, the Security Council has powers to take "enforcement" measures in order to restore peace and security. These include severance of communications, of economic and diplomatic relations and, if required, action by air, land and sea forces.

All Members of the United Nations are pledged by the Charter to make available to the Security Council on its call and in accordance with special agreements, the armed forces, assistance and facilities necessary to maintain peace and security. (These agreements are yet to be negotiated.)

Under the Security Council is a Military Staff Committee, composed of the Chiefs of Staff of the five permanent members or their representatives, which advises and assists the Council on all military matters.

The General Assembly established in January 1946 an Atomic Energy Commission which worked under the direction of the Security Council. In February 1947 the Security Council established a Commission for Conventional Armaments. At its sixth session in 1952, the Assembly decided that these two Commissions should be dissolved and that their functions should be merged in a new and consolidated Disarmament Commission.

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

• Working under the authority of the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council seeks to build a world of greater prosperity, stability and justice.

It makes studies, reports and recommendations on international economic, social, cultural, educational,

health and related matters and also with respect to human rights and fundamental freedoms for all. It prepares draft conventions on these subjects for submission to the General Assembly. It calls international conferences when needed. It gives information and assistance to the Security Council as required and, with the approval of the General Assembly, performs services within its scope for Member States.

Composed of 18 Member States, six of whom are elected each year by the General Assembly for a three-year term, the Economic and Social Council meets as often as is required to perform its duties. It arrives at its decisions by a majority of those present and voting.

Even before the founding of the United Nations, several inter-governmental agencies were at work to deal with specific problems. Some of these have been in existence for many years, such as the International Labor Organization, founded in 1919. Others, like the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, were established after World War II. One of the important tasks of the Economic and Social Council is to bring these organizations, called "Specialized Agencies," into relationship with the United Nations by negotiated agreements and to co-ordinate their activities.

New specialized agencies may become necessary to deal with special problems and, in that case, it is the Economic and Social Council which initiates the negotiations to bring them into existence.

In order to help it discharge its functions, the Economic and Social Council appoints Commissions to deal with particular aspects of its work. These Commissions are small bodies of international authorities on special subjects, and they give expert advice to the Council. New commissions may be created by the Council as required.

Representatives of the Specialized Agencies participate without vote in the proceedings of the Economic and Social Council. The Council also makes consultative arrangements with approved voluntary or non-governmental organizations, working within the sphere of its activities.

THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL AND NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES

• In an Article of profound significance, the Charter proclaims two principles with respect to countries which have not yet attained self-government. The in-

terests of the inhabitants of these areas are paramount, the declaration says, and Member States which administer such areas accept certain obligations as a sacred trust: obligations to promote political, economic, social and educational advancement; to provide just treatment and a protection against abuses; to develop self-government; to further international peace and security; and to encourage constructive development.

In accordance with this declaration, Member States which administer non-self-governing territories transmit reports to the Secretary-General on conditions in these territories. These reports are studied and analyzed, and come up for discussion before the General Assembly and other organs so that the world is fully apprised of progress in these areas.

The Charter also set up a Trusteeship System for the administration and supervision of territories which are placed under the System by Member States. Each Member placing a territory under the Trusteeship System submits a trust agreement. The agreement may designate the Member country, any other country, or the United Nations as the "administering power" to administer the area under the terms of the trust agreement. These terms have to be agreed upon by the "states directly concerned" and to be approved by the General Assembly or, in the case of areas designated as strategic, by the Security Council.

The Trusteeship Council, which operates under the authority of the General Assembly, is the principal organ which performs these functions. As regards the strategic areas, the Security Council has to avail itself of the assistance of the Trusteeship Council on political, economic, social and educational matters.

The Trusteeship Council is composed of (1) Member countries administering trust territories; (2) permanent members of the Security Council which are not

administering trust territories; and (3) as many other members (elected for three-year terms by the General Assembly) as may be necessary to ensure equality in numbers between administering and non-administering members.

The Trusteeship Council considers reports submitted by the administering authority. It accepts petitions and examines them in consultation with the authority. It may provide for periodic visits to the trust territories, and takes other measures in conformity with the terms of trusteeship agreements.

THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

• The principal judicial organ of the United Nations is the International Court of Justice which sits at The Hague in the Netherlands. Fifteen judges elected independently by the Security Council and the General Assembly compose the Court.

The Court functions under a Statute which is a part of the Charter of the United Nations, and every Member State of the United Nations therefore has automatic access to the Court. Every Member is also pledged to comply with the decisions of the Court in any case to which it is a party.

The jurisdiction of the Court comprises all cases which the parties refer to it, and all matters specially provided for in the Charter or in treaties and conventions in force.

In addition to judging legal disputes which are submitted to it, the Court performs an important function in giving advisory opinions on legal matters which

MEMBERS OF THE UNITED

Afghanistan
Argentina
Australia
Belgium
Bolivia
Brazil
Burma
Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic
Canada
Chile
China
Colombia
Costa Rica
Cuba
Czechoslovakia
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
Egypt
El Salvador
Ethiopia
France
Greece
Guatemala
Haiti
Honduras
Iceland
India
Indonesia
Iran
Iraq
Israel
Lebanon
Liberia
Luxembourg
Mexico
Netherlands
New Zealand
Nicaragua
Norway
Pakistan
Panama
Paraguay
Peru
Philippines

are referred to it by the General Assembly, the Security Council, and other organs and Specialized Agencies which are authorized by the General Assembly.

THE SECRETARIAT

• The vast administrative functions of the United Nations are performed by the sixth principal organ, the Secretariat, the agency which, working the year round, services the other organs and administers the programs and policies laid down by them. At its head is the Secretary-General, who is appointed by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council.

In February 1946, Trygve Lie, then Foreign Minister of Norway, was appointed Secretary-General for a five-year term. At the fifth session of the Assembly, he was continued in office for a period of three years.

The Secretariat comprises the Executive Office of the Secretary-General, a Technical Assistance Administration, and eight departments which are concerned, respectively, with Security Council affairs, economic affairs, social affairs, trusteeship and information from non-self-governing territories, legal matters, public information, conference and general services, and administrative and financial matters.

The duties and responsibilities of the Secretariat are exclusively international. Each member of the staff, whatever his nationality, is an international civil servant who serves the world and, in so doing, serves also the highest interests of his own country.

(For information about this folder, please refer to the nearest United Nations Information Centre.)

N A T I O N S

Poland
Saudi Arabia
Sweden
Syria
Thailand
Turkey
Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic
Union of South Africa
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
United Kingdom
United States of America
Uruguay
Venezuela
Yemen
Yugoslavia

WE THE PEOPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS

determined

To save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and

To reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and

To establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and

To promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

and for these ends

To practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors, and

To unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and

To ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and

To employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples,

have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims.

Accordingly, our respective Governments, through representatives assembled in the city of San Francisco, who have exhibited their full powers found to be in good and due form, have agreed to the present Charter of the United Nations and do hereby establish an international organization to be known as the United Nations.

LITHO IN U.S.A.
January 1952

PREAMBLE TO THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS

U.N.

Reprinted from
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220 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Our Enlightened Self-Interest And the United Nations

A. A. BERLE, JR.

A CAMPAIGN, first to push the United Nations out of the United States, and then to pull the United States out of the United Nations, is now well developed. It is still covert—the full battery has not been unmasked. But it is clear enough that before long one bloc of American politicians will reveal its true aim of destroying the United Nations, if it can, in a burst of isolationist nationalism.

This writer, no collector of stardust in international affairs, recognizes that the public opinion which supported the United States government in organizing the United Nations was moved by sentiment, aspiring toward a mighty dream. Appeal was made to the straining, eternal, and eternally disappointed hope of the American public that the world could be so governed as to avoid perpetual fear of war and periodic mass slaughter. Well, now it appears that the hope is not to be immediately realized. From resulting disillusionment comes a return to self-seeking nationalism, and such bitterness can be exploited by politicians. So, say the new flag-wavers, let's give up the United Nations as an impractical, un-American dream.

Cold analysis indicates that these new isolationists may be quite as dangerous to the safety of the United States as are Communist conspirators. The case rests not on stardust but on the implacable arithmetic of present reality. Reality indicates that the American political architects of the United Nations were not the dreamers or the stargazers. Cordell Hull, their leader, was in fact, the canniest, coolest, least sentimental politician in Washington. Senator Arthur Vandenberg was a hard-headed Michigan Republican Dutchman. Their allies ranged all the way from Senator Byrd of Virginia to John Foster Dulles of

New York. Their reasoning was built on grim reality.

The controlling facts are beyond dispute:

Prior to 1918, the world outside the Western Hemisphere (blanketed by the Monroe Doctrine) was run by twelve empires. There were Britain, France, Germany, Austria, Russia, and Italy, and three smaller nations: Belgium, the Netherlands, and Portugal. In the East were two moribund empires, Turkey and China, and one young empire, Japan. A few marginal countries, like Switzerland and the Scandinavian nations, survived outside the imperial system—chiefly by consent.

As long as these empires were run by sane men—that is, men who reckoned with arithmetic—they had more in common than they had in difference. They knew war advantaged no one. So, for a century after the Peace of Vienna in 1815, war, when it broke out, was promptly limited and fought only for minor, clearly defined objectives.

The twentieth century unloosed essentially irrational forces, like Pan-Germanism and Pan-Slavism, with romantic visions of world conquest. This led directly to the First World War. That war released still greater irrational forces, notably the perversion of Communism into a Great-Russian push to dominate the world through revolution-conquest, and a Nazi-Fascist mania in whose name Hitler made his military bid for world supremacy. The result was the Second World War. When the battle smoke of the two wars cleared away, none of the great empires emerged intact, save only Russia's. The others were destroyed or so weakened that the imperialist system had ceased to exist. This was the situation as it stood in the spring of 1945. It so stands today.

None of the sixty-odd nations succeeding these empires—with the single exception of the Soviet Union—is able alone to maintain its business and economic life as a going concern. This is true of the United States. Orators proclaim that the United States is the most powerful country in the world. This statement is based on figures showing the huge American "economic potential." But America, to maintain its power, must now draw on supplies far exceeding those available within the continental limits of the country. It must have metals, and ultimately oil, from Canada, South America, and Africa. It needs tin and rubber from Bolivia and Malaya. It requires rarer metals, like nickel, chrome, manganese, cobalt, beryllium, and so forth, from all parts of the world. There are at

least twenty essential materials the cutting off of which would cripple this country in peace or war. The go-it-alone theory simply does not add up.

The United States could, no doubt, follow the Stalinist plan and start conquering an empire. At a cost of, say, three hundred thousand American lives and $100 billion, we could seize Canada, Central and South America, the Pacific archipelagoes, and some spare chunks of the African continent. To do this would probably involve the country in a Third World War, the precise thing we do not want. Even without that, defending the empire thus created would be infinitely more costly in money (leaving morals out) and in human freedom than maintaining a co-operative alliance. For its maintenance, a standing army of at least six million would be necessary—say three years' compulsory military service for every American boy. You could finance ten Marshall Plans for half the cost of creating, let alone maintaining, that sort of empire for even a few years.

Short of this, the United States, to be safe and well off, must work in some sort of composite of many nations besides itself. The question is not whether it moves within the framework of a league of nations. The only question is what kind of a league of nations it must be.

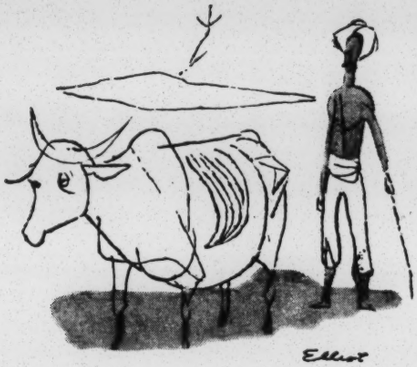
Taking Inventory

Elementary strategic arithmetic arrives at the same result. It is grim, but worth summarizing.

In case of a new world war, it should be kept in mind that the United States has a population of 157 millions; for realistic purposes we can perhaps assume that Canada with 14 millions will stay with us, making 171 millions. Out of these would have to be mobilized the ultimate defense force. Perhaps, though uncertainly, we might draw on the sparsely populated regions of Central and South America. The total population of the hemisphere outside the United States and Canada is approximately 150 millions. Of these a considerable proportion would be unavailable for general defense for a variety of reasons. The best we could present from this hemisphere alone would be a front of perhaps 225 million. It is settled that ten per cent is the maximum number of people that can be withdrawn for defense without a breakdown of the civilian economy. Not more than 23 million people would conceivably be available in the event of a showdown.

The Russians have 200 millions within the Soviet Union. But they also dominate huge land areas around the Russian base, notably mid-Europe and China. At a minimum, they could now draw on a total population of 800 million. This gives a manpower of reserve of from 60 to 80 million available for Soviet military effort. The greatest single lesson of the Korean War is its demonstration that the Soviet Union can organize Chinese and other Asian manpower into an effective, modern fighting army. By itself, or even in conjunction with the entire Western Hemisphere, the United States would be helplessly outnumbered if land armies ever met.

Before 1918, the isolationists argued, and they now argue again, that we had best stay behind the screen of two oceans, using our isolation as our defense, so that any war would be essentially naval. The argument had



force in 1916. The point was still arguable in 1939, when bombers had short range and the Atlantic could only be crossed by using halfway bases at Greenland or Iceland or by making the short hop from the shoulder of Brazil to the shoulder of Africa. But today a plane can take off from Europe, circle over the United States, and return to base without refueling. Tomorrow, we expect to have atomic-powered airplanes capable of almost unlimited range—and so do the Russians. We might decide not to commit our armies on the far side either of the Atlantic or the Pacific, and to pound away with airplanes based at convenient points on this side of the ocean or elsewhere. So we could. But so could the Russians. In this hideous long-range artillery duel, fought with atomic bombs (probably H-bombs), the United States might arrange not to lose the war. It could hardly arrange to win. Both sides would come out of it wounded beyond imaginable horror. But the Communists would be betting 800 million lives against the Americas' 225 million, and they are just the kind of people to reckon coldly on losing 100 million of their own people if they can kill, maim, or immobilize 100 million Americans. The result could leave them masters of the world.

If, on the other hand, America is part of a composite of nations equal to or greater than half the world, that bitter exchange would not be profitable by Communist reckoning. I respect Communist strategic thinking, little as I like it. They play to win. Unless they see ultimate victory, they do not start. As long as the non-Communist world has organization and reasonable probability of unified action—as much unified action as the United Nations developed in Korea—the Communists' arithmetic will not take them into a general war, granted that our armament is reasonably strong.

What is true of the United States is quadruply true of the smaller countries—for example, Great Britain, France, and Japan. The net result is that we have the most powerful possible interest—and all other countries of the free world have an equal interest—in finding, maintaining, and upholding an organization which keeps us together, offering reasonable possibility of mobilization in case of war.

ENEMIES of the United Nations like to say that the United Nations could not easily mobilize a force, that it is difficult to make the members work together, and that few countries bear as large a share of the expense and cost as does the United States. This is not true. France, in defending Indo-China, has spent proportionately more money and life than the United States has spent in the defense of Korea.

But take the matter at its worst. The United Nations is at present the only common denominator we have with all nations of the free world. In the Korean case, it did work as a means of mobilization of force. Even where troops and money were not directly contributed, the nations involved contributed their geography for strategic movement. The agreements contained in the Charter of the United Nations are a pledge to mutual defense in case of breach of the peace by anyone, including the Soviet Union. It is plain dumb to throw all this into the trash can merely because someone surmises that the structure might not stand up in case of attack. The job is to hold on to what exists, to *make* it stand up, to strengthen it in every possible way.

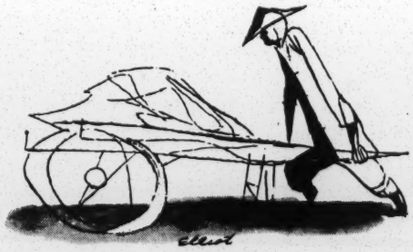
Actually, the defense system of the United States rests now on a series of interlocking alliances, all held together by and within the framework of the United Nations. The important ones are: the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance—the defensive alliance of the American hemisphere set up by the Treaty of Rio de Janeiro in 1948; the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) of 1949, which now takes in Turkey and Greece as well as western Europe; the European Defense Community Agreement providing for building a European army; and the proposed Pacific Pact (United States, Australia, New Zealand, etc.). All these pacts buttress the structure of the United Nations. Through the wisdom of Mr. Nelson Rockefeller, Senator Arthur Vandenberg, and Governor Harold Stassen, the famous "Article 51" of the United Nations Charter specifically authorizes such agreements for "collective self-defense."

In effect, the United Nations is a grand alliance against aggression. It is not perfect. Like every alliance that ever was or will be, it can be levered into action only with difficulty. But it is infinitely better than no alliance at all. Imagine that tomorrow morning you read in the headlines, UNITED NATIONS DISSOLVED; UNITED STATES STANDS ALONE. The mere announcement would change the entire pattern of national thinking and national life.

The Soviet View

Now let us look for a moment at the Kremlin side.

Stalin was very frank a few weeks ago in his signed essay designed to guide the most recent world conference of the Communist Parties. He expects the operation of the capitalist system to cause quarrels for markets and that



capitalist nations—that is, the nations of the free world—will fall out and go to war with each other. The Kremlin then expects to intervene and take over completely. He did not state his plans about the United Nations, but they are reasonably clear, too. He would like, sometime, to take over the United Nations. Not being able to do that now, his delegations aim at exploiting, so far as possible, differences and quarrels among the nations of the free world. But in seven years the Kremlin has been unable to open any major breach between the free-world nations, and will be unable to do so unless the free-world diplomats are guilty of almost criminal folly.

The possibility of quarrels between free-world nations is considerable; but the United Nations is at present the

greatest single agency for composing the differences. It was able to limit the incidence of the Arab-Israel war. It has been able to prevent Pakistan-Indian fighting from flaring into war over Kashmir. It can be called in should the nations of western Europe come to odds. It did unite the free world in resistance to the Communist push for South Korea. Short of a death wish or suicide complex in the western nations, it should be able to handle most of the disputes which are likely to arise among sane men. Thus far the presence of the Stalinist bloc has acted not to divide but to unite the free world within the United Nations. Stalinist strategy is inherited from Genghis Khan and, after him, Tamerlane, who specialized in cajoling one nation with false favors while attacking a neighbor nation. It is vastly harder to do this when the entire free world meets in open, friendly assembly as it does in the United Nations.

Because the United Nations includes the Soviet Union and its captive governments, its operations are a headache to American diplomats. But to Moscow, the headaches must be even greater. Russian delegations can snarl in Assembly sessions and committees but they cannot disturb the interloeking alliances noted above. Even outside the "collective-security groups" the more neutralist nations are held, through the United Nations, in working arrangements with the free western world. Pakistan, India, Burma, Siam, and Indonesia, for example, within the United Nations, steadily work for a free world to a measurable extent. Were the United Nations to break up, they would either become isolated targets or, at best, a neutral bloc. Under the United Nations Charter, an attack on any one of them might well engage the force of the entire free world. The Soviet empire knows this; so do even the "neutralist" nations; and their interests accordingly lie more with the free world than with Moscow.

In any case, from the American point of view, the United Nations—the Soviet bloc included—is preferable to the formalized split that would result if the United Nations were to break up. Then indeed the world would at best be divided into two blocs, maneuvering for position while openly awaiting the outbreak of a Third World War; at worst, the Soviets would have an open reason in which to stalk, hunt, and seize nearby isolated countries.

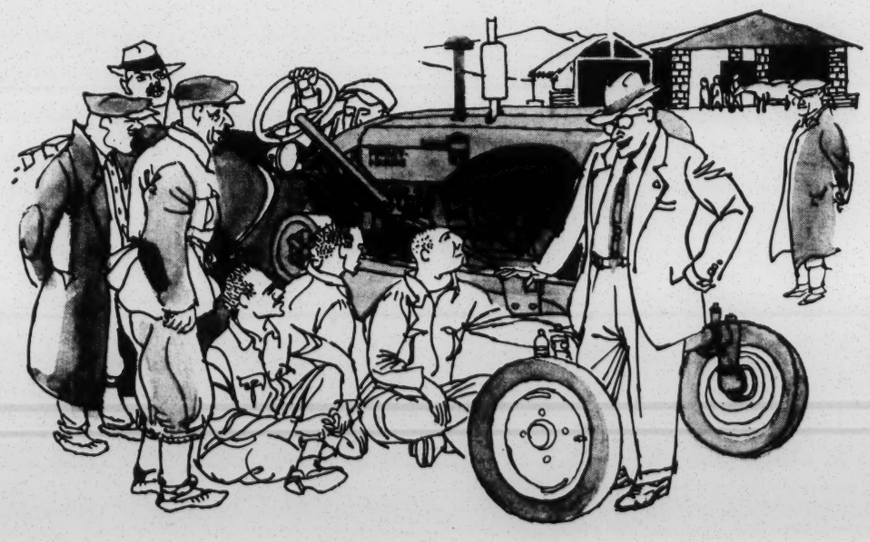
From the Kremlin point of view, the United Nations as presently constituted is a pain in the neck which can neither be controlled nor broken up. All Stalin really needs is a group of Americans shortsighted enough to do his work for him. That perhaps is why there are no Communist attacks on men like Gerald L. K. Smith (Chairman of the Nationwide Committee for the Abolition of the United Nations); William Henry MacFarland, Jr. (the American Flag Committee and the Nationalist Action League); Congressman John T. Wood of Idaho, who franks out MacFarland's material; Tom Lindner, the Georgia State Commissioner of Agriculture, who sends out attacks on the United Nations; Suzanne Stevenson of the Minute Maids and Vivien Kellems of the Liberty Belles; or Frank Holman of the American Bar Association, whose extreme nationalist position has split the association. Paradoxically, the hatchetmen of the Hearst newspapers talk language which often closely parallels the Communist Party line. There is no left-wing opposition to the so-called "Bricker Amendment," whose effect would be to make American participation in the United Nations virtually inoperable.

At the moment, the campaign against the United Nations is the primary property of a lunatic fringe of the extreme Right, abetted by a few men who ought to know better, and who are constructing "front" organizations taking in groups of people who object to specific uses of the United Nations. But it is clear that the real objective of these groups is a major political movement to end American membership in the United Nations.

From the hardest-boiled examination of the American system, this is a blueprint for disaster.

THE FOREGOING analysis left the dream of an effective peace system wholly out of account. But it can not be left out of account. Historically the millions of Americans who nourished that dream were following a sounder instinct than the spurious isolationism put forward now. In international affairs, dreams do have validity if they are accurately appraised and dealt with for what they are.

Throughout much of history, the dream of a world ordering of affairs which shall maintain peace has been a dominant ideal. In the form of the Holy Roman Empire, of which the Catholic Church was the central organizing unit, it achieved some degree of peace in an anarchic Europe for some centuries. In a later resurgence, the Concert of Europe maintained a notable peace in the days of the twelve empires. Those periods in history when no such dream found effective expression were periods of sheer, stark anarchy. This is not to idealize. It is to say that historically a peace system, however imperfect, is better than no peace system at all. A dream pursued does lead to some reality, though reality falls infinitely short of the dream. The groups that are now fighting the United Nations ought to be told, with great bluntness, that their fight injures, weakens, and endangers the United States.



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U.S. Constitution and U.N. Charter: An Appraisal

ADDRESS BY

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

AUGUST 26, 1953

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U.S. Constitution and U.N. Charter: An Appraisal

Address by Secretary Dulles[1]

Our association is celebrating its Diamond Jubilee. When it was founded in 1878, our country was at peace and foreign war seemed remote. Now we have had three foreign wars in quick succession, and, because we are a principal source of free-world strength, we face the intense hostility and growing might of the Soviet-dominated world.

It has become no easy task to assure the safety of the United States.

Our Army, Navy, and Air Force necessarily constitute an ultimate reliance. But they are only partial insurance against disaster. We do not want to have to depend on our own unaided strength. Any free-world nation which attempts, singly, to match the military might which a totalitarian system can extract out of one-third of the people and one-third of the natural resources of the world will wreck its domestic economy. It will have to impose sweeping governmental controls which will destroy the very freedom it defends. Further, no measures that we take in isolation will assure our supply of strategic materials.

There is but one answer to the coerced unity of the Soviet-dominated world. That answer is the voluntary association of free nations for the common defense. To win friends and allies, to bind them to us and us to them in dependable ways, is, therefore, an essential aspect of U.S. foreign policy.

[1] Made before the American Bar Association at Boston on Aug. 26 (press release 458 dated Aug. 25).

Mutual Security

The master security treaty of our time is the Charter of the United Nations. It has been adhered to by 60 nations. It represents the world's best hope of peace with justice. But the United Nations, in its present form, has not met all our expectations. I shall speak more of that later.

Because the United Nations itself does not provide adequate security, the United States has, by bipartisan action, entered into a series of treaties with other nations for the purpose of furthering collective self-defense. This is authorized by the U.N. Charter.

We have the North Atlantic Treaty Organization of 14 nations, designed to insure the peace and safety of the North Atlantic community.

We have the so-called Rio Pact of 21 American Republics, designed to promote peace and mutual security in the Western Hemisphere.

In the Pacific, we have mutual defense or security treaties with the Philippines, Australia, New Zealand, and Japan. Two weeks ago I initialed a proposed mutual-defense treaty with the Republic of Korea,[2] and we have close ties with Nationalist China on Formosa.

These security treaties have been implemented by a series of base agreements made by the President. These give our armed forces the means to operate abroad more effectively in the protection of our security. For example, one plane based abroad may be the equivalent of three like planes based here at home. Under the Mutual Security Act we have joined to build up strategically located military establishments in which we share, such as NATO. The result is that we and others can keep our defense expenditures within limits compatible with a free domestic economy.

In addition to treaties and agreements dealing expressly with matters of security, we must have many other kinds of treaties. No treaty of alliance is dependable without the added ingredient of friendliness. This requires treaties of friendship, commerce and trade, reciprocal-trade agreements, extradition treaties, agreements defining the status of forces located abroad, treaties controlling the drug and narcotic trade, treaties in avoidance of double taxation, and a multitude of other agreements that are necessary to put international intercourse on a friendly and nonfriction basis.

Treaties and executive agreements are the political tools which make it possible to provide our Nation with an environment of security.

[2] BULLETIN of Aug. 17, 1953, p. 204.

The Constitutional Problem

At this juncture a movement has grown up to limit severely the treatymaking power and to curtail the authority of the President to conduct international business.

This movement reflects concern that our treaty power might be used to effectuate domestic reforms, particularly in relation to economic and social matters, and to impose upon our country socialistic conceptions which are alien to our traditional American ideals.

These fears were largely founded upon the activities of certain committees of the United Nations.

I believe that this concern, when it arose, was a legitimate one, and that those who voiced it performed a genuine service in bringing the situation to the attention of the American public.

But I point out the arousing of that concern was a correction of the evil—a correction in the most dependable way, that is, by the vigilance of our citizenry. The danger, never great, has passed.

Proposed Constitutional Amendments

However, some fear that the danger may recur and that our citizenry may not then be alert. So, various Constitutional amendments have been proposed, with a view to preventing possible future abuses of the treatymaking power.

None of these proposals takes the form of trying to confine treatymaking to the historic and, I believe, Constitutional sense of that word. It seems to me that "treaties" within the meaning of our Constitution are contracts with foreign governments designed to promote our national interests by assuring that our Nation and others will act internationally in a way deemed mutually advantageous.

I do not believe that "treaties" within the meaning of article VI of our Constitution, which provides that treaties "shall be the supreme Law of the Land," are measures of primarily domestic

import, or that the treaty form can lawfully be used to circumvent the Constitutional procedures established in relation to what are essentially internal affairs.

That concept is difficult to put into Constitutional words. Perhaps for that reason those who would now amend the Constitution have adopted a more rigid and less selective approach.

Let me refer to the amendment proposed by S.J. Res. 1.[3] Section 1 provides that any provision in a treaty which conflicts with the Constitution shall be of no force or effect.

I believe that this states the law as it now is. However, some seem to feel that the question is in doubt, and fears in this regard have been widely spread. To meet any legitimate fears on this score, President Eisenhower has stated that he approves a Constitutional amendment, such as that introduced by Senator Knowland,[4] which will make it clear that a treaty cannot override the Constitution or deprive citizens of their rights under our Constitutional Bill of Rights.

The remaining provisions of S.J. Res. 1 would make fundamental changes. Section 2 would cut down the Nation's treaty power so that no treaty could bind the Nation in respect of matters which, under our Federal system, fall within the jurisdiction of the States. This would set the clock back to an approximation of the condition which existed under the Articles of Confederation. Then, that condition was so intolerable and it so jeopardized the Confederation that the present Constitution was adopted to give the Federal Government authority, in international matters, to act for *all* the Nation, including the States.

Let me tell you of our experience with treaties in the present session of the Congress.

Since it convened in January 1953, the Senate has approved 23 treaties, 12 of which, our legal advisers say, would be unconstitutional if the proposed amendment had been in effect, because they deal with matters of State jurisdiction, such as negotiable instrument laws, local licensing laws, etc. In the case of 8 of these 12 treaties the Senate vote was 86 yea's to 1 nay. Included in the 86 who voted in favor of these treaties were 55 of the 64 Senators who were originally listed as sponsors of S.J. Res. 1, which would have made the treaties unconstitutional.

This suggests, I think, that the import of the proposed amendment is not fully understood, even in the Senate. Also I suggest that the Senators, when it comes down to concrete cases, recognize that our Nation must be able to make treaties which will bind not only the Federal Government but also the States.

Executive Agreements

Section 3 of the proposed amendment would give the Congress the power to regulate all executive and other agreements.

No more fundamental change in our Constitutional system can be imagined, for under it Congress and not the President would be responsible for the day-by-day conduct of our foreign relations.

The phrase "executive agreements" brings to mind such major wartime commitments as were made at Yalta and Potsdam, and which have proved unpopular and perhaps ill-advised. But "executive agreements" are the means, and the only means, whereby the President carries on the day-to-day business of dealing with other nations. Daily the President, directly or through his diplomatic or military agents, makes agreements with foreign nations. In the State Department, for example, we may agree that Foreign Ministers will meet at a certain time and place. Perhaps we agree with the British and French on a joint note to the Soviet Union about Germany. Perhaps we agree with other members of the United Nations upon a proposed resolution. Agreements are the warp and woof of international life, and without them there could not be friendly international intercourse.

The Korean armistice was made by a U.S. military commander under instructions from Washington. This armistice agreement was the climax of a series of subsidiary agreements, some made with our enemies in relation to procedures as to armistice negotiations. Some were made with the Republic of Korea, and some were made with our U.N. allies in Korea. Many of these agreements I made under the authority of the President.

The more important of these agreements were

[3] For text and for a statement by Secretary Dulles in opposition to the resolution, see *ibid.*, Apr. 20, 1953, p. 594.

[4] For text, see *ibid.*, Aug. 10, 1953, p. 193.

made after informal consultation with congressional leaders. The security treaty which I initialed in Korea will of course be effective only with the advice and consent of the Senate. Agreements for economic rehabilitation are subject to congressional appropriations. But these conspicuous agreements, requiring Senate or congressional action, grew out of a series of preliminary agreements which were indispensable to the final result. These were of a multiplicity and of an immediacy which excluded the assumption of responsibility by a deliberative assembly like the Congress.

President Eisenhower has stated his views on these matters in the following words:[5]

> . . . I am unalterably opposed to any amendment which would change our traditional treatymaking power or which would hamper the President in his constitutional authority to conduct foreign affairs. Today, probably as never before in our history, it is essential that our country be able effectively to enter into agreements with other nations.

I can say to you soberly that the proposed amendment, except for section 1 which President Eisenhower accepts, would have a calamitous effect upon the international position and prospects of the United States. It would make it impossible for the United States to share in the voluntary and friendly association of free nations which is necessary to offset what the Soviet Premier refers to as the "monolithic unity" of the Soviet system. It would make it impractical for the President to conduct foreign affairs and would throw upon the Congress in this respect a daily and incessant responsibility which such a numerous and already overburdened legislative body is, in practice, incapable of discharging.

The Test of Experience

We have a system which has survived for over 160 years without there being a single instance of treaty abuses such as are feared. Of course, abuse is always a possibility. I admit that. I not only admit it, I have said it. But I do not admit that, because power can be abused, it follows that power should be annulled. That is the reasoning that leads to anarchy.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 192.

If the United States renounces the power to act effectively in international affairs, because that power might be abused, the result will be a large measure of international anarchy.

It is impossible to rewrite the Constitution of the United States so that it is foolproof. It is impossible to make freedom so automatic that its retention does not need constant vigilance.

The supreme test of any Constitution is the way it works. George Washington, in his Farewell Address, warned against amending the Constitution to meet hypothetical dangers. "Experience," he said, "is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country. Facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion."

Our Constitution, as it is, has served us well for 160 years in the field of foreign relations. There is no actual experience to demonstrate the need of the far-reaching changes that have been proposed. The fears are hypothetical. The facts are reassuring.

The founders of this Nation, seeing international peril, created power to meet it. They enabled the Nation to speak as a unit and with prompt, effective authority in the field of foreign relations. The system worked well. Today, we face a new and perhaps even greater peril than that which the founders confronted. We need that same political authority which they provided. If it is taken away, I see only a steady increase in our peril and a steady decline in our capacity to meet that peril.

International Law and Order

Physical scientists have enabled man to destroy himself. Political wisdom must enable man to save himself. Political leadership that timidly goes backward will never cope with scientific knowledge which goes ever forward.

This administration has a vision of something better than bare survival in the face of danger. We have faith that it is possible to end the menace under which humanity has existed for so long. It was hoped that the United Nations would achieve this, and I still believe that it can. But

to realize this hope will require that the Charter be altered in some important respects.

The U.N. Charter now reflects serious inadequacies.

One inadequacy sprang from ignorance. When we were in San Francisco in the spring of 1945, none of us knew of the atomic bomb which was to fall on Hiroshima on August 6, 1945. The charter is thus a pre-atomic-age charter. In this sense it was obsolete before it actually came into force. As one who was at San Francisco, I can say with confidence that, if the delegates there had known that the mysterious and immeasurable power of the atom would be available as a means of mass destruction, the provisions of the charter dealing with disarmament and the regulation of armaments would have been far more emphatic and realistic.

A second inadequacy sprang from the fact that the three leaders who planned the United Nations were President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, and Generalissimo Stalin, precisely the three who led the wartime victory coalition against Hitlerite Germany. Inevitably, they looked upon the United Nations as a kind of peacetime prolongation of the wartime triumvirate. Consequently, the proposals initially put forward by the United States, United Kingdom, and Soviet Russia placed primary authority in the Security Council and stipulated that the great powers permanently represented on that Council must be in agreement.

At San Francisco this concept was to some extent altered and greater scope was given to the General Assembly. However the "veto" remained in the Security Council and the General Assembly was permitted only to "recommend." Indeed, the Assembly voting procedure, with one vote per nation, precludes its decisions having more than advisory weight.

Now we see the inadequacy of an organization whose effective functioning depends upon cooperation with a nation which is dominated by an international party seeking world domination.

A third inadequacy came out of disregard for the fact that world order, in the long run, depends not on men but upon law—law which embodies eternal principles of justice and morality. When the charter was drafted at Dumbarton Oaks,

it contained no mention of the word "justice" or of the word "law." That defect was to some extent remedied at San Francisco. At several points in the charter, references to "justice" were introduced. Also the General Assembly was required to promote "the progressive development of international law and its codification." However, in the 8 years of its existence, the General Assembly has made but little progress in this respect.

I recall the views expressed by that great statesman and student of public affairs, the late Sen. Robert A. Taft. In his book entitled *A Foreign Policy for Americans*, he said of the U.N. Charter:

> The fundamental difficulty is that it is not based primarily on an underlying law and an administration of justice under that law. I believe that in the long run the only way to establish peace is to write a law, agreed to by each of the nations, to govern the relations of such nations with each other and to obtain the covenant of all such nations that they will abide by that law and by decisions made thereunder.

The opportunity which Senator Taft saw has not irrevocably passed. The present Charter of the United Nations provides that the 1955 General Assembly will have on its agenda a proposal to call a general conference to review the present charter. I have already announced that the United States will then vote in favor of holding such a review conference.

The 1955 conference will be comparable in its importance to the original San Francisco conference. It will provide a conspicuous opportunity for which the lawyers of America should be prepared. There are, of course, many other opportunities.

The important thing is that the Bar of America, which exerts a powerful influence on the thinking and political action of the American people, should itself be looking forward and inventively and creatively try to solve the great problems which confront our people at this time. The founders of our Nation showed a political wisdom which has rarely if ever been matched. Surely, however, their effort did not exhaust the political genius of the American people. They invented and bequeathed to us an ordered society of spiritual and intellectual freedom. Such a society ought to be able to produce the new ideas needed to meet changing conditions. That is for us to demonstrate. Now, when new peril threatens, it be-

hooves us to prove our worth. May we not, in our generation, emulate what our forebears did in their generation, and find the way to develop international order to shield national life? That is the challenge of our time. Let us dedicate ourselves to meet it.

The Second Year of the United Nations

THE ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES

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WORLD GOVERNMENT AND PEACE

SELECTED NOTES AND COMMENT

1943–1945

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Department of State

Office of Public Affairs

MEETING ON AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

June 4, 5, and 6, 1947

Washington, D. C.

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Southern Regional Council

P R O G R A M

Registration, June 4

8:30 - 9:30 A.M. Representatives will be registered at the Auditorium of the New State Department Building, Twenty-first Street and Virginia Avenue, N.W.

MORNING SESSION, June 4
Auditorium, New State Department Building

POLITICAL FOUNDATIONS OF PEACE

10:00 A.M. Presiding: Francis H. Russell, Director, Office of Public Affairs

10:10 - 10:20 A.M. Greetings from the Secretary of State
George C. Marshall

10:20 - 10:50 A.M. "American Foreign Policy Today"
Dean Acheson, Under Secretary of State

10:50 - 11:10 A.M. "The United States and the United Nations"
Warren R. Austin, United States Representative to the United Nations

11:10 A.M. - 12:15 P.M. Discussion with the following Panel:

General United States - United Nations Policies
Dean Rusk, Director, Office of Special Political Affairs

Trusteeship Problems
Benjamin Gerig, Chief, Division of Dependent Area Affairs

Armaments Problems
Donald Blaisdell, Associate Chief, Division of International Security Affairs

Economic and Social Council Problems
Walter Kotschnig, Acting Chief, Division of International Organization Affairs

LUNCHEON SESSION, June 4
South American Room
Hotel Statler
12:30 P.M.

"United States Policy in Occupied Areas"
General John H. Hilldring, Assistant Secretary of State for Occupied Areas

AFTERNOON SESSION, June 4
Auditorium, New State Department Building

POLITICAL FOUNDATIONS OF PEACE (Continued)

2:30 - 2:45 P.M. "United States Relations with Latin America"
Ellis O. Briggs, Director, Office of American Republic Affairs

2:45 - 3:00 P.M. "United States Relations with Europe"
John D. Hickerson, Deputy Director, Office of European Affairs

3:00 - 3:15 P.M. "United States Relations with the Near East and Africa"
Loy W. Henderson, Director, Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs

3:15 - 3:30 P.M. "United States Relations with the Far East"
John Carter Vincent, Director, Office of Far Eastern Affairs

3:45 - 4:45 P.M. ROUND TABLE DISCUSSION SESSIONS

Latin-America - Room 2153
Ellis O. Briggs and panel

Europe - Auditorium
John D. Hickerson and panel

Near East and Africa - Room 2130
Loy W. Henderson and panel

Far East - Room 2003
John Carter Vincent and panel

INFORMAL RECEPTION, June 4

5:30 - 6:30 P.M. Representatives registered for the meeting are invited to an informal reception at the home of Mrs. Robert Low Bacon, 1801 F Street, N.W.

EVENING SESSION, June 4
International Conference Room,
11th Floor, 1778 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.

CONGRESS AND AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

8:15 - 10:15 P.M. Presiding: Francis H. Russell
Director, Office of Public Affairs

Informal Statements by:

Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg of Michigan, Chairman, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations

Senator Tom Connally of Texas, Member, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations

Representative Sol Bloom of New York, Member, House Committee on Foreign Affairs

Representative Frances P. Bolton of Ohio, Member, House Committee on Foreign Affairs

Informal discussion and questions from the floor.

MORNING SESSION, June 5
Auditorium, New State Department Building

ECONOMIC FOUNDATIONS OF PEACE

Presiding: George C. McGhee, Special Assistant to the Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs

10:00 - 10:45 A.M. Economic Foreign Policy
Willard L. Thorp, Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs

10:45 - 12:15 P.M. Brief Statements and Panel Discussion

United Nations Economic and Social Council
Leroy D. Stinebower, Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs

MORNING SESSION, June 5 (Continued)
Auditorium, New State Department Building

ECONOMIC FOUNDATIONS OF PEACE (Continued)

Refugees and Displaced Persons
George L. Warren, Adviser on Refugees and Displaced Persons

Relief and Rehabilitation
Dallas W. Dort, Adviser on Relief and Rehabilitation

Loans and International Bank
Norman T. Ness, Director, Office of Financial and Development Policy

AFTERNOON SESSION, June 5
Auditorium, New State Department Building

CULTURAL FOUNDATIONS OF PEACE

Presiding: William T. Stone, Director, Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs

2:30 - 4:00 P.M.

International Cultural Cooperation and Information Program
William Benton, Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs

Panel:

Overseas Cultural Cooperation and Information Activities
Kenneth Holland, Assistant Director, Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs

UNESCO Program
Charles A. Thomson, Executive Secretary, United States National Commission for UNESCO.

German Reeducation Program
Eugene N. Anderson, Associate Chief, Division of Occupied Areas

Japanese Reeducation Program
Frank A. Schuler, Associate Chief, Division of Occupied Areas

AFTERNOON SESSION, June 5 (Continued)
Auditorium, New State Department Building

CULTURAL FOUNDATIONS OF PEACE (Continued)

4:00 - 5:00 P.M. Citizen Participation in Foreign Affairs
Presiding: Mrs. Margaret R. T. Carter
Chief, Division of Public Liaison

EVENING SESSION, June 5
Auditorium, New State Department Building

FILM SCREENINGS

8:00 - 9:30 P.M. Presiding: Mrs. Margaret R. T. Carter
Chief, Division of Public Liaison

Informational Films in American Foreign Relations
Herbert T. Edwards, Acting Chief,
Division of International Motion Pictures

Film: "Journey into Medicine"

International Conferences
Clarke L. Willard, Assistant Chief,
Division of International Conferences

Film: "The International Conference: Its Organization and Management"

MORNING AND AFTERNOON SESSIONS, June 6 - Washington, D.C.
New State Department Building

(Note alternative program in New York on next page)

INFORMAL DISCUSSION SESSIONS WITH OFFICERS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

These informal discussions are planned to give full opportunity for the presentation of organizational and individual views on the topics of the meetings.

10:00 - [illegible]:00 M. International Trade Organization
Room 2180 Presiding: Harry W. Seamans, Information-Liaison Officer, Division of Public Liaison
Resource Leader, Norman T. Ness, Director, Office of Financial and Development Polic

MORNING AND AFTERNOON SESSIONS, June 6 - Washington, D.C. (Continued)
New State Department Building

INFORMAL DISCUSSION SESSIONS WITH OFFICERS
OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE- Continued

10:00 - 12:00 M. Room 2153	The Economic and Social Council: its Agencies and Commissions Presiding: Doris M. Cochrane, Information-Liaison Officer, Division of Public Liaison Resource Leader: Walter Kotschnig, Acting Chief, Division of International Organization Affairs
10:00 - 12:00 M. Auditorium	The UNESCO and the United States International Information and Cultural Program Presiding: David M. Humphrey, Information-Liaison Officer, Division of Public Liaison Resource Leaders; Dr. Esther Brunauer, UNESCO Relations Staff Officer Kenneth Holland Assistant Director, Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs
2:00 - 3:30 P.M. Auditorium	The Department of State and the Foreign Service: their functional operation Presiding: Garland C. Routt, Information-Liaison Officer, Division of Public Liaison Resource Leaders: Charles M. Hulten, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Administration Christian M. Ravndal, Director General, Office of Foreign Service
3:30 - 5:00 P.M. Auditorium	The Citizens Role in U.S. Foreign Policy Presiding: Mrs. Margaret R. T. Carter, Chief, Division of Public Liaison Resource Leader: Francis H. Russell, Director, Office of Public Affairs

MORNING AND AFTERNOON SESSION, June 6 - New York
United Nations Building, Lake Success

10:15 A.M. Registration	
	Registration at Conference Room 10
10:30 A.M.	Informal Discussion Session with members of the United States Mission to the United Nations Presiding: Chester S. Williams, Public Liaison Officer, United States Mission to the United Nations

MORNING AND AFTERNOON SESSIONS, June 6 - New York (continued)
United Nations Building, Lake Success

10:30 A.M. (Continued) Speakers:
Richard Winslow, Secretary General, United States Mission to the United Nations

General Joseph T. McNarney, United States Air Force Representative and Senior Member of the United Nations Military Staff Committee

Frederick H. Osborn, Deputy United States Representative on the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission

12:15 P.M. Luncheon with Members of the United States Mission and the United Nations Secretariat

1:30 P.M. Informal Discussion Session with Members of the United Nations Secretariat
Presiding: Benjamin Cohen, Assistant Secretary General for Public Information

Speakers:
V. J. G. Stavridi, Chief of Publications Section, Department of Public Information

Jean Benoit-Levi, Chief of Film and Visual Information Division

J. B. Orrick, Chief of Liaison with Non-Governmental Organizations

4:30 P.M. Tentative Security Council Meeting
Members of the conference may attend if the Council is in session.

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*Transportation from New York City to Lake Success, New York

9:12 A.M. (EDT) Leave Long Island Railroad Terminal at the Pennsylvania Station, 34th Street and Eighth Avenue, for Great Neck. United Nations shuttle bus will transport from Great Neck to Lake Success.

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MEETING NOTES

Organization representatives will be given an opportunity between sessions to hear transcriptions of representative short-wave programs of the "Voice of the United States of America", in several languages. Room 2003, New State Department Building.

All meetings will take the form of off-the-record discussions. Meetings will start promptly as scheduled.

39

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Dear American:

If you find yourself struggling to make sense out of world news, don't worry about it -- millions of other Americans are in the same boat.

All of us realize that in this American era in world affairs, when all the world looks to us for leadership, we should know more about our world neighbors. We should be able to think clearly and speak with authority on what's going on in all parts of the world.

Why can't we? Because we see headlines about Azerbaijan or Jehol or Karachi. About the French devaluing the franc. About trouble in Argentina. About socialism in Britain. About the threat of Russia. And we're confused. Everybody is trying to give us "hot" news. And hot news often has no perspective. No background. No real meaning.

And so it is that America now has its first weekly newsmagazine devoted exclusively to making sense out of world news. You'll want to remember its name: WORLD REPORT -- for it is one you'll hear quoted a lot, in the press, at the luncheon table, in business conferences, in the world's capitals. For that reason, perhaps you'd like to subscribe for it now -- by using the enclosed card to enter a trial subscription at our special introductory rate.

With World Report, you will be able to think clearly and talk authoritatively whenever the subject of foreign affairs comes up. Because you'll know. You'll know what happened. What the next development is likely to be. Why it's important. What its impact will be on other countries, on us, on business.

You'll know just as if you had been on the spot -- for your representative will be there. You'll know just as if you had dug into atlases and histories and economic geographies and confidential government documents, and talked to business and political leaders, to kings and common people -- for that's what your staff will do. In

London, Cairo, Shanghai, Rio, Berlin -- or wherever else things are happening that Americans should know about.

In terse, discerning reports, you'll get the political, economic and business outlook for world affairs. Illustrated, analytical studies give you background and understanding of situations and events of major importance. You get pictures and maps and charts which so often tell the story better than words. Unique Worldgraphs lend meaning and interest -- Worldgraphs which enable you to grasp trends so quickly.

You'll find World Report a lively, dramatic, interesting newsmagazine which makes of every reader a well-informed, interesting citizen of the world we live in. And for many, it opens up new business opportunities, new sources of raw materials, new markets for machinery, for finished products, new and profitable outlets for investment.

Because we realize that our readers will be the most exacting, most discriminating group in the world, this becomes a million dollar undertaking. If you know The United States News, you know the thorough job we are doing.

Because World Report is a new magazine, and because we want to provide you with an inducement to send your order promptly, we are extending to you a special introductory offer: the next 34 issues for only $2.67. The cost of these issues at the single copy price is $5.10. This offer, for new subscribers only, saves you $2.43.

The enclosed card will bring us your acceptance of this special money-saving offer promptly. Simply fill in your name and address and mail the card, today. Postage on the card is prepaid -- ready for mailing now.

Sincerely yours,

John H Sweet

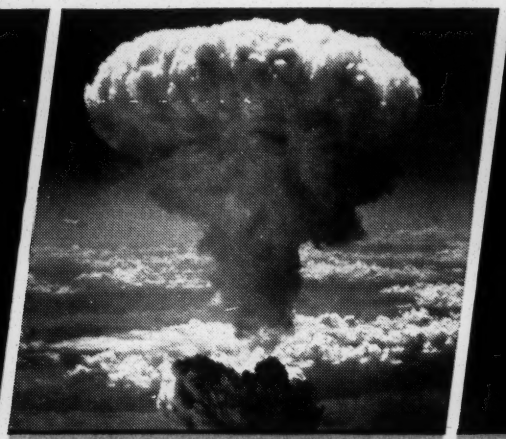
JHS:SJC
Enclosures

John H. Sweet
Subscription Manager

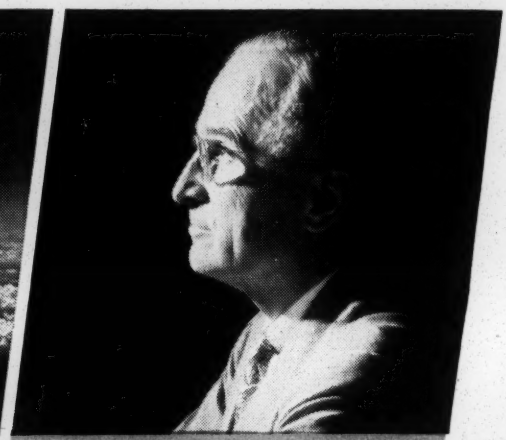
FOR BUSY PEOPLE

who must keep up with a busy world

. . . empire builder?



. . . how long a period of grace?



. . . "each week more hectic than the last"

WORLD REPORT PUSHES BACK THE HORIZONS OF YOUR WORLD

Momentous days lie ahead. With the shooting part of World War II behind us, each passing day sees the lines drawn more closely for the battle to win the Peace.

Have the people of the United States the will and the determination to follow through on the course to which the War committed them, now that War's unifying influence is gone?

How far will Soviet Russia go in her efforts to expand her political empire through use of the techniques she is now testing out?

How long can the U. S. use the secret of the atomic bomb to insure good behavior of other nations? And what happens when this period of grace runs out?

Which way will Latin America go—a realistic Latin America which has already taken cognizance of our internal dissension and the resulting lack of flow of goods to her markets?

Can England continue her come-back? What will come of the ideological and political struggles now gripping France, Italy, Greece, Czechoslovakia—and, on the other side of the world, China and Japan?

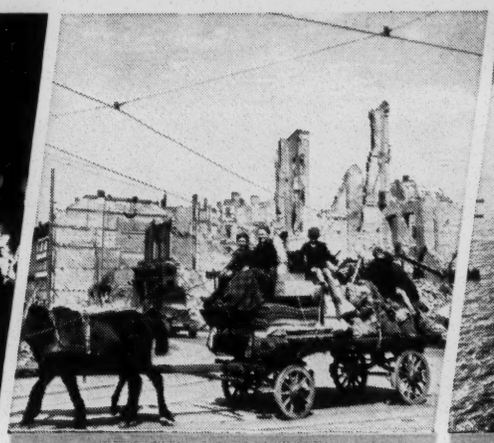
For those thinking people who see the real significance of America's new position in world affairs, for those thinking people who realize their responsibilities and recognize their opportunities, for those who really want to know what is going on beyond their own boundaries, WORLD REPORT is now being published.

WORLD REPORT concentrates on world developments exclusively.

WORLD REPORT pushes back the horizons of your world so that your horizons correspond with America's new horizons.

We honestly believe that you will find WORLD REPORT the most informative magazine you read, that with it you will learn more in less time than you can from any of your other reading. We can make that statement, conservatively, first because WORLD REPORT is that kind of a newsmagazine; secondly, because there is so much to learn and to understand about world developments before any of us can look upon ourselves as being well-informed.

. . . an American salesman in France.



. . . a world of rebuilding.

. . . magic carpet . . . to world markets.

the easy way to keep up with the world

How does WORLD REPORT, the enemy of shallow "headline" knowledge of world news and events, do its job for you? How does WORLD REPORT make it easy for you to keep *up* with the world—and keep *ahead* of it in many instances?

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First, WORLD REPORT gives you a quick look at world business: what has happened, what's ahead, how it will affect us.

Second, WORLD REPORT keeps you posted on world reconstruction—the size and nature of the job to be done, the new markets to be opened up for our goods.

Third, with WORLD REPORT, you visit Russia, England, Latin America, the Far East —for behind-the-scenes reports on what's happening inside governments, the conflicts of personality or policy, the clashes of factions and interests. You have a ringside seat at all the goings-on in world intrigue, diplomacy, propaganda—and WORLD REPORT cuts through the partial truths and untruths, to bring you the whole truth.

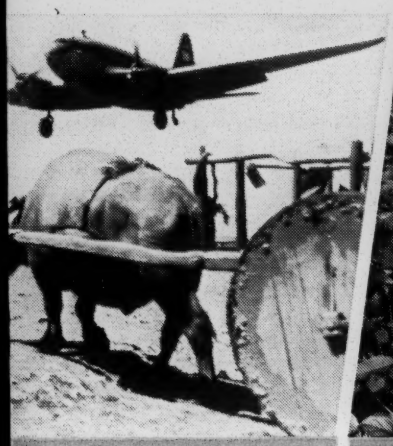
Fourth, each week WORLD REPORT gives you the abc's of some important situation affecting the economic trends of the world—and gives it to you so well and so simply that you'll not only understand it yourself, but—the real test—you'll be able to explain it to others.

Fifth—and this may well be one of the first things you notice about WORLD REPORT—you get an interesting story in pictures, pictures that *tell a story* rather than simply adorn a page. For WORLD REPORT is published by the same organization which "invented" and perfected the Pictogram—the *ultimate* of the proverb that "a picture is worth 10,000 words."

Sixth—like a good pilot briefing his crew before flight, WORLD REPORT is as much concerned with what is *going* to happen as with what is happening *now*. In analyzing each important development, WORLD REPORT takes a look back, a look at the present, and a look at the future—because all three dimensions are important to a clear understanding of what is going on in the world. Emphasis is on the net result, the impact of each development on the nation or nations involved, and on the various

. . . foreign oil . . . who will control?

. . . ally . . . or competitor?



. . . do they compete?

. . . rubber (the knife is "made in U.S.A.").

PICTURE CREDITS (left to right): page 1—Official Navy, U. S. Army Air Forces, Harris & Ewing; pages 2 & 3—top—Acme, Acme, Official U. S. Navy, U. S. Signal Corps, C.I.A.A.; bottom—Standard Oil Co. (N. J.), Sovfoto, Acme, C.I.A.A., Acme; page 4—Official U. S. Navy, Official U. S. Army, Acme.

groups which are affected within those nations—the businessmen, the political parties, the people themselves. This new kind of reporting we call the *newsreport*—news with a third dimension. Nowhere else will you find *so much in so little space.*

Seventh, WORLD REPORT keeps you in touch with what is being done to win the peace—in general, and with specific reference to the United Nations and its work to prevent another war. High-sounding and multisyllabic words are boiled down to terms of *how much* or *how little* is really being accomplished.

Eighth, WORLD REPORT tells you what's what in foreign trade—the supplies and movements of world commodities, news and developments in world shipping and aviation—covering all the factors that can conceivably mean more production and greater employment.

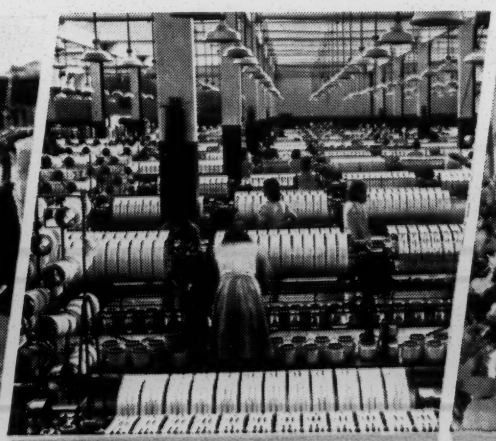
Ninth, realizing that just as the actions of our own government have come to have great influence on our daily lives, so the actions of other governments will increasingly affect us, WORLD REPORT pays close attention to new regulations, new restrictions, new legislation abroad which have a bearing on what we buy or sell, and how much we pay or get paid for it.

Tenth, WORLD REPORT concerns itself with and points out to you *trends:* in thought, in feelings, in politics—so that in many cases you know what the next development is going to be long before it happens, and can therefore condition your thoughts and your actions accordingly.

Finally, WORLD REPORT doesn't clutter up its pages and your mind with a superficial recounting or mere review of all the news from abroad. It concentrates rather on the *important,* the *essential* in an understanding of foreign affairs.

WORLD REPORT is the product of a staff skilled in digging the meaning out of words and events, skilled in uncovering the elusive keys to complete grasp and understanding, skilled in saving your time by being able to say more in fewer words than any other group in the country. WORLD REPORT is for *busy* people who must keep up with a *busy* world.

. . . houses . . . food . . . sanitation.



. . . industrializing South America (this entire plant transported from Virginia.)

. . . Argentine Communism: threat from the South?

HOW WORLD REPORT IS QUALIFIED TO DO THIS UNIQUE JOB FOR YOU

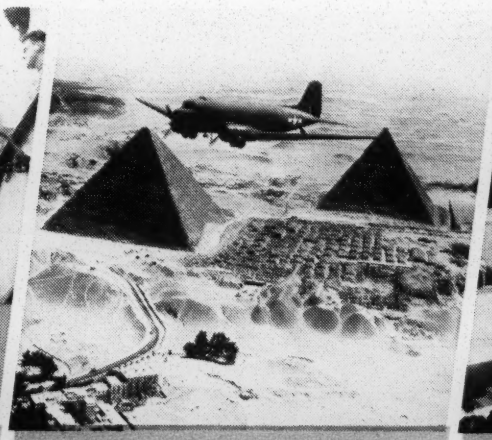
In a world shrinking so fast you can hardly keep up with it, to whom are you going to entrust the job of analyzing and interpreting world developments for you? You know that you must be careful about your choice, for nowhere else is there so much room for bias, color and unfounded opinions as there is in the field of world news—and above all else you want unbiased, dependable information.

We bid for your confidence on the basis of the record of dependability and accuracy of The United States News—for WORLD REPORT is published by the same organization. In the last twelve years The United States News has done its job of reporting and forecasting national developments so well that its weekly circulation has grown from 18,000 to more than 250,000 and "official Washington" now votes it the most important magazine published.

Under the same sponsorship and direction, and with the benefit of all of The United States News' experience, WORLD REPORT has gathered what we believe to be the most talented group of editors, specialists, investigators, economists and reporters ever to devote themselves to world affairs exclusively on any publication. This experienced staff, located in the strategic centers throughout the world, gives you the benefit of first-hand information on world developments.

WORLD REPORT has no axe to grind, espouses no cause, expresses no editorial opinion—confident that its readers are fully competent to make up their own minds when supplied with the true facts and information. WORLD REPORT gives you the facts objectively, without regard to whom it helps or hurts.

. . . WORLD REPORT's Executive Editor, Col. Lloyd Lehrbas (hand on rail) when he was aide to General MacArthur.



. . . just a day away.

. . . the UN . . . atoms, colonies, security.

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The publishers of WORLD REPORT invite you to become a subscriber to this new weekly newsmagazine, which in less than a year has broken all first-year circulation records in the newsmagazine field. Starting publication in May, 1946, WORLD REPORT already has more than 100,000 subscribers—more than double the circulation acquired by any other newsmagazine during its first year. The subscription rate is $4 a year (fifty-two weekly issues) to any address in the United States, Its Possessions, Central and South America. To Canada and other countries, the annual rate is $5 (or its equivalent in any currency). Send your subscription order now to:

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M. Price

"THE LAST HOUR BEFORE MIDNIGHT"

Text of the Statement Issued on June 30, 1947

By

THE EMERGENCY COMMITTEE *of* ATOMIC SCIENTISTS

ALBERT EINSTEIN . . . . . *Chairman*
HAROLD C. UREY . . . . . *Vice-Chairman*

> *"We must contrive to live together in peace even if at the cost of great material sacrifice; the alternative is the death of our society. As we approach what may be the last hour before midnight, the challenge is plain before us. What will be our response?"*
>
> —FROM THE STATEMENT OF THE EMERGENCY COMMITTEE OF ATOMIC SCIENTISTS

An Appeal for "A Higher Realism"

A YEAR has passed since the founding of this Committee and the publication of our first appeal to reason in the face of the overwhelming threat presented to civilization by the atomic bomb. During this year our hopes for international agreement on control of atomic energy have come to nothing. It is imperative that the American people understand this failure if any constructive solutions are to be arrived at in time.

Can thoughtful and well-informed men any longer expect fruitful agreements to come out of the discussions now going on in the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission? Are the American proposals for the international control of atomic energy fair? Are the Russians to blame that any agreement is further away than at the initiation of the discussions?

These are questions of varying degrees of importance but the imperative question, the answer to which is a matter of historic necessity, is: "How can we reach a world consensus to abolish in the near future the threat of atomic war, and ultimately, the possibility of war itself?" If we fail to find the answer to this question, the answer to any other question is irrelevant.

All signs indicate that we are failing to meet the challenge. Peoples throughout the world want peace as never before, yet nations prepare feverishly for war. Preparation goes on day and night on both the material and psychological planes. Instead of the "One World" which men proclaimed a few short years ago, we have come even to the partition of existing nations. The United Nations, in which was invested the hopes of peoples throughout the world, is granted inadequate powers and, indeed, this tribunal is bypassed on matters of primary importance. Militarism is rampant throughout the world. In all history, never in any period of "peace" have so many men been under arms. Even in Great Britain and America with their great anti-militarist traditions, liberal-thinking men, considering the necessities of the situation, turn to the "realistic" solution. The Prussian disease of which the German and Japanese states have died is beginning to infect the conquerors.

EVENTS during the past year have emphasized the tragic pertinence of our Six Point statement published on November 17, 1946:

1. Atomic bombs can now be made cheaply and in large number. They will become more destructive.
2. There is no military defense against atomic bombs and none is to be expected.
3. Other nations can rediscover our secret processes by themselves.
4. Preparedness against atomic war is futile, and if attempted will ruin the structure of our social order.
5. If war breaks out, atomic bombs will be used and they will surely destroy our civilization.
6. There is no solution to this problem except international control of atomic energy and, ultimately, the elimination of war.

Once stock piles of atomic bombs have been accumulated by two national blocs of a divided world, it will no longer be possible to maintain peace. Thus we have one year less to secure a workable solution to safeguard our civilization.

Why have the year-long discussions in the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission not succeeded? Is this because of incidental and transitory factors which can be remedied by simple measures such as, for instance, the appointment of new personnel to carry on the discussions? The answer is in the negative. The representatives of great states while striving to safeguard the peace, have fulfilled their traditional duty to place their own nations in the most advantageous position to win the next war. It is useless to proceed further along this path; one cannot prepare for war and expect peace.

This is not to say that war is inevitable. It is to say,

however, that the discussions now under way may not make a war less likely, and in fact are based upon the premise of an anticipated war. What is necessary at this critical time is to determine whether there remains an alternative approach more likely to achieve peaceful solutions.

We believe that there is such an alternative approach. We believe that the problem of atomic energy can no longer be treated as an isolated issue. We had hoped a year ago to achieve a pattern of international control of atomic energy which could be applied to other spheres of international concern to implement the creation of a stable world society. To foster this hope today as we move into a world divided into two armed camps would be a betrayal of our responsibility.

We believe that the imperative problem of international control of atomic energy must be solved and can only be solved within the context of a general agreement which guarantees a reasonable degree of security to all nations and provides for far-reaching economic and cultural cooperation among nations. Such a settlement is not possible if the respective peoples are concerned exclusively with the security and welfare of their own countries.

BECAUSE of the importance of the United States in the world today it is imperative that the American people take an active part in achieving such a world settlement. America must be prepared to mobilize her vast resources on an adequate scale to help the peoples of the world lift the levels of their economic life. All peoples would be expected to make reciprocal sacrifices to achieve great ends. Only bold measures of this kind can produce an atmosphere between nations which makes it possible to discuss constructively the restrictions on national sovereignty necessary to the preservation of peace.

But the American people should understand that there is no easy path to the accomplishment of these great objectives; that, in the long run, the creation of a supranational government, with powers adequate to the responsibility of maintaining the peace, is necessary.

Is this realistic? We believe that nothing less is realistic. We know that the developments of science and technology have determined that the peoples of the world are no longer able to live under competing national sovereignties with war as the ultimate arbitrator. Men must understand that the times demand a higher realism which recognizes that "no man is an island," that our fate is joined with that of our fellowmen throughout the world. We must contrive to live together in peace even if at the cost of great material sacrifice; the alternative is the death of our society. As we approach what may be the last hour before midnight, the challenge is plain before us. What will be our response?

ALBERT EINSTEIN, *Chairman*
Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, N. J.

HAROLD C. UREY, *Vice-Chairman*
Professor of Chemistry, University of Chicago.

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LINUS PAULING
Professor of Chemistry, California Institute of Technology.

LEO SZILARD
Professor of Biophysics, University of Chicago.

VICTOR F. WEISSKOPF
Professor of Physics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Princeton, New Jersey
June 30, 1947.

THE EMERGENCY COMMITTEE OF ATOMIC SCIENTISTS

INCORPORATED

90 NASSAU STREET, PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

THE Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists was organized informally in May, 1946 by a small group of atomic scientists headed by Albert Einstein and Harold C. Urey; the Committee was incorporated in August, 1946. The atomic scientists understood, because of their unique knowledge, the tremendous new problems which faced mankind through the release of atomic energy. Their purpose in coming together was to arouse the American people to an understanding of the unprecedented crisis in national and international affairs precipitated by the atomic discoveries.

The part they had borne in these discoveries had aroused in scientists a deep sense of responsibility for the immediate and eventual uses to which this great new power might be put. As scientists, working in the interests of their country at a time of national peril, they had released overwhelming new forces. As citizens, they saw that the people were wholly unaware of the supreme implications of this new power, mainly because of the necessity of military security. They believed that the connotations of secrecy, national rivalry, and mass destruction that unavoidably attached to the atomic discoveries from their inception must be removed, that men might determine the future use and control of atomic energy in an atmosphere of free and democratic discussion.

During the year that has passed, every member of the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists has done his utmost to bring home to the people of the United States the simple facts of atomic energy and their tremendous implications for world peace or world destruction. By conference and letter this small group of men have reached directly over 200,000 key citizens. To reach a wider audience, they have the willing cooperation of hundreds of younger scientists who, forming themselves into the Association of Scientists for Atomic Education, have sent out teams of speakers to bring to large cities and small towns in simple concrete terms the facts of atomic energy. They have already worked in ten states: California, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Kansas, Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia.

Their work is complemented by the nationwide educational effort of the National Committee on Atomic Information, likewise formed at the urgent behest of leading atomic scientists. This group is an association of more than sixty organizations, representing a total nationwide membership of over forty million people, all of whom can be reached through the normal communication channels of their particular organization. The work of the Association of Scientists for Atomic Education and the National Committee on Atomic Information is financed by the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists.

Also financed by the Committee is the uniquely valuable *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists,* which month by month presents and appraises every important proposal for international control, whether emanating from government or private sources. The *Bulletin* is perhaps the most valuable existing medium for disseminating information and opinion on atomic energy control. It reaches those who are responsible for governmental policy both in the United States and abroad, carrying to them the thoughtful conclusions of the world's leading atomic scientists.

In the year that has passed since the founding of the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists, there have been significant indications of a growing understanding and concern for the proper democratic safeguarding of atomic energy. The adoption of the McMahon Bill, providing for civilian control of atomic energy, was such an indication; the publication of the Acheson-Lilienthal Report was another. But the deadlock that has recently been reached in international control negotiations has produced a climate of general doubt and uncertainty, a state of mind in which ill-considered, inadequate and dangerous proposals can flourish. To the end that the American people may fully understand the fundamental requirements of any satisfactory and workable international agreement for the control of atomic energy, the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists proposes a strengthening and enlargement of its educational work.

To date over 10,000 private individuals have subscribed to this educational effort in the interest of national and world understanding of the momentous issues at stake. Over $85,000 was received in response to the scientists' first urgent appeal. Since the formal incorporation of the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists, an additional $235,000 has been contributed. Fully to implement its educational campaign the Committee seeks a minimum total of $1,000,000.

It is the unanimous belief of the members of the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists that such a nationwide educational campaign provides the only assurance that public attention will be focused on the paramount necessity of securing effective international control to safeguard our civilization.

New AFRICA

Council on African Affairs

Monthly Bulletin

Dedicated to new relations with Africa—in the interest of African freedom and the promotion of international democracy, security, and peace.

Volume 6, No. 6 June, 1947

JUL 3 1947
Southern Regional Council

SOUTH AFRICA GETS $1,400,000 LEND-LEASE SURPLUS FROM U. S.

The intricate financial relations between the U. S. of A. and U. of S. A. on the government level have been brought into prominence by recent lend-lease settlements which indicate clearly the extent to which this government is propping up South Africa's shaky economy.

Back in 1944 Smuts told his parliament that the British would foot the bill for lend-lease supplies sent South Africa. "We have no direcet obligation," he said. "The British government has taken everything on its own shoulders."

It therefore came as quite a shock to South Africa when the U. S. last August handed the government there a lend lease bill amounting to about $900,000,000. The *Cape Times* (Cape Town), reflected the popular attitude in a cartoon representing Uncle Sam in the guise of a Shylock saying, "What's wrong, I'm entitled to my pound of flesh, ain't I?"

South Africa offered to settle for $44.-000,000, a token payment. Agreement was finally reached this year on a payment of $100,000,000, after Smuts himself had been over here to intercede. Considerable fanfare attended the payment of the first half of this amount in March. (Remember how little Findland paid its World War I debt?)

No such publicity was given one important part of the settlement whereby $1,400,000 worth of American lend-lease equipment in the Union (not counting other military stores there previously bought) was sold to the Union government *on the condition that payment not be made in U. S. dollars but in South African pounds which would be spent by the U. S. government in South Africa.*

And so Uncle Sam isn't such a Shylock after all. This little deal merits some attention by those investigating the disposal of surplus war supplies.

Meantime shipments of gold bullion from South Africa, product of the blood and sweat of black labor, continue to arrive in this country. Early last month a single cargo of $10,000,000 in gold arrived from Cape Town consigned to the Federal Reserve Bank in Manhattan.

Basuto People Plan Delegation To Next U. N. Assembly Meeting

Another fresh cause of worry to both the British and South African governments is looming up at the next meeting of the U. N. General Assembly in September. A delegation representing the 560,000 people of Basutoland will attend that meeting to bring to the attention of the delegates the "violation of agreement of protection and rights of the Basuto people by England."

This decision was unanimously agreed upon by people's and chief's representatives from all parts of Basutoland at a conference held in April at Mapoteng, called by the Basuto nationalist movement, Lekhotla le Bafo.

Basutoland is one of the three colonies under British rule contiguous to the Union of South Africa and long coveted by the government of the latter country. (*New Africa,* Sept. 1946, told how Chief Tshekedi Khama was prevented by the British government from bringing a petition to the U. N. from the people of Bechuanaland, another of the three colonies.)

Josiel Lefele, one of the most respected leaders of Lekhotla le Bafo and a member of the Basutoland General Council, made a three and a half hour address in which he traced the history of the colony and the violation of the treaty of alliance signed by King Moshesh and Queen Victoria which guaranteed internal self-government of the Basuto people.

He warned that the British government was paving the way for the annexation of their country by the Union of South Africa.

Lekhotla le Bafo has previously appealed to the General Secretary of the U. N. against the ban placed on its activities by the British government. In 1942 Josiel Lefela and two other leaders of the organization were interned by the government for making the demand that Basuto soldiers be given full military training and arms in order to be able to defend their country and fight against fascism. This was regarded as seditious—in the three protectorates as well as South Africa recruits were used only in non-combat services.

Welcome to Azikiwe

The Council on African Affairs joins in welcoming West Africa's great leader, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, who arrived in the United States May 21 for a short visit.

Dr. Azikiwe is the owner and publisher of five newspapers in Nigeria, including the militant WEST AFRICAN PILOT. Because of the tremendous influence of these papers in the fight for democratic rights of Africans, Azikiwe is a marked man among British officialdom. Three of his papers were temporarily banned by the Governor because of the strong support given the 1945 general strike in Nigeria. The Council made formal protest against this and other instances of official persecution against Azikiwe.

Dr. Azikiwe

On the death of Herbert Macaulay last May, Azikiwe inherited the leadership of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, a powerful federation of organizations throughout the country. Just this year he won the largest vote among the three Lagos members elected to Nigeria's Legislative Council.

Azikiwe received his higher education in this country at Storer College, West Virginia; Lincoln University and Pennsylvania and Columbia Universities. Last year he received the degree of Doctor of Laws from Lincoln. This year he received an honorary doctorat of literature from Storer College and made the commencement address at that institution on June 2nd.

Next month Azikiwe will go to England to head a delegation of the National Council of Nigeria which will place the demands of Nigerians before the British public and government. Immediate demands include changes in the constitution to grant more representative government and revision of ordinances relating to land rights, minerals, and the status of chiefs.

Azikiwe believes Nigeria should have the right of self-determination after 15 years, during which time certain preparatory stages of development toward full self-government should be completed.

Indian-South African Relations "Have Deteriorated Further", Nehru Tells Smuts

THE Indian government on June 3 made public the contents of letters from Pandit Nehru to Field Marshal Smuts expressing the Indian government's desire for steps to be taken in accordance with the U. N. General Assembly resolution on the treatment of Indians in South Africa, and indicating the unreadiness of the Government to agree to the return to South Africa of the High Commissioner for India, as requested by Smuts, until Indian-South African relations improve.

Copies of the letters, dated April 24 and May 6, were sent simultaneously to Trygve Lie, U. N. Secretary General.

Smuts replied to the first letter, stating that negotiations on the question at issue could best be carried out if the High Commissioner for India should return to South Africa and confer with Union authorities. Replying on May 6, Nehru said that his government did not regard the absence of the High Commissioner from the Union as in any way hindering solution of the question.

He pointed out that the High Commissioner had been recalled "as a consequence of the deterioration in relations between our two countries of which the General Assembly of the United Nations has taken note. The India Government have to state with regret that these relations have not only not improved since but have deteriorated further."

Up to June 3 Smuts had not replied to Nehru's letter of May 6.

U. N. Vetoes U. S. Discrimination

Hearty congratulations to Byron Price, U. N. Assistant Secretary General in charge of Administrative Affairs, for refusing to sanction disrimination by the Metropolitan and New York Life Insurance Companies in housing accomodations for U. N. employees. Mr. Price cancelled rental agreements between the United Nations and the corporations involving 912 apartments when the companies insisted upon the right of excluding employees it regarded as "unsuitable" as tenants.

New York citizens have waged a long fight against the discriminatory policy of the giant insurance companies.

It is to be hoped, as Dr. Yergan stated in his letter of congratulation to Mr. Price, that the action of the U. N. Secretariat in giving concrete implementation to the U. N. principle of racial equality, will set a precedent for democratic hospitality instead of Jim Crow insults to dark-skinned U. N. delegates as well as staff members coming to America.

1,698 SENTENCED TO JAIL IN INDIAN RESISTANCE CAMPAIGN

Up to May, according to *The Passive Resister,* published by the Indian Natal Congress, 1,698 people had been sentenced and jailed since the passive resistance campaign began last June in protest against the South African government's discriminatory housing and land legislation aimed at the Indian minority.

The figure of 1698 includes 275 women. The prisoners, among whom have been Africans, have served a total of 181 years, 10 months, 3 wekes in jail, it was estimated.

Racial antagonism has been aggravated by the campaign organized in the Transvaal Province by white farmers to boycott Indian traders. The boycott movement has developed into a widespread scheme to drive Indians entirely out of business throught the whole of South Africa.

A few of the wealthier Indians have attempted to find a basis of compromise which would save the South African government from further embarrassment. These compromisers, who met recently with General Smuts, are called Indian "moderates" in the South African European press and in press dispatches to papers like the *New York Times.* But the leaders of the passive resistance movement call them Quislings, "puppets of General Smuts."

SOUTH AFRICA'S GREATEST DEMONSTRATION OF AFRICAN-INDIAN COOPERATION: Part of the throng at the Unity Rally in Johannesburg May 4, organized jointly by the African National Congress, Transvaal Indian Congress, and Transvaal Branch of the African People's Organization. Dr. Xuma, Senator Basner and other speakers denounced Smuts' failure to carry out the United Nations decisions on South West Africa and Indian discrimination. Greetings from Paul Robeson, Chairman, Council on Africa Affairs, were read and warmly applauded.

Colonial Powers Emphasized Own Prerogatives At First Session of U. N. Trusteeship Council

A GOOD clew to the net result of the first session of the U. N. Trusteeship Council March 26 to April 28, is the statement of the British delegate, Mr. Ivor Thomas, when interviewed by *Commonweal*. He was somewhat more optimistic about the future of the trusteeship system than he had been at the close of the General Assembly session last December. The members of the Trusteeship Council, he said, "worked as a team," whereas during the General Assembly meeting, the administering powers had been the victims of what he called ignorant and abusive attack.

Contrary to the observation of Mr. Thomas, there was considerable opposition from the three non-colonial members of the T. C. (China, Mexico and Iraq) to the position taken by the administering powers on many of the points under discussion. But the six colonial powers on the T.C. (Britain, France, U.S.A., Belgium, Australia and New Zealand) ordered things pretty much as they pleased. The absence of the Soviet Union from the session made it difficult for the non-colonial minority to present a very effective opposition. Sharp criticism of some of the decisions made is expected when the report of the T. C. comes before the General Assembly.

As an indication of the general tenor of the session, one may cite the following matters of record:

• The colonial powers were firmly opposed to letting the Secretariat of U. N. use the slghtest initiative in dealing with trusteeship matters. For example, the T. C. voted 5-4 that in circulating any petition the Secretary-General should give no background information or comments from any source unless the comments of the administering authority concerned were available at that time.

• There was opposition to acknowledging that the General Assembly or the Security Council might call special sessions of the T. C. The New Zealand representative, for instance, declared that the T. C. "should maintain a position of independence" and be "in no way subordinate to the Security Council." The Charter's provisions on this matter, however, could not be ignored. But a Chinese proposal that special sessions should also be called "upon the petition of the inhabitants of the trust territories with the approval of the majority of members of the T. C." was not adopted in the rules of procedure.

• The same jealous attitude was evident in the decisions on relations of the T.C. to other U. N. agencies. A proposal that representatives of such agencies be permitted to propose resoluions or amendments to the T. C. but not vote on them, was rejected. The Belgian representative wanted the Economic and Social Council in matters relating to trust territories to deal directly with the administering authorities rather than with the T. C., emphasizing that the T. C. was "only an organ for supervision and not for direct administration."

• The attempt was made to enable administering powers to screen petitions from inhabitants of the trust territories addressed to the U. N. It was decided to allow three months between the time of receipt of a petition and the review of it before the T. C. The state concerned could in the meantime report that the grievance had been satisfactorily resolved.

• The colonial powers made a strong fight to virtually nullify the power of oral petition, one suggestion being that all such petitions be honored only if they had previously been submitted in writing. The drafting committee adopted the view that oral petitions should be regarded as "exceptional" and should be preceded by notice of their subject matter by the petitioners.

• On the matter of the questionnaires to be answered by states holding trust territories, the states concerned objected to the request for "comprehensive and detailed" information. The Belgian representative, supported by the British, made an effort to get adoption of the inadequate questionnaire drafted twenty years ago and used by the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations.

• The T. C., by majority vote, decided that the administering powers, in answering questionnaries, should not be called upon to disclose information of international concern about armed forces and military bases in the trust territories. (The right to establish such bases without consent of the Security Council was one of the most hotly debated points at the last Assembly meeting.)

At its first session the Trusteeship Council:

• Adopted 107 rules of procedure, including provision for two regular sessions annually in June and November.

• Approved provisionally the questionnaire to be sent to states administering trust territories, the final decision to be made at the November session after consultation with specialized U. N. agencies.

• Established an investigating mission consisting of Belgium, Iraq and the U. S. to go to Western Samoa this summer in response to the petitions of the inhabitants of that New Zealand-governed territory for self-government.

• Reviewed petitions from Germans and Italians in British-administered Tanganyika asking the prevention of repatriation of the petitioners to their countries of origin; the T. C. decided not to intervene, leaving the matter in the hands of the British.

• Postponed for consideration until the November session petitions from the General Secretary of the All-Ewe Conference relating to British and French Togoland, protesting the division of the Ewe people between the two administrations and demanding unification followng a plebiscite.

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W. A. HUNTON, *Editor*

News Notes

NAIROBI, KENYA—The U. N. committee on freedom of the press will please note: In Nairobi last month the publisher and editor of the only Indian-owned and African-edited weekly newspaper, *Habari,* were convicted of sedition and sentenced to jail because of publication of a letter written by an African soldier complaining against the European treatment of Africans. Also last month, the publisher and editor of the *Umma* newspaper in Khartoum were fined for allegedly attempting to "incite feelings of dissatisfaction" against the government of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

•

SOUTHERN RHODESIA—A resolution that the African branch of the Southern Rhodesia Labor Party should be disbanded was defeated at the annual congress of the party in April. The Trades and Labor Council of Rhodesia also went on record in support of African trade unions and proposed that the Industrial Conciliation Act which excludes Africans (as in South Africa) should be amended to give recogcognition to them.

•

WASHINGTON—The question of the disposition of the Italian colonies is again in the news. The U.S. State Dept. has emphasized that the Big Four conference to be held soon on this problem should be regarded simply as a preliminary meeting for the purpose of arranging for a commission of investigation to be sent to the Italian colonies to ascertain the views of the local population and secure other pertinent information. Meanwhile the former Italian colonies remain under British military rule.

•

ETHIOPIA—Two Sudanese doctors, graduates of the Kitchener Medical College at Khartoum, have arrived in Addis Ababa to serve with the Ethiopian Ministry of Public Health.

•

NIGERIA — The Secretary General of the Nigerian Union of Teachers, E. E. Esua, announced that a deadline of May 14th had been set for a teachers' strike in the event the government had not by that time arrived at a satisfactory decision with respect to improvement of salaries and other grievances of teachers.

•

PARIS—French, British and Belgian colonial officials and experts held a 3-day conference here last month and agreed to cooperate more closely in certain common matters of administration of their African colonies. Problems of health, food, labor conditions and soil conservation will henceforth be considered jointly by representatives of the three nations at periodic conferences to be held in Africa.

•

CAPETOWN, SOUTH AFRICA — Considerable excitement was stirred up in the House of Assembly not long ago when, for the first time, General Smuts referred to the African people as "Africans." "Why don't you call them 'natives'? That's their name," called out one member.

"Have you fallen for Communist propaganda?" shouted another.

"I cannot see anything wrong in calling a people by the name they prefer," General Smuts replied. Then he added, smiling: "I am an African as well."

The Natives' Representatives (white) in the House, who always refer to "Africans," still meet with Nationalist objections almost every time they use the word.

Government Cracks Down On South African Labor Unity

Coincident with noteworthy action by the South African Trades and Labor Council at its recent annual conference cementing ties between white and non-white workers (of which more below), General Smuts began talking about the desirability of separating African and Colored Workers from the general labor movement in their own unions.

Following this, an Industrial Conciliation (Natives) Bill was drafted for consideration in the Union parliament. Officials speak of the bill as answering the long heard demand for official recognition of African trade unions, BUT—

- *It would bar strikes by those unions. There would be compulsory arbitration of all disputes by officially appointed boards. Thus the unions would be no better off than they are now.*
- *It would not permit union organization of the hundreds of thousands of workers in the mining industry and in farming and domestic service. Thus only a minority of the employed Africans would have "recognized" unions.*

African leaders naturally oppose this phony recognition of their trade unions. The African National Congress has declared that the proposed bill "is unacceptable because it maintains the principle of racial discrimination and domination."

Labor Conference Action

Now, let's look at the other side of the picture—which explains the reason for the government's bill. At the annual conference of the South African Trades and Labor Council held in April, a demand for the exclusion of non-European workers was defeated. Further, the conference by majority vote condemned the police brutality against the African mine workers during their strike of last August and repudiated the Council's Executive Committee for justifying that police brutality in a cabled message to the W.F.T.U.

It should be noted that the S.A.T.L.C. is a federation of predominantly white workers. Of the 117 affiliated trade unions, representing 168,000 members, 68 have some non-white members. Of the 170 delegates attending the conference, only 30 were non-white.

Writing on the African representation in S.A.T.L.C. and the conference action on this question, H. A. Naidoo, an Indian delegate to the Conference, who visited the United States last fall during the meeting of the U. N., says:

"A large number of African trade unions are still excluded from affiliation by reason of their inability to meet their financial obligations . . . although the Council has no color bar, many non-European members are prevented from exercising their influence in it.

"Despite these difficulties, there is an increasing sign that non-European workers are bound to play their full part in the S.A.T.L.C.

"With the increasing participation of Non-European workers in the S.A.T.L.C. there has been a growing demand for their exclusion. In recent years this demand has come mainly from unions which have come under the grip of fascist influence.

'At the last Conference this demand for excluding non-European workers took the form of a resolution seeking to amend the constitution by providing that only unions registered under the Industrial Conciliation Act shall become members of the Council.

"Clearly this was an attempt to exclude African workers, who are not recognized under the Industrial Conciliation Act. When put to the vote, the motion was defeated by 30 to 115. The card vote which was called for gave the following result: 36,373 voting in favor and 88,497 voting against, thus revealing an equally significant majority against this reactionary demand.

'After the defeat of this fascist-inspired resolution, nine delegates *representing only* 2,929 *workers* walked out of the Conference. The daily press seized the opportunity to report the incident as causing a 'split' in the S.A.T.L.C., although, as can be seen by the figures given above, the dissenting unions represented less than 2 per cent of the affiliated membership."

Smuts Rebuffed in Plea to Natives Representative Council

General Smuts met last month with six members of the Natives' Representative Council, whose members voted to adjourn *sine die* last August because their recommendations to the government were completely ignored.

The Prime Minister was in a conciliatory mood. He acknowledged that the N.R.C., established in 1936, had been given no responsibility and that it was merely a debating chamber whose resolutions fell on deaf ears. He recognized the dissatisfaction and frustration felt by the members but hoped that the Council would resume its functions.

"I think the time has come," Smuts said, "to place a measure of responsibility on the Natives Representative Council. Some executive authority must be given it. I should like to give the Council a bone to chew."

The Africans' attitude to the Prime Minister's tentative proposals (which appear to be designed to strengthen his position at the next meeting of the U. N. General Assembly) was expressed by the working committee of the African National Congress headed by Dr. A. B. Xuma. That body described the proposals as "vague and disappointing" and said:

"The Prime Minister seems to have sidestepped the main cause of the deadlock—the demand of the Natives Representative Council for the repeal of discriminatory colour legislation against Africans and the Council's consequent resolution to adjourn indefinitely until such demands have been complied with.

"The proposals in fact are a retrogressive step in that as long as present discriminatory legislation remains on the statute book the Africans are in effect asked by the Prime Minister in his proposals to administer their own domination, discrimination and oppression under the cloak of giving them responsibility and participation in the administration of their own affairs.

"In other words, we do not accept any proposal that does not provide for direct representation of all sections of the community in all legislative bodies."

3,000 Kenya Africans Petition Government

One of the largest meetings of Africans ever held in East Africa took place on April 20th in Nairobi, Kenya, sponsored by the Kenya African Union. Over 3,000 men and women were present. E. W. Mathu and B. A. Ohanga, African members appointed to the Kenya Legislative Council, and Jomo Kenyatta, author of "Facing Mount Kenya," were among the principal spakers.

Political activity among both Indians and Africans in British East Africa has recently risen sharply as a result of the government's plan for the reorganization of inter-territorial services and establishment of a central legislative assembly for Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika.

E. W. Mathu

In all three colonies the legislatures with their white and official majorities approved the proposals over the united opposition of Indian, Arab and African members who protested against the British government's abandonment of the principle of equal racial representation. The East African Indian National Congress has been active in bringing this question to the attention of all non-white peoples in East Africa and a joint Indo-African deputation is scheduled to take their protest to London.

It was against this background that the meeting on April 20 was held in Nairobi. The audience fully endorsed the stand taken by the African members of the Legislative Council in voting against the inter-territorial scheme. The meeting also declared that:

- The political objective of the African in Kenya must be self-government by Africans for Africans, and that in that African state the rights of all minorities would be safeguarded.
- More African seats should be provided at once in the Kenya Legislative Council.
- More land must be made available both in the Crownland and in the Highlands for the settlement of Africans.
- The introduction of compulsory and free education for Africans, as is given to the children of other races, is overdue.
- Abolition of the Kipande (registration certificates) and pass laws is essential.
- A Royal Commission, like the Caribean Commission, should be sent to Kenya.
- In view of the recent strikes in Mombasa, Kisumu, Kisii, Maseno and Asembo Bay, the government should take action at once to substantially improve wages, housing and other conditions of African labor and provide equal pay for equal work.

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This is your News of Africa
for June, 1947

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August 6, 1947

Dear Mr. Mitchel:

I am writing today to you and other friends who have helped us during the past year. It is a difficult moment at which to write. All about us we see the wreckage of great hopes which mankind held for the building of peace. The gulf between East and West which men of good will have worked to close is widening daily. Some people believe that no reconciliation is possible and that another World War must decide the issue; we scientists reply that it is no longer possible to decide any issue by such means - an atomic war will bring no real decision but only unprecedented death and devastation on both sides.

Such a time in history breeds defeatism and despair. But there are those among us who believe that man has within him the capacity to meet and overcome even the great tests of our times. What we must not lose, or we lose all, is our willingness to seek the truth and our courage to act upon the truth. If we maintain these, we cannot despair.

We scientists believe upon ample evidence that the time of decision is upon us - that what we do or fail to do within the next few years will determine the fate of our civilization. That is the gist of the enclosed statement of this Committee which was published on June 30th, 1947. We call for a "higher realism which recognizes that.....our fate is joined with that of our fellowmen throughout the world." Great ideas may often be expressed in very simple words. In the shadow of the atomic bomb it has become apparent that all men are brothers. If we recognize this as truth and act upon this recognition, mankind may go forward to a higher plane of human development. If the angry passions of a nationalistic world engulf us further, we are doomed.

The task of the scientists, as we conceive it, is untiringly to explain these truths, so that the American people will understand all that is at stake. We believe that with such understanding, the American people will choose from among many paths to reach a peaceful solution and that they will move toward such a solution and not toward war. And we believe that, in the long run, security for all nations demands a supra-national solution.

We will strive unceasingly to bring this understanding to the American people through all the avenues of public discussion open to us. If we are to have any hope of influencing the Russians,

and of convincing them that America wants peace and security for all peoples, we must understand the reasons for their profound distrust of everything foreign which has become the sickness of a stubborn isolationism. We will work for understanding, not abject appeasement.

This letter goes to you on the second anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima. On that day the American people assumed responsibility before the world for the release of the most revolutionary force since the discovery of fire. Each of us, whether as scientists who made the bomb possible, or as citizens of the nation that applied the knowledge, stands accountable for the use we make of this tremendous new force. To our generation has come the possibility of making the most fateful decision in the recorded history of the human race. By an act of the collective will, made now, in this fraction of historic time, we can ensure that this great and painful achievement of man's intellect, instead of turning upon humanity, may be secured for the benefit of future generations. I believe that mankind, capable of reason, restraint, and courage, will choose this path of peace.

No one can predict the events of the coming year but each of us has it in his power today to act for peace. You have helped us in the past. I ask you to help again.

Faithfully yours,

A. Einstein.

AE:mr

Statement of the Lake Geneva Conference of Scientists

Adopted June 21, 1947

The following Statement was adopted at a special meeting of scientists from every section of the country held at Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, June 18-22, 1947. The Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists endorses this Statement, and will contribute its utmost to achieve the indicated objectives.

I

As scientists, we possess a professional knowledge of the developments of science, and in particular, of the peaceful and military possibilities of atomic energy, with its great consequences for good and bad.

The universal character of science, which has created a world-wide scientific community implies to us the probability of discoveries of the same scope in other parts of the world.

We believe that our knowledge imposes on us the responsibility of providing our fellow countrymen and the world with information necessary for charting a wise policy.

The tradition of science involves the seeking of relevant facts and the testing of conclusions in the light of these facts. We believe that by communicating this attitude of science to our people and their leaders we may assist in some measure in the solution of the political problems which have arisen and will continue to arise from the advance of science and technology.

II

We believe that the difficulties encountered in the present attempts to arrive at an agreement on international control of atomic energy do not relieve us of our responsibility but make it all the more urgent.

We therefore reaffirm the following as our special responsibilities:

1. We will continue to make clear that the American monopoly of the atomic bomb is temporary, that there is no "secret" of the atomic bomb, and that there will be no defense which could save this country from ruin in a war with the new weapons of mass destruction.

2. We will continue to urge the establishment of an effective international agency for the control of atomic energy. We believe that control based on cooperative development of atomic energy offers the greatest hope for the future and that such control can and should be established without impairing the diverse economies of the individual nations.

3. We will work toward the extension and international distribution of the peacetime benefits of atomic energy, particularly those which will come from the application of new tools of research.

4. We will continue to point out the dangers to the progress of science, the freedom of scientists, and the civil liberties of citizens which arise from military control of science or its subordination to military aims.

We believe that scientific and technical considerations are becoming increasingly important in the determination of American policies, and we propose to appraise such policies on the basis of the attitude and information held by scientists.

III

The progress of present plans to avoid an atomic armaments race has been slow and uncertain. Consideration of alternatives and the possibilities of merging the present plans in more comprehensive schemes of world cooperation has become necessary.

Unless agreement on some plan embodying effective international control of atomic energy is reached, an atomic armaments race will become unavoidable. It will inevitably bring pressure for the United States to embark on a "preventive" war. Such a preventive war would be an act of aggression and would not be justified on moral grounds. It would entail a bitter struggle, enormously costly in life and property, with unpredictable risks for the United States.

IV

As scientists we claim no special competence in the fields of economics and international relations. We have come, however, to recognize during the last year that the problems of atomic energy cannot be dissociated from general progress toward cooperation among nations.

We recognize that our purpose—which is the permanent elimination of war—requires the establishment of a government of the world with powers adequate to maintain a peace based on the rule of law.

We believe it our obligation to join with other citizens in urging that the United States should participate actively in the development of instruments of world collaboration and use fully the agencies of the United Nations. We believe that it is urgent that the United States, which is the wealthiest nation in the world and has been little affected by the ravages of war, should make a great contribution, even at the cost of substantial sacrifice, to a program of world economic reconstruction under the auspices of the United Nations.

39 - World Affairs

MEMO *from the desk of*

PHILIP WELTNER

RECEIVED
FEB 24 1948

As one interested in the problems of the United Nations, I am taking the liberty of calling your attention to the attached reprint concerning the Middle East and particularly Palestine.

I feel that the Atlantic Monthly has performed an important service in preparing this objective and factual analysis, which brings clarity to a complicated situation.

Philip Weltner.

JANUARY

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ATLANTIC January 1948

THE ATLANTIC REPORT
on the World today

The Middle East

THE United Nations' handling of the Palestine question was one of the most heartening international developments since the war. The Special Committee, an impartially appointed instrument of world opinion, removed the most important aspects of the problem from the realm of controversy. Unanimously it recommended termination of the British Mandate and independence for Palestine. By a majority of seven to three it presented a plan for partition far removed in spirit and in detail from the "federation" scheme advanced last year by the British Cabinet. It also recommended that during the transition period the Mandatory Power be responsible for the admission of 150,000 immigrants into the proposed Jewish state and abolish the restrictions on land sales to Jews in that area.

Attempts to delay the UN Assembly's vote on the partition plan were frustrated by U.S.-Russian insistence on a decision, and the plan was carried thirty-three to thirteen, with ten abstentions. The only non-Moslem countries which voted against partition were Greece and Cuba.

The UN plan found the United States and Soviet Russia substantially in agreement for the first time on a major issue — an electrifying development that gave a sorely needed lift to the world organization. Furthermore, Gromyko's and Tsarapkin's surprise declarations in support of a Jewish state — made in the face of Arab threats to the West of a bolt into the Soviet camp — undercut the Arab League game of playing the powers off against each other and placed the whole Middle East situation in a more realistic perspective.

The outstanding stumbling block to a solution was Britain's refusal, despite its decision to evacuate Palestine, to coöperate in a settlement not acceptable to Arabs and Jews alike. This attitude came strangely from a government which had submitted the problem to the UN on the very ground that all possibilities of Arab-Jewish agreement had been exhausted; and which, furthermore, had shown no compunction about using force to impose the pro-Arab White Paper at great cost to itself in lives and money.

The United States and Russia achieved a compromise which asked no more of the Mandatory than to maintain order until evacuation and give to Arabs and Jews an equal opportunity to prepare for safeguarding their independence.

Will the Arabs go to war?

That there will be violence in Palestine is certain. But how much? Arab reluctance to make sacrifices to combat Zionism is a matter of record. Despite the tempest of speechmaking that greeted the 1936 Palestine riots, little was done to assist the insurgents, who at no time numbered more than 3000. The current Arab boycott of Zionist products has been so flagrantly violated that not long ago the Iraqui premier declared that only in Iraq was the boycott effective. It is no secret in the Middle East capitals that the Arab League meeting in Beirut, summoned in October to plan warfare against a Jewish state, degenerated into a contest between the Mufti and King Abdullah of Trans-Jordan for control of Palestine.

The long-standing feud between the Mufti and Abdullah — referred to as "Rabbi Abdullah" in the Mufti's Berlin broadcasts — is characteristic of the fissures within the Arab League. Abdullah for his part nurses a long-standing quarrel with Ibn

Saud, who expelled Abdullah's father, King Husain, from the Hejaz in 1924.

Trans-Jordan and Iraq form a close partnership within the League by reason of family ties: the boy king of Iraq is Abdullah's grandnephew and the regent is his nephew. The two Hashemite (of the family of Husain) countries, while retaining separate rulers, plan to abolish customs barriers and to adopt a common currency and passport system as first steps toward a more ambitious program of federation — the so-called Greater Syria plan, one of the most explosive issues within the Arab world.

The plan is vehemently opposed by most Syrian politicians, who see their jobs endangered, and by the Christian majority in the Lebanon, which is fearful of being engulfed in a Moslem confederation. The latter have never forgotten the massacre of Assyrian Christians in Iraq after the First World War, and feel that their security is linked with that of the other large non-Moslem minority in the Arab world.

King Farouk of Egypt is a stanch upholder of the status quo, under which his country is the richest, the most populous, and the most highly industrialized of the Arab states. He and Ibn Saud heartily agree that Hashemite ambitions must be held in check, but their own relations are strained. In the eyes of Ibn Saud, leader of the Wahabites, the puritans of Islam, Farouk is a westernized young upstart who has the presumption to challenge his claim to Arab leadership.

The intensity of Arab rivalries makes it improbable that the Arab leaders will succeed in forging a military coalition. It is still less probable, should they go to war, that they could overcome the Hagana or Jewish Defense Force. Even as an illegal formation, the Hagana — estimated to be 70,000 to 80,000 strong — is a well-trained, well-equipped fighting force, officered by men who fought in the British Army, some with the Commandos. As the army of an independent Jewish state, its manpower could be appreciably enlarged and its equipment fortified by Palestine industry, which turned out considerable quantities of war material for the British.

Second-rate Arab Army

All the Arab armies together total approximately 135,000 men, a high proportion of whom must be kept at home to maintain order among the discontented masses and — in the case of Syria and Iraq — to cope with mutinous tribesmen. And this figure cannot be greatly strengthened by conscription. Eighty per cent of Egyptian recruits are rejected as physically unfit, and the health of the masses is, if anything, lower elsewhere.

The only first-class fighting units in the Arab world are the Trans-Jordan Arab Legion and the Trans-Jordan Frontier Force, both of which obey British orders; their involvement would be tantamount to British intervention. The Iraqui Army, strongest of the purely Arab forces, demonstrated its ineptitude both in Rashid Ali's pro-Axis revolt and in its incapacity to subdue Kurdish rebellions without British assistance. It was Lawrence of Arabia who said of the Arabs' fighting prowess in *Seven Pillars of Wisdom:* "One company of Turks firmly entrenched in open country could have defied the entire army of them."

So it would be today. Testifying before the Anglo-American Committee, General D'Arcy, then Commander-in-Chief in Palestine, declared that the Hagana could hold the country against all the Arab states for years. One reservation is necessary. Britain is at present helping to train and equip most of the Arab armies. Were such assistance allowed to continue after the Arabs went to war, the Hagana would be placed at a hopeless disadvantage.

Misery for the poor

A Palestine settlement will in the long run compel the Arab rulers to devote more attention to the plight of the barefoot Arab. Poverty and disease make the life of the Arab peasant or worker a condition little removed from walking death. A random sampling of social statistics tells an appalling story. In Egypt and other parts of the Middle East, nearly 90 per cent of the peasantry are wasting away from bilharzia. Malaria kills 50,000 annually in Iraq. The incidence of pellagra and trachoma is staggeringly high. Limbs are everywhere disfigured by what a perverted nationalism variously terms the Nile boil, the Bagdad boil, and the Aleppo Button.

Life expectancy in Iraq is 27 years; one child in two dies before the age of five. In Egypt, the most advanced of the Arab states, the death rate is higher than in India; in rural areas there is but one doctor to every 10,000 inhabitants. In the whole of Trans-Jordan, three times the size of Palestine, there are twenty-four physicians and five dentists. Everywhere dirt, ignorance, and official apathy and corruption invite epidemic disease; Egypt's cholera epidemic, now in its fourth month, is still spreading. During a previous anti-plague campaign it cost the Egyptian government $50 to kill a rat.

The Atlantic Report *on the Middle East*

One half of one per cent of the population owns one third of the land. Under an antiquated system of land tenure, the Arab peasantry is chronically in debt to usurers and absentee landlords; interest rates frequently range from 50 to 200 per cent. The average annual income of an Iraqui peasant family before the war was $35. Children six years old are employed in the cotton-gin plant of the Banque Misr of Egypt for a daily wage of fifteen cents. The Syrian agricultural worker is paid even less. Iraq, once the seat of a flowering civilization, now cultivates only 20 per cent of its arable land; Syria only 35 per cent. Slavery is recognized by law in Saudi Arabia and the Yemen, which was recently admitted to the UN.

Nothing remotely resembling democratic political conditions obtains in any of the Arab countries. Arab politics is an affair of personalities and family loyalties. When a former Egyptian premier was accused of packing the administration with his near relatives, he replied: "How can I run a government unless I have men I can trust in the key positions?"

Censorship powers enable the Arab governments to suspend or suppress by ministerial fiat newspapers critical of the administration. The Syrian Ministry of the Interior may dissolve any political party, group, or club that appears to act contrary to "the basic principles of the republican constitution."

Subsidies for the rich

In the past decade, hundreds of millions of dollars have poured into the Arab world — in the form of British subsidies, interest-free loans, oil royalties and expenditures by the oil companies, and wartime payments for goods and services purchased at highly inflated prices. Most of this wealth has been dissipated in regal display and the enrichment of the moneyed classes. Some of it now goes to support the Arab League, which can afford to vote the Mufti an allowance of $400,000.

These resources, if devoted to education, irrigation projects, and social services, could have transformed the face of the Arab world. The agricultural research section of the American Near East Foundation — a fine example of disinterested endeavor among the Arabs — offers impressive evidence of how much can be accomplished with how little: an expenditure of $600 on experiments to combat tomato disease in the Lebanon saved a crop worth two millions.

One of the great barriers to progress in the Arab world has been the relative absence of a socially conscious middle class. In the Lebanon, where French and American educators have long been active, 70 per cent of the population are literate, but elsewhere illiteracy ranges from 70 per cent in Syria to 90 per cent in Iraq, and more than that in the Arabian quadrilateral. There is no university in Iraq and only one newspaper in the Yemen, a country the size of Kansas with 3½ million people.

Rising clamor for reform

Thus between the ruling Arab oligarchy and the inarticulate masses there exists only a thin layer of struggling professional men, underpaid white-collar workers (most of them in the bureaucracy), and excitable students. Many of the members of this group, proud of being effendis (gentlemen) and conscious of their dependence on patronage for advancement, have in the past identified their interests with those of the pashas, and so have failed to constitute a progressive force in politics. Since the war, however, there has been a growing change in the outlook of the Arab middle-class intelligentsia — the most significant development in the Arab world since the time of Lawrence.

The young effendis in Cairo, Damascus, Beirut, and Bagdad are beginning to translate volatile clamor for reform into insistent pressure. Despite the repressive policies now in force under the guise of combating Communism, leftist journals and reform movements are sprouting faster than they can be suppressed.

The unanimity and vigor with which rival opposition parties protested the Lebanese and Iraqui elections are symptoms of a new temper among articulate Arabs. They cannot be swindled much longer with artificial excuses for postponing improvement of social conditions and obstructing the march of civilization. The proposed Jewish state will have the effect of quickening the civilizing process. In the course of time, it is bound to stimulate progressive Arabs with the example of an advanced technology, democratic institutions, and a sense of the dignity of human life unknown to the Arab oligarchy.

The Arab's greatest champion, T. E. Lawrence, once wrote: "I am decidedly in favor of Zionism. Indeed, I look on the Jews as the natural importers of that Western leaven which is so necessary for the countries of the Near East. . . . The success of their scheme will involve inevitably the raising of the present Arab population to their own material level, only a little after themselves in point of time, and the consequences might be of the highest importance for the future of the Arab world."

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EXTEND RECIPROCAL TRADE AGREEMENTS ACT

MESSAGE

FROM

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

TRANSMITTING

RECOMMENDATION THAT THE CONGRESS EXTEND THE RECIPROCAL TRADE AGREEMENTS ACT IN ITS PRESENT FORM FOR THREE YEARS, UNTIL JUNE 12, 1951

MARCH 1, 1948.—Referred to the Committee on Ways and Means and ordered to be printed

To the Congress of the United States:

I recommend that the Congress extend the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act in its present form for 3 years, until June 12, 1951. This act authorizes the President, under well-defined procedures and limitations, to conclude agreements with other countries for the reciprocal reduction of tariffs and other obstacles to international trade.

For 14 years the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act has been an essential element of United States foreign policy. It was first enacted in 1934 and has been extended by the Congress four times, on each occasion after thorough study of its operation and results. It is well known to the American people and has drawn their constant and increasing support, regardless of party affiliation.

The basic reason for this constant popular support and repeated congressional approval is that the act has provided a sound method for increasing world trade through progressive lowering of trade barriers, to the benefit of living standards both here and abroad.

The importance of the act is greater today than it has ever been. Together with other nations, we are engaged in a mighty endeavor to build a prosperous and peaceful world. The financial assistance we have already contributed, and the further aid we shall give to nations in Europe and elsewhere, constitute a tremendous investment toward world economic recovery. The Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, by stimulating an increasing flow of trade between nations, will contribute

strongly to the achievement of this objective. Its extension is essential if we are to complete the work we have begun.

The trade-agreements program contributes not only to the restoration of a prosperous world economy; it also contributes directly to the welfare and prosperity of the people of the United States. Our people need to import many commodities from abroad; we need equally to export many of our products. Both needs are served by agreements which reduce or eliminate obstacles to commerce between the United States and other countries.

These agreements recognize the fundamental fact that trade is a two-way business and that our foreign commerce depends upon a balanced relationship between imports and exports. Foreign countries must be able to sell to us if they are to have the dollars to pay for our exports and to repay our loans. Adequate markets for our agricultural and industrial producers depend upon the lowering of trade barriers by other countries. Imports of goods needed in this country improve the standard of living of our people as consumers at the same time that they make possible the maintenance of markets for our people as producers.

Currently, we are exporting far more than we are importing. But this is a temporary condition made necessary by considerations of overriding importance. The trade-agreements program is a sound method for achieving a more balanced relationship in the future within the broader framework of the expanding world trade so necessary to economic reconstruction.

In addition, by contributing to the lowering of trade barriers the United States can support the expansion of private trading as distinct from Government trading. The existence of trade restrictions is too often accompanied by Government participation in trading operations—extending even to trading by Government agencies. The preservation of our private enterprise system at home is closely bound up with the reduction of trade restrictions and the encouragement of private international trade.

The Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act is a proven instrument for achieving these objectives. Prior to 1945 the United States had concluded agreements with 29 countries, affecting about one-half of our foreign commerce. These agreements helped greatly to reduce trade barriers and to stimulate the foreign commerce of the United States and the other countries concerned.

Since 1945 we have continued our efforts to reduce the strains imposed upon the world economy by narrow concepts of economic nationalism. Last summer at Geneva the United States and 22 other countries concluded the most important and comprehensive trade agreement in history. By this agreement these 23 nations agreed to reduce their tariffs, or to maintain low tariffs or none at all, on a wide variety of products. The products affected accounted in 1938 for over half the world's international trade. In addition, the Geneva agreement included commitments to curb the use of other trade restrictions, such as import quotas and preferential treatment of imports from one country as against those from another.

This agreement is a landmark in international economic relations. Never before have so many nations combined in such an intensive effort to reduce barriers to trade. While it will be some time before the benefits of the agreement can be fully felt, it is clear that it will make a substantial contribution to the expansion of world trade and to the recovery of the world economy.

We expect that many other countries will wish to join the Geneva agreement. The continuance of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act is necessary to enable the United States to play its part in extending this reduction of trade barriers to these other countries. Furthermore, we shall need the authority of the act to make appropriate revisions in the Geneva agreement as they are made necessary by changing world conditions.

The trade-agreements authority will also be needed to enable us, in concert with other nations, to carry out the International Trade Organization charter, now being completed at Habana. The United States has actively sponsored the creation of this Organization to encourage the conduct of trade between nations on fair and liberal principles and to provide a forum where nations can consult on points of economic difference and on cooperative measures to solve common economic problems. The proposed charter, which will be presented to the Congress at a later date, includes as one of its cardinal points the undertaking that all member countries will stand ready to negotiate for the reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers on a reciprocal and mutually advantageous basis. The extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act will enable us to carry out this undertaking.

For all these reasons I am convinced that we should continue the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act. The positive benefits to world trade, to United States export industries and agriculture, and to our domestic consumers are beyond question. Furthermore, we need have no fear of serious harm to any domestic producer. An expanding foreign trade promotes the most efficient use of our productive resources and contributes to the growing prosperity of the whole Nation.

In addition, the interests of domestic producers are carefully protected in the negotiation of each trade agreement. I assured the Congress, when the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act was last extended in 1945, that domestic producers would be safeguarded in the process of expanding trade. That commitment has been kept. It will continue to be kept. The practice will be continued of holding extensive public hearings to obtain the view of all interested persons before negotiations are even begun. The practice will be continued whereby each agreement before its conclusion will be carefully studied by the Departments of State, Treasury, Agriculture, Commerce and Labor, the National Military Establishment, and the United States Tariff Commission. Finally, each agreement will continue to include a clause which will permit withdrawal or modification of concessions if, as a result of unforeseen developments and of the concessions, imports increase to such an extent as to cause or threaten serious injury to domestic producers.

The Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act is a tested and practical means, which has wide bipartisan support, for achieving the benefits of expanding world commerce for the United States and for other countries. It is a continuing evidence of the determination of the United States to contribute its full share to the reconstruction of a sound and growing world economy as the basis for enduring peace. As such, I strongly recommend that the act be extended for an additional 3 years.

HARRY S. TRUMAN.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *March 1, 1948.*

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39 - World Affairs

United States of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 80th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

The Battle for World Peace and Stability

SPEECH

OF

HON. ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 1, 1948

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, for the sake of continuity I respectfully ask my colleagues to permit me to conclude my general statement on the pending bill without interruption.

Mr. President, with the unanimous approval of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, I report the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948 in its perfected text. In the name of peace, stability, and freedom it deserves prompt passage. In the name of intelligent American self-interest it envisions a mighty undertaking worthy of our faith. It is an economic act—but economics usually control national survivals these days. The act itself asserts that "disruption following in the wake of war is not contained by national frontiers." It asserts that "the existing situation in Europe endangers the establishment of a lasting peace, the general welfare and national interest of the United States, and the attainment of the objectives of the United Nations."

Every Senator knows that these dangers are even greater than they were when those words were written only two short weeks ago. The fate of Czechoslovakia, where any semblance of democracy has just been gutted by subversive conquest, underscores this solemn thesis. The kindred fate of brave little Finland may be adding to the ominous score this very afternoon even while we debate an axiom, namely, that aggressive communism threatens all freedom and all security, whether in the Old World or in the New, when it puts free peoples anywhere in chains.

The act asserts sound doctrine when it says that it is "the policy of the people of the United States to sustain and strengthen principles of individual liberty, free institutions and genuine independence through assistance to those countries of Europe which participate in a joint recovery program based upon self-help and mutual cooperation." Mr. President, this act may well become a welcome beacon in the world's dark night, but if a beacon is to be lighted at all it had better be lighted before it is too late.

Nevertheless, Mr. President, the decision which here concerns the Senate is the kind that tries men's souls. I understand and share the anxieties involved. It would be a far happier circumstance if we could close our eyes to reality, comfortably retire within our bastions, and dream of an isolated and prosperous peace. But that which was once our luxury would now become our folly. This is too plain to be persuasively denied in a foreshortened, atomic world. We must take things as they are.

The greatest nation on earth either justifies or surrenders its leadership. We must choose. There are no blueprints to guarantee results. We are entirely surrounded by calculated risks. I profoundly believe that the pending program is the best of these risks. I have no quarrel with those who disagree, because we are dealing with imponderables. But I am bound to say to those who disagree that they have not escaped to safety by rejecting or subverting this plan. They have simply fled to other risks, and I fear far greater ones. For myself, I can only say that I prefer my choice of responsibilities.

This legislation, Mr. President, seeks peace and stability for freemen in a free world. It seeks them by economic rather than by military means. It proposes to help our friends to help themselves in the pursuit of sound and successful liberty in the democratic pattern. The quest can mean as much to us as it does to them. It aims to preserve the victory against aggression and dictatorship which we thought we won in World War II. It strives to help stop World War III before it starts. It fights the economic chaos which would precipitate far-flung disintegration. It sustains western civilization. It means to take western Europe completely off the American dole at the end of the adventure. It recognizes the grim truth—whether we like it or not—that American self-interest, national economy, and national security are inseverably linked with these objectives. It stops if changed conditions are no longer consistent with the national interest of the United States. It faces the naked facts of life.

Within the purview of this plan are 270,000,000 people of the stock which has largely made America. These are 26 percent of all the literates of the earth. Before the war they operated 68 percent of all the ships that sailed the sea. They grew 27 percent of all the world's cereals. They produced 37 percent of the world's steel. They sold 24 percent of the world's exports and bought 39 percent of the world's imports. They are struggling, against great and ominous odds, to regain their feet. They must not be allowed to fail. The world—America emphatically included—needs them as both producers and consumers. Peace needs their healthy restoration to the continuing defense of those ideals by which free men live. This vast friendly segment of the earth must not collapse. The iron curtain must not come to the rims of the Atlantic either by aggression or by default.

I wish, Mr. President, swiftly to sketch the chain reaction of events responsible for the issue we here confront. It is a significant narrative which speaks for itself in behalf of the need and justification for this heroic adventure, the greatest ever initiated by any one nation for the sake of peaceful humanities. In the background, of course, is the war itself; the military defeat of the Axis; the utter prostration of postwar Europe amid the ashes of its victory; the resultant tragedy of far-flung human want and suffering; the paralysis of the peace that has not yet come; the rise of new aggression reaching out for ominous conquest amid distraught and disintegrating peoples. I do not here assess whatever mistakes in statesmanship may have helped precipitate or prolong these catastrophies. It is enough, for the present consideration, that the tragedies occurred and that they still threaten the peace, stability, and security of this whole earth, the United States again emphatically included.

In the sanctuary of our relative good fortune where not one bomb fell during all those desperate days when the skies of Europe were raining death, we promptly and willingly went to the postwar aid of our prostrate friends. We literally leaped with them from one crisis to another. Bill after bill went through Congress for their relief, and billion after billion went from us to them. Two years of this went by. Often the efforts failed of the desired results—although, despite all debits, I hesitate to think what would have happened in the absence of the efforts. But it became clear that the process could not indefinitely go on, first, because western Europe could not wait longer for real emancipation; second, because America could not longer afford to underwrite futility. We were both near the ends of our ropes.

Then came June 5, 1947. Secretary of State Marshall made a speech at Harvard. Just as at neighboring Concord in an earlier century, it proved to be "a shot heard round the world." At the moment it was just a few sentences in a quiet sequence. I quote:

It is already evident that before the United States Government can proceed much further in its effort to alleviate the situation and help the European world on its way to recovery, there must be some agreement among the countries of Europe as to the requirements of the situation and the part those countries themselves will take in order to give proper effect to whatever action might be undertaken by this Government. The initiative, I think, must come from Europe.

The role of this country should consist of friendly aid in the drafting of a European program and of later support of such a program so far as it may be practical for us to do so. The program should be a joint one, agreed to by a number, if not all, of the European nations.

Mr. President, the responsive effect in Europe was electric. History wrote with rushing pen. It was a new call to the colors—this time a peace call to mobilize for self-help and cooperation in quest of mutual survival. The British Bevin and the French Bidault promptly summoned a European conference. They consulted the Russian Molotov. He met with them in Paris on June 27. As usual, his demands were impossible; and, as usual, treacherous Moscow propaganda charged us with iniquitous American "imperialism," a charge shockingly echoed by some of our own citizens. The Soviets vetoed concerted action, but Bevin and Bidault went ahead. They invited 22 European nations—all of them—to meet in Paris. All Soviet-dominated countries sent their refusals, including Czechoslovakia, which, after a hasty summons to the Kremlin, withdrew its previous approval and now finds itself forcefully communized against any further expressions of self-will. Sixteen nations accepted the invitation. Here they are: Austria, Greece, Norway, Switzerland, Belgium, Iceland, Portugal, Turkey, Denmark, Ireland, Sweden, United Kingdom, France, Italy, Luxemburg, Netherlands.

They met on July 12 and organized the Committee of European Economic Cooperation, known as CEEC. They met to coordinate the independent nations of Europe in a self-help effort to seek stability and preserve freedom in response to the dynamic impulse of what was then called the Marshall plan. They met to plan hopeful cooperation that might justify American assistance. And they met bravely, Mr. President—"bravely" because it was in virtual defiance of the Russian Bear, which promptly showed its teeth.

Within 4 weeks Moscow dictated new reprisal agreements and tighter affiliations with all her satellites, and quickly organized the Cominform, through which the Communists of nine nations speak for the Communist world. The "iron curtain" took on more "iron." The Cominform is a modern version of the supposedly defunct Comintern, which was communism's prior agent of world violence and revolution. It frankly calls upon Communists everywhere to wreck the Marshall plan and condemns it and us with a new intemperance of invective and distortion. It is indeed "cold war." It is pressure war against the independent recovery of western Europe. Obviously, it is also aimed at us. It is a conspiracy to prevent the emergence of order out of chaos, stability out of confusion, and western freedom out of hopelessness. Communists everywhere have responded. The great sabotage is under way. Let me make it completely plain that I do not suggest, even by the remotest inference, that all opponents to the plan are Communists. I have already expressed my complete respect for the honest opinions of citizens who disagree. I simply point out, as part of the record, that while every critic is not a Communist, every Communist is a critic, and the orders from the Kremlin are to wreck this enterprise. Thus, the postwar pattern continues in familiar and consistent form.

I said that the 16 cooperating nations in CEEC acted bravely, as I hope we, too, may do. I have in mind not only the implications of the Cominform, but also such threatening statements as that by Mr. Molotov saying:

The Soviet Government considers it necessary to caution the Governments of Great Britain and France against the consequences of such action.

Yet, Mr. President, there is nothing in this plan which threatens the Soviet police empire with any sort of consequence which she does not herself choose voluntarily to invite. It is not a plan against eastern Europe, unless the independent survival of free peoples is on the blacklist. It is a plan for western Europe. It is not external conquest. It is not dictation. It is internal recuperation by self-chosen methods. Eastern Europe was invited in. It was her own decision that keeps her out. It seems obvious that at least three of these countries behind the curtain would have joined if left to their own free wills. But, Mr. President, there are no free wills in police states.

East-west flow of trade in Europe is necessary to both. Its resumption will be profitable to both. There is nothing in this plan which retards this resumption, unless Moscow itself so elects. The healthy recuperation of western Europe should facilitate this resumption for the good of all concerned, if we can have a peaceful world. All poisoned propaganda to the contrary notwithstanding, both at home and abroad, this is America's incentive and her dearest wish.

The honorable release of east-west tension would be the greatest boon of modern times. It can be released whenever there is mutual east-west fidelity to the objectives of World War II asserted by the united Allies on January 1, 1942, and whenever there is mutual east-west fidelity to the principles and purposes of the United Nations. It can be released whenever there is mutual east-west respect for the rights of free peoples to order their own lives. There is no consistent effort which the Government of the United States should withhold in pursuit of this objective. We must always be ready for any discussion to this end. Peace with justice is our utterly paramount concern. Any thought of another war is abhorrent to our souls. But peace and appeasement are not on speaking terms, and they have not been since Munich, after World War I, and Yalta, in World War II.

But let me resume the narrative. The CEEC met for 10 weeks in Paris, concluding on September 22. It has been cynically said that they met just to total up a bill to present to Uncle Sam. Nothing could be more cruel or further from the truth. They met to see what they could do to meet the Marshall self-help specifications, and they concluded mutual pledges of amazing portent and vitality. We did not dictate their ticket. They wrote it for themselves. They volunteered their pledges—to use all efforts to develop production up to agreed targets—to apply all necessary measures leading to the rapid achievement of internal financial monetary and economic stability—to cooperate in all possible steps to reduce barriers to the expansion of trade—to set up a joint organization to follow these objectives through and to insure them to the fullest possible extent. All these, and many other obligations, they offered to assume. It was a historic moment. Someday the United States of Europe may look back upon it as we do to the Annapolis Conference which preceded the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia. It was a courageous and constructive answer to the United States. It offered the best chance for stable peace and for peaceful stability that there is on earth today—outside of a reinvigorated United Nations which it would immensely further. For myself, Mr. President, I assert the deep conviction that it is worth the wholehearted cooperation of the United States as the cheapest and most promising peace investment in our own self-interest that we face. What we can "afford to do" is one thing—and never to be minimized. But what we cannot afford not to do is just as vital in the estimates of prudent statesmanship.

I comment, in passing, that these were not idle words at Paris. Our friends meant exactly what they said. They have already begun to prove it. "Benelux" already joints three of these countries in a customs union. Others are ready to come in. France has already performed major surgery on her currency. Italy and France have faced powerful Communist subversion and survived the test—a feat that might well have been impossible without our present and prospective economic aid. They, too, are negotiating a customs union. Bizonia in Germany is now well likely to become Trizonia in the spirit of new unity at the heart and core of European recovery. Britain's Bevin, backed by the united spokesmanship of his country, is calling for western union. These are new signs of the new times, Mr. President. If these trends are thwarted, if these hopes are dashed, I confess that I tremble for the consequences in this foreshortened world. This is not hysteria. It is simple candor. In my view, the approaching Senate roll calls are that important—to them and to us.

Now, Mr. President, make note of this: All these CEEC promises and pledges—

importantly, including, by the way, the acquisition of essential strategic materials for stock piling in the United States—are to be written into agreements as a condition precedent to our cooperation. There will be specific bilateral contracts between the United States and each beneficiary country. There will be specific targets. There will be multilateral contracts in which all countries underwrite the common aim and the common cause. The obligations will be set down in black and white. This is no mere wishing well. For one example, in respect to the most vital commodity of all, coal production is pledged to go from 398,000,000 tons in 1946 to 495,000,000 tons in 1949 and 586,000,000 tons in 1952.

Your Committee on Foreign Relations has made every possible effort to protect all these expectations. Indeed, this legislation which the Senate is asked to approve categorically asserts that—

> The continuity of assistance provided by the United States should at all times be dependent upon the continuity of cooperation among the countries involved.

The act categorically asserts that—

> the Administrator shall terminate assistance under this act to any participating country whenever he determines that such country is not adhering to its agreement or is diverting from the purposes of this act assistance provided thereunder.

No law can guarantee its own success. No man has a right dogmatically to say that any plan will succeed in these dangerous days of flux. But here is a warrant for maximum confidence that we do not indefinitely undertake a failure. All the more it makes the chance worth taking.

Now let me return to the narrative again. The CEEC summoned its best minds abroad to the council table. They had been warned by the Harvard speech that America expected a self-contained plan which could reasonably progress toward the restoration of economic independence and the end of American assistance. They had been warned that a successful recovery program must take the place of everlasting relief programs. They set to work to meet the challenge. At the end of 10 weeks they produced the answer. It would take 4¼ years of intensive self-help and cooperation, with progressively decreasing American assistance during this term of years. Their original estimate was that it might require an over-all total of twenty-two and four-tenths billions of American aid for western Europe, including western Germany. Chiefly by the deduction of capital-equipment items, this figure came down to seventeen billions for 4¼ years. In other words, this peace investment might cost one-third as much in 4¼ years as we appropriated for war in just one bill that passed the Senate in 5 minutes and without a roll call one June afternoon in 1944. War has no bargains. I think peace has. I believe I am talking about one now.

I digress, however, to say that there is no seventeen billions or any other comparable figure in this pending legislation. It was in the first executive draft that came to us 2 months ago. I immediately asked for its deletion, and the State Department promptly acquiesced, because it could be no more than an educated guess of doubtful validity if we thus were to attempt to assess events and values so far in advance. Furthermore, it might be misconstrued abroad as a specific dollar commitment without their understanding that one American Congress cannot commit another. Yet the genius of the program, if we are to escape year-to-year relief, is sufficient continuity to encourage dependable long-range planning. We rightly demand continuity of performance from our friends as the price of continuity of aid. It is elementary and indispensable fair play, on the other hand, that continuity of aid similarly should follow continuity of satisfactory performance. It must be inherent and implicit in our purpose. Otherwise, I repeat, this is merely one more stopgap, "rat-hole" operation.

Your Committee on Foreign Relations has met this situation, Mr. President, by familiar statutory device. As is our standard practice when dealing with public projects overlapping into subsequent fiscal years, we have authorized to be appropriated from time to time for 4½ years such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions and accomplish the purposes of this act. But the only specific dollar authorization in the act is for 1 year, commencing next April. I shall discuss that later. Suffice it for the moment to point out that this has the effect of eliminating the necessity for subsequent annual authorizations. It thus simplifies the subsequent procedure. But it leaves each annual appropriation, as indeed it must, to the annual decision of the Appropriations Committees of the House and Senate and to the annual discretion of the Congress. The net of it is that the recovery program will pass in annual review. It will be tested annually for its promised accomplishments and for the continuity of its performance. It will be tested annually for its impact on our own economy. Each Congress is free to decide these subsequent issues for itself. But they will do so in the presence of the declared attitude and opinion of the Eightieth Congress, as expressed in this act, that the program, if successful, should carry through to whatever conclusion it proves to deserve. To withhold an expression of this purpose would be to repudiate our own thesis and to pitifully reduce this act to the status of just one more sterile dole. It would be to rob the act of all the cumulative values upon which we depend for net results and which can infinitely bless us all.

Now, Mr. President, let the narrative deal with equally significant events on this side of the ocean here at home. As soon as it became evident that CEEC intended to act upon Secretary Marshall's suggestion, the President began complementary studies at this end of the line. In my responsibility as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, I asked for his immediate appointment of an independent civilian group of seasoned and widely experienced citizens to survey the field and to report what America might wisely and safely do—I repeat those controlling words, "wisely" and "safely"—in connection with the contemplated program. As a result, such a group was named by the President on June 22, 1947, under the chairmanship of Secretary of Commerce Harriman, who was the only Government official on the panel. Its bipartisan membership was completely independent of the Government and its judgments were likewise. It had as fine and as representative a personnel as was ever gathered together to do an unselfish, patriotic job; and it labored with spectacular and unremitting zeal upon its complex task. Its ultimate report is one of the most comprehensive ever made in respect to a public problem. These credentials are important because, as a result, I think it is of paramount importance to us that this Harriman committee, despite occasional disagreement respecting details, came to the over-all conclusion that this recovery program not only is well within our American capacity but also that it is essential to the best welfare of the United States. This, remember, was the verdict of representative American citizenship. I do not know how any great problem in public policy could have been submitted to more competent audit. I commend this thought to prejudicial critics who do not and could not have comparable access to all the facts.

I quote one sentence from the Harriman committee's findings:

> The committee is convinced that a sound program for western European recovery should be formulated and adopted by the United States with the same boldness and determination, and the same confidence in the worthiness of the democratic cause, which characterized our action in World War II.

That is the target of private citizenship mobilized through the high spokesmanship of the Harriman committee.

I quote one other sentence:

> The domestic consequences (of the fall of western Europe to Communist dominion) are such as no American could easily tolerate.

Does that require any application? I think not. But it is a timely reminder that the Senate cannot contemplate its decision on this pending act with complete and comfortable detachment, as if there may be no price for us to pay if we reject or emasculate this plan. We have no such complacent option. There is an alternative price. I simply suggest, in passing, for example, that Secretary of Defense Forrestal and Army Secretary Royall testified to our committee that in the absence of some reasonable prospect for the stabilization of western Europe they would find it necessary to urgently demand billions more for national military defense. That, however, is only a small part of what could be the alternative price in a Communist-dominated world. The Harriman committee says the total consequences could include, and I again quote the committee, the spokesmanship for the civilian population of this Nation, "the immediate and sweeping limitation of our economic and political life, perhaps extending even to our form of government."

Which might be the alternative.

But let me again take up the narrative. In addition to the Harriman report, we have the survey by Secretary of the Interior Krug on Natural Resources and Foreign Aid. I quote one sentence:

> The aggregate productive capacity of the United States appears ample.

In the same vein we had the so-called Nourse report, from the President's economic advisers. We also had the exhaustive studies of the executive departments through a large committee headed by able Under Secretary Lovett.

Now, Mr. President, I want to make it plain that all of this exploration dealt preponderantly with the most critical of all considerations, namely, the impact of this plan upon our own domestic economy. Nothing could be of more importance because we all agree that the maintenance of a sound and solvent United States is as indispensable to the hopes of the world as it is to us It would be final blunder to jeopardize our stabilities at home. We shall not do so. I am glad to echo the warning of the Harriman report that "it is not wise to underestimate the steepness of the climb," and that "the aid which the United States gives will impose definite sacrifice on the United States." That is obvious. This is no happy picnic. Heavy post-war peace expenditures involve a burden, just as did the infinitely heavier expenditures of the war-that-was, or the expenditures of another war which we propose, with every resource at our command, to prevent. Any drain upon our commodities not in surplus also is a burden, although it is significant to note that the contemplated exports under this plan at its very peak are substantially less than our average exports for 1947. But all authorities agree that the plan can be managed to avoid serious interference with our domestic economy. They agree that it would not precipitate domestic controls which would not be required by the domestic situation alone. For example, there will be no competitive exports of meat under this plan for at least 2 years. There will be no exports of metal scrap. Petroleum products, by the explicit terms of the bill itself, must be purchased offshore to the maximum practicable extent.

Sound administration of the act, Mr. President, will hold all these impacts to a minimum. The bill itself is explicit in these directives. In general terms it lays down the fundamental rule that "no assistance to the participating countries shall seriously impair the economic stability of the United States." In specific terms it lays down the injunction that—

> The Administrator must provide for procurement in such a way as to (1) minimize the drain upon the resources of the United States and the impact of such procurement upon the domestic economy, and (2) avoid impairing the vital need of the people of the United States.

The proponents of this measure, in a word, are not riding rainbows. They recognize the calculated risk. They think it is worth taking in our own enlightened self-interest. They prefer it to the alternative risk. But they proceed with prudence. They recognize the priority which self-interest assigns to the protection of our own domestic situation. We are not to be committed beyond this legitimate boundary. But they believe that we can do both jobs—at home and abroad—and that we cannot afford not to take the preferable chance. In a word, they believe in America.

Now, Mr. President, we come to the act itself, which is unanimously endorsed by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee after 5 weeks of public hearings and 10 days of continuous executive sessions. I cannot speak too gratefully of the friendly patience and bipartisan unity with which my committee colleagues cooperated. If something of their spirit imbues those for whom this legislation is intended, the Economic Cooperation Administration, as it will be called, has hopeful augury.

We confronted many serious perplexities involving wide divergence of opinion in and out of Congress. Perhaps the greatest of these was the question how this gigantic trust should be administered. It is the universal opinion that the success of the enterprise is largely dependent upon the character of its management. It is the universal opinion that its overriding economic purpose requires the highest available type of seasoned business experience and the widest possible autonomous authority for those who patriotically assume these vast economic responsibilities. It is equally the universal opinion that the highest considerations of foreign policy are constantly involved and that, as I said upon a previous historic occasion, we cannot have two Secretaries of State at the same time.

To fit these conflicting specifications into common pattern was, indeed, a jigsaw puzzle. We invited the Brookings Institution of Washington, one of the most respected research laboratories in the country, to make an objective study of this enigma. I express our great obligation to the Brookings Institution for the masterly job it did. The provisions in the pending bill largely follow its recommendations. I am happy to say the result already enjoys well-nigh universal approval in and out of Congress.

We are creating the Economic Cooperation Administration. At its head will be an Administrator with Cabinet status. In him, under final Presidential control, is vested the responsibility for operating this enterprise. The Administrator and the Secretary of State will keep each other fully and currently informed. Whenever the Secretary of State believes that any action of the Administrator is inconsistent with the foreign policy objectives of the United States, he will consult with the Administrator and, if differences of view are not adjusted, the matter will be referred to the President for final decision. This is a paraphrase of the formula which has worked so well in the Atomic Energy Act involving somewhat similarly mixed functions.

Behind the Administrator, and his Deputy, will be the Public Advisory Board, headed by the Administrator, organized on a bipartisan basis, and consisting of not more than 12 members, to be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, "selected from among citizens of broad and varied experience in matters affecting the public interest." Its functions are advisory. But its utility is profound.

Overseas a special economic mission will be established by the Administrator and under his direction in each participating country; and the chief of each such mission will cooperate with our Ambassador or Minister under a general rule of conduct reflecting the contacts set up for the Administrator and the Secretary of State to avoid inconsistent decisions by either. Meanwhile what might be called a roving ambassador will represent us in dealing with any European organization of participating countries as insistently envisioned by the act. The creation of this post underscores our firm conviction that the salvation of western Europe lies in consolidated self-help and cooperation. Dollars alone will not save them. American assistance alone will not save them. All through the bill we bluntly assert these axioms. What they do for themselves will save them. What they do for themselves is the only possible vindication of our aid. But without a roving ambassador there would be no way for us to hold these governments to strict accountability for these relationships upon which they and we must depend for the final basic success of the undertaking.

To keep the House and Senate, here at home, in intimate touch with the evolution of all these plans, the bill creates the Joint Congressional Committee on Foreign Economic Cooperation—again borrowing this device of proved utility from the Atomic Energy Act. It will consist of seven Senators and seven Representatives. It will be bipartisan. It is already familiarly known as the watchdog committee. Little added definition is required. It will make continuous studies of what goes on. It will provide continuous and intimate congressional liaison with all these undertakings. In general sense it will represent the taxpayers of the United States. It will greatly simplify the subsequent annual responsibilities of Congress when, once each year during the life of this arrangement, it must determine in what degree yesterday's performance warrants tomorrow's continuing cooperation.

I omit further needless details. This is the picture and the pattern of administration. It gives every promise that previous errors in foreign aid will be avoided. It fixes and implements clear and specific responsibilities. It umpires in advance functional conflicts between business management on the one hand and foreign policy upon the other. It is our best possible promise of efficient and effective results in restabilizing a broken world.

Now, Mr. President, we come to the specific figure asked by the President for the first authorization under this bill. It was $6,800,000,000 for 15 months from next April first. This was the result of rigorous screening by the executive authorities of the CEEC proposals for $8,400,000,000 and a realistic appraisal of domestic availabilities. It took full account of the Harriman, Krug, and Nourse reports. It was the composite judgment

of diversified minds. Secretary Marshall said it was as near a precision figure as human judgments can foresee. Certainly it was sustained by the most complete studies and surveys I have ever seen in a congressional committee. It was further sustained by the independent investigation of the Harriman committee—composed, remember, of the best business brains available in our civilian life. The comparable Harriman figure was approximately the same. It was still further sustained by the head of the International Bank, who also examined the problem independently and concluded that the figure is a tight-fitting minimum. It was in no sense a stab in the dark. At the very least it is entitled to a presumption of relative dependability until more competent authority competently proves otherwise.

But I can fully understand, Mr. President, why this figure immediately became the subject of wide controversy. In the first place, there was a big gap between this figure and the President's budgetary estimate of actual cash disbursements for this purpose in the next fiscal year—a gap representing obligations and commitments which must be made in advance if our plans are to possess efficient continuity. In the second place, we have been overwhelmed with such a wealth and welter of supporting statistics that even our own experts—to say nothing of our committee members—have rivaled each other in their headaches. At such a moment it is dangerously easy to "lose sight of the forest for the trees." Busy pencils, playing with their decimals, can make objectivity impossible. The committee's unanimous recommendation escapes the horns of this dilemma by rooting itself in a few solid fundamentals which I commend to the common sense of my colleagues.

First. If this plan can succeed on the basis recommended by its authors, no well-wisher would allow it to fail at its inception through lack of original resources sufficient to its success. That would be "penny wisdom and pound foolishness." It could even be unwitting sabotage.

Second. Any estimate of these essential resources, in advance of experience with the plan, is problematical at best. In such circumstance we should start with figures which enjoy the preponderance of supporting evidence rather than to arbitrarily slice off what might be the difference between success and still-born failure.

Third. Therefore prudence recommends that we launch the plan with figures which offer no alibi for failure; but on a timetable which permits us to review the figures at the earliest moment when experience will permit us to deal with the realities.

On the basis of these sanities, the Committee on Foreign Relations unanimously cut the duration of this first authorization from 15 months to 12 and it reduced the figure from $6,800,000,000 to $5,300,000,000. This latter figure accurately reflects the estimated expenditures and commitments for the first 12 months of the original work sheet for 15 months. In other words, we have not undermined the resources for 1 year from April 1, 1948, which we are warned by the authors of this plan are essential to its success. We have not transferred from them to us the responsibility for a failure which might be charged to initial lack of funds. We have not impaired either the resources or the psychology upon which the plan depends. But we have made it imperative that the first task of the next Congress and the next administration next January shall be to resurvey this whole problem in the light of experience and reality; and thus we have reduced the first authorization by $1,500,000,000.

Mr. President, I attach the greatest importance to this change in the timetable. By next New Years we shall have had 9 months' experience with this enterprise. We shall then know the efficiency of its all-important administrative management; and we shall have the benefit of the Administrator's advice. We shall also have the first-hand judgments of our own joint congressional watch-dog committee. We shall know whether a good crop overseas has lightened the CEEC deficit. We shall know much more about the nature and extent—or perhaps even the suspension—of the sabotage campaigns of the wrecking crews. Most important of all, we shall know to what extent self-help and mutual cooperation in western Europe are giving promise of the vitality upon which this plan inseverably rests. We shall know many things upon which today we can only speculate.

It seems to me that we have everything to gain and nothing to lose—assuming that we are entering upon this high adventure in good faith—by launching this hopeful enterprise full-steam-ahead; and reserving our seasoned and informed judgments for next January, as contemplated by the committee's recommendation, when we shall know whereof we speak instead of gambling now with unknown destiny. I beg of Senators to take this concept to their hearts. This is more than a problem of mathematics; it is a problem in peace, stability, and human freedoms. It may not work. I think it will. But if it fails, let the responsibility rest elsewhere. I say again—as I have said so many times before—these recommended figures are not sacred. But in the light of the powerful credentials they possess, unless the Appropriations Committee can strongly prove them wrong, let us give them the benefit of any doubts for the time being. Next January is not long to wait for the accounting with so much at stake.

One thing more about this figure of $5,300,000,000. It goes for loans and grants. The division rests with the Administrator, counseled by his own board and by the National Advisory Council consisting of the highest officers of Government. The division will depend upon the beneficiary's ability to pay and upon the nature of the assistance. The loans will be serviced by the Export-Import Bank. It is roughly estimated that loans will represent from 20 percent to 40 percent of the grand total. Using the lower percentage in averaged application to the first year's authorization, its net cost to us is much nearer $4,000,000,000 than $5,300,000,000. It could be—we may hope it will be—even lower in its net effect.

At this point I interject another vital fact. While it is impossible to establish accurate categories at the moment, it is expected that 2 or 3 of these 16 countries in CEEC will be cooperators without any drain upon our dollar aid. They will pay their own way. It also is expected that three other countries will be exclusively on a temporary loan basis—without any grants. It is contemplated that only two countries will be exclusively on a basis of grants. The other eight countries will be on a variable scale of loans and grants. This is no loose give-away. In every instance the plan is geared to hardpan economics.

I now speak of the method used to arrive at this figure. It involves so-called balance of payments. For each country this is the difference between national income from exports, foreign services, and foreign investments, on the one hand, and essential imports of goods and services, on the other hand. This is the balance of payments, and when the former are insufficient to pay for the latter, and there is no gold or convertible currency to make up the difference, any such deficit country is in jeopardy. Under normal exchange conditions, surplus exchange with one country can be balanced against an exchange deficit with others. But this situation does not exist today, and will not until foreign currencies and international exchange are restabilized. This is one of the long-range objectives of this plan—important to every trading nation on earth, our own emphatically included. Meanwhile, the immediate and indispensable objective is to overcome these deficits in western Europe, including western Germany.

Current calculations accordingly were made by the following process: First, estimating each country's import requirements; second, deducting therefrom each country's exports and earnings from foreign services and foreign investments and from any other sources; third, deducting available imports from other Western Hemisphere areas. This final figure, translated into dollars, represents the amount of support from us to permit these 16 European countries, plus western Germany, to import from the Western Hemisphere the commodities essential to recovery. Import requirements of recipient countries were figured on a basis so close that they do not even restore full prewar living standards. In other words, the figures are down to bedrock.

Obviously, this brief description oversimplifies the process. There are many other factors influencing the net result. There are many imponderables, I say again and again. Only experience can demonstrate whether the realities will thrust upwards or push downwards the true evaluation. But this is generally accepted as the best measure of need. It was accepted by the Paris Conference, the executive departments, the Harri-

man committee, and the International Bank.

I do not undertake to demonstrate that the resultant 12-month figure of $5,300,000,000 in the bill is precisely accurate. I am content to point out that it is little short of amazing how close together all these estimates, independently made, proved to be. I am content to point out that the timetable in this act, as we have reported it, permits the earliest possible congressional review in the presence of reality. I am content to urge that the burden of proof falls heavily upon those who would argue that, pending this early review, the preliminary figure is too large. I have no sympathy with any "take this or nothing" attitude. But I do prayerfully believe that adequacy is the essence of what we do; and surely we can all agree that success with $5,300,000,000 in the first instance is preferable to failure with something less. I remind the Senate further that, under the bill's new timetable, we can balance out even the next fiscal year by the appropriations for the fourth quarter. If facts, as we will know them next January, require readjustments, we can make them in the final quarter. Then we can put them up or down with some degree of justified assurance. When we try to adjust them today, we play with danger to the lifeline of the plan.

Many other features of the pending bill will develop with the debate. At the moment I refer, finally, to only two.

First. Local currencies must be deposited by each beneficiary country to offset the value of any aid not furnished on terms of payment. The beneficiary country and the United States will agree on the local expenditure of these local currency accumulations in behalf of the purposes of this act. Thus our grants will not become a budgetary windfall in the beneficiary country but will virtually become a revolving fund to do double duty in behalf of the act's objectives.

Second. The investment of private American capital, in approved reconstruction projects in the 16 countries and western Germany, is encouraged by our guaranty of the subsequent convertibility of profits or original investment into dollars. This obviates the hazard most likely to prevent private investment. At the same time it is a highly practical invitation to American private initiative to join in this great adventure on a free-enterprise basis.

Now, Mr. President, with apologies to my colleagues for the length of this intrusion upon their good nature, I conclude. With a few desultory comments, I am done.

First. This act does not include some of our other unavoidable international obligations. We shall have to deal at this session with China, Greece, Turkey, and Trieste, and with the occupied areas for which we are responsible as a legacy from the war. These things must be remembered as we proceed. We must deal with over-all considerations. Particularly we must faithfully remember the superlative importance of effective solidarity in the Western Hemisphere in unhappy, uncertain days like these. Mutually happy and healthy Pan American relationships are indispensable. They must be conserved. It ought to be entirely possible to substantially improve these economical relationships through the triangular trade that should be possible of development in connection with this European recovery plan.

Second. This act largely depends for its success upon the quality of its administration. The choice of the administrator and his associates is one of the most solemn responsibilities that has ever confronted a President of the United States. I beg of the President to search for the best and to be satisfied with nothing less. This act is a challenge to the best brains and to the best experience in the Nation. They responded in the crises of war. I am sure they will respond in this crisis of peace. The cause is no less vital to our destiny.

Third. This act depends, again, for its success upon the prompt restoration of western Germany to an effective place in the economy of Europe and the world. It must be decentralized. It must be demilitarized for keeps. But it must be restored to decent hope and productivity. The western occupying powers must quit their indecision and put Germany wholesomely at work again without delay. The Ruhr alone could spell the difference between success and failure.

Fourth. This act depends also and equally upon the energy and devotion with which these western European nations pursue the integration which they have volunteered to seek. Our dollars cannot substitute, I say again, for their own will to make common cause for the mutual defense of their own welfare. We do not presume to dictate the formula. But we relentlessly recommend the objective. Standing together these nations can face every vicissitude with hope. Standing apart they may face collapse and even conquest. By its own warning, the wrecking crew awaits.

Fifth. This act seeks and depends upon peace. Peace requires the economic stabilities which are here addressed. Peace also depends upon security against aggression. Security depends upon preparedness. Preparedness depends upon rival arms until, dependably there is a better way. The better way is an undivided United Nations which is made to work in its present or some other form. Regional arrangements under its charter can promote security. Unselfish mutual defense pacts, such as we have repeatedly offered, can promote security. Global disarmament—on a basis of rigid, instant, and conclusive discipline against bad faith—is the best security guarantee of all. We and the peace-loving sectors of the world must struggle on toward these ideals.

Sixth. The act has the amazingly unified support, according to their official voices before our committee of practically all spokesmen in our own land for organized labor and capital and agriculture and industry, for veterans, for women's organizations, for American journalism and, by no means last, for the church. The friendly preponderance is overwhelming. I believe, Mr. President, that dynamic America is prepared to carry on.

Seventh. Whatever we are to do, Mr. President, let it be done without undue delay. Whatever our answer is to be, let it be made as swiftly as prudence will permit. The exposed frontiers of hazard move almost hourly to the west. Time is of the essence in this battle for peace, even as it is in the battles of a war. Nine months ago Czechoslovakia wanted to join western Europe in this great enterprise for stability and peace. Remember that. Today Czechoslovakia joins only such enterprise as Moscow may direct.

There is only one voice left in the world, Mr. President, which is competent to hearten the determination of the other nations and other peoples in western Europe to survive in their own choice of their own way of life. It is our voice. It is in part the Senate's voice. Surely we can all agree, whatever our shades of opinion, that the hour has struck for this voice to speak as soon as possible. I pray it speaks for weal and not for woe.

The committee has rewritten the bill to consolidate the wisdom shed upon the problem from many sources. It is the final product of 8 months of more intensive study by more devoted minds than I have ever known to concentrate upon any one objective in all my 20 years in Congress. It has its foes—some of whom compliment it by their transparent hatreds. But it has its friends—countless, prayerful friends not only at the hearthstones of America, but under many other flags. It is a plan for peace, stability, and freedom. As such, it involves the clear self-interest of the United States. It can be the turning point in history for 100 years to come. If it fails, we have done our final best. If it succeeds, our children and our children's children will call us blessed. May God grant His benediction upon the ultimate event. [Applause on the floor, Senators rising.]

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TOWARD SECURING THE PEACE AND PREVENTING WAR

Address by the President
to the Congress of the United States

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TOWARD SECURING PEACE AND PREVENTING WAR

MR. PRESIDENT, MR. SPEAKER, MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS:

I am here today to report to you on the critical nature of the situation in Europe, and to recommend action for your consideration.

Rapid changes are taking place in Europe which affect our foreign policy and our national security. There is an increasing threat to nations which are striving to maintain a form of government which grants freedom to its citizens. The United States is deeply concerned with the survival of freedom in those nations. It is of vital importance that we act now, in order to preserve the conditions under which we can achieve lasting peace based on freedom and justice.

The achievement of such a peace has been the great goal of this nation.

Almost three years have elapsed since the end of the greatest of all wars, but peace and stability have not returned to the world. We were well aware that the end of the fighting would not automatically settle the problems arising out of the war. The establishment of peace after the fighting is over has always been a difficult task. And even if all the Allies of World War II were united in their desire to establish a just and honorable peace, there would still be great difficulties in the way of achieving that goal.

But the situation in the world today is not primarily the result of the natural difficulties which follow a great war. It is chiefly due to the fact that one nation has not only refused to cooperate in the establishment of a just and honorable peace but — even worse — has actively sought to prevent it.

The Congress is familiar with the course of events.

You know of the sincere and patient attempts of the democratic nations to find a secure basis for peace through negotiation and agreement. Conference after conference has been held in different parts of the world. We have tried to settle the questions arising out of the war on a basis which would permit the establishment of a just peace. You know the obstacles we have encountered. But the record stands as a monument to the good faith and integrity of the democratic nations of the world. The agreements we did obtain, imperfect though they were, have furnished the basis for a just peace — if they had been kept.

But they were not kept.

They have been persistently ignored and violated by one nation.

The Congress is also familiar with the developments concerning the United Nations. Most of the countries of the world have joined together in the United Nations in an attempt to build a world order based on law and not on force. Most of the members

support the United Nations earnestly and honestly, and seek to make it stronger and more effective.

One nation, however, has persistently obstructed the work of the United Nations by constant abuse of the veto. That nation has vetoed 21 proposals for action in a little over two years.

But that is not all. Since the close of hostilities, the Soviet Union and its agents have destroyed the independence and democratic character of a whole series of nations in eastern and central Europe.

It is this ruthless course of action, and the clear design to extend it to the remaining free nations of Europe, that have brought about the critical situation in Europe today.

The tragic death of the Republic of Czechoslovakia has sent a shock throughout the civilized world. Now pressure is being brought to bear on Finland, to the hazard of the entire Scandinavian peninsula. Greece is under direct military attack from rebels actively supported by her Communist-dominated neighbors. In Italy, a determined and aggressive effort is being made by a Communist minority to take control of that country. The methods vary, but the pattern is all too clear.

Faced with this growing menace, there have been encouraging signs that the free nations of Europe are drawing closer together for their economic well-being and for the common defense of their liberties.

In the economic field, the movement for mutual self-help to restore conditions essential to the preservation of free institutions is well under way. In Paris, the 16 nations which are cooperating in the European Recovery Program are meeting again to establish a joint organization to work for the economic restoration of western Europe.

The United States has strongly supported the efforts of these nations to repair the devastation of war and restore a sound world economy. In presenting this program to the Congress last December, I emphasized the necessity for speedy action. Every event in Europe since that day has underlined the great urgency for the prompt adoption of this measure.

The Soviet Union and its satellites were invited to cooperate in the European Recovery Program. They rejected the invitation. More than that, they have declared their violent hostility to the program and are aggressively attempting to wreck it.

They see in it a major obstacle to their designs to subjugate the free community of Europe. They do not want the United States to help Europe. They do not even want the 16 cooperating countries to help themselves.

While economic recovery in Europe is essential, measures for economic rehabilitation alone are not enough. The free nations of Europe realize that economic recovery, if it is to succeed, must be afforded some measure of protection against internal and external aggression. The movement toward economic cooperation has been followed by a movement toward common self-protection in the face of the growing menace to their freedom.

At the very moment I am addressing you, five nations of the European community, in Brussels, are signing a 50-year agreement for economic cooperation and common defense against aggression.

This action has great significance, for this agreement was not imposed by the decree of a more powerful neighbor. It was the free choice of independent governments representing the will of their people, and acting within the terms of the Charter of the United Nations.

Its significance goes far beyond the actual terms of the agreement itself. It is a notable step in the direction of unity in Europe for the protection and preservation of its civilization. This development deserves our full support. I am confident that the United States will, by appropriate means, extend to the free nations the support which the situation requires. I am sure that the determination of the free countries of Europe to protect themselves will be matched by an equal determination on our part to help them to do so.

The recent developments in Europe present this nation with fundamental issues of vital importance.

I believe that we have reached a point at which the position of the United States should be made unmistakably clear.

The principles and purposes expressed in the Charter of the United Nations continue to represent our hope for the eventual establishment of the rule of law in international affairs. The Charter constitutes the basic expression of the code of international ethics to which this country is dedicated. We cannot, however, close our eyes to the harsh fact that through obstruction and even defiance on the part of one nation, this great dream has not yet become a full reality.

It is necessary, therefore, that we take additional measures to supplement the work of the United Nations and to support its aims. There are times in world history when it is far wiser to act than to hesitate. There is some risk involved in action — there always is. But there is far more risk in failure to act.

For if we act wisely now, we shall strengthen the powerful forces for freedom, justice, and peace which are represented by the United Nations and the free nations of the world.

I regard it as my duty, therefore, to recommend to the Congress those measures which, in my judgment, are best calculated to give support to the free and democratic nations of Europe and to improve the solid foundation of our own national strength.

First, I recommend that the Congress speedily complete its action on the European Recovery Program. That program is the foundation of our policy of assistance to the free nations of Europe. Prompt passage of that program is the most telling contribution we can now make toward peace.

The decisive action which the Senate has taken without regard to partisan political considerations is a striking example of the effective working of democracy.

Time is now of critical importance. I am encouraged by the information which has come to me concerning the plans for expeditious action by the House of Representatives. I hope that no single day will be needlessly lost.

Second, I recommend prompt enactment of universal training legislation.

Until the free nations of Europe have regained their strength, and so long as Communism threatens the very existence of democracy, the United States must remain strong enough to support those countries of Europe which are threatened with Communist control and police-state rule.

I believe that we have learned the importance of maintaining military strength as a means of preventing war. We have found that a sound military system is necessary in time of peace if we are to remain at peace. Aggressors in the past, relying on our apparent lack of military force, have unwisely precipitated war. Although they have been led to destruction by their misconception of our strength, we have paid a terrible price for our unpreparedness.

Universal training is the only feasible means by which the civilian components of our armed forces can be built up to the strength required if we are to be prepared for emergencies. Our ability to mobilize large numbers of trained men in time of emergency could forestall future conflict and, together with other measures of national policy, could restore stability to the world.

The adoption of universal training by the United States at this time would be unmistakable evidence to all the world of our determination to back the will to peace with the strength for peace. I am convinced that the decision of the American people, expressed through the Congress, to adopt universal training would be of first importance in giving courage to every free government in the world.

Third, I recommend the temporary reenactment of selective service legislation in order to maintain our armed forces at their authorized strength.

Our armed forces lack the necessary men to maintain their authorized strength. They have been unable to maintain their authorized strength through voluntary enlistments, even though such strength has been reduced to the very minimum necessary to meet our obligations abroad and is far below the minimum which should always be available in the continental United States.

We cannot meet our international responsibilities unless we maintain our armed forces. It is of vital importance, for example, that we keep our occupation forces in Germany until the peace is secure in Europe.

There is no conflict between the requirements of selective service for the regular forces and universal training for the reserve components. Selective service is necessary until the solid foundation of universal training can be established. Selective service can then be terminated and the regular forces may then be maintained on a voluntary basis.

The recommendations I have made represent the most urgent steps toward securing the peace and preventing war.

We must be ready to take every wise and necessary step to carry out this great purpose. This will require assistance to other nations. It will require an adequate and balanced military strength. We must be prepared to pay the price of peace, or assuredly we shall pay the price of war.

We in the United States remain determined to seek, by every possible means, a just and honorable basis for the settlement of international issues. We shall continue to give our strong allegiance to the United Nations as the principal means for international security based on law, not on force. We shall remain ready and anxious to join with all nations — I repeat, with all nations — in every possible effort to reach international understanding and agreement.

The door has never been closed, nor will it ever be closed, to the Soviet Union or any other nation which will genuinely cooperate in preserving the peace.

At the same time, we must not be confused about the central issue which confronts the world today.

The time has come when the free men and women of the world must face the threat to their liberty squarely and courageously.

The United States has a tremendous responsibility to act according to the measure of our power for good in the world. We have learned that we must earn the peace we seek just as we earned victory in war, not by wishful thinking but by realistic effort.

At no time in our history has unity among our people been so vital as it is at the present time.

Unity of purpose, unity of effort, and unity of spirit are essential to accomplish the task before us.

Each of us here in this chamber today has a special responsibility. The world situation is too critical, and the responsibilities of this country are too vast, to permit party struggles to weaken our influence for maintaining peace.

The American people have the right to assume that political considerations will not affect our working together. They have the right to assume that we will join hands, wholeheartedly and without reservation, in our efforts to preserve peace in the world.

With God's help we shall succeed.

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Southern Regional Council

Report of the First Meeting of the

PAKISTAN INDUSTRIES CONFERENCE

held at

Karachi, Pakistan

on

December 13, 1947

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Don't Resign from the Human Race

Notes on the Third Anniversary of the Atomic Age

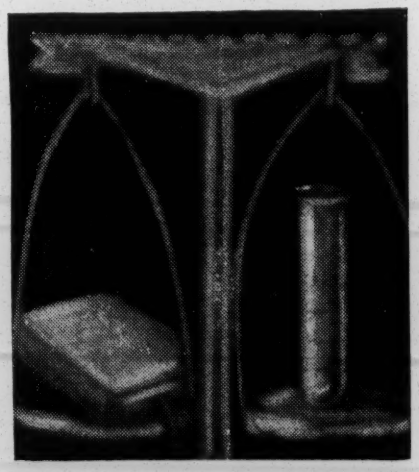
AN EDITORIAL

HAVE you ever wondered what you would say if you were suddenly called upon to defend the human race?

Suppose you were invited to participate in a great debate or, better still, a mock court trial called for the purpose of deciding whether the human species had justified its right to survive—whether, on the basis of its virtues and weaknesses, it was actually entitled to the gift of life. Suppose your job was that of attorney for the defense. How would you go about collecting your evidence? What witnesses would you call? What arguments would you use?

You would have the satisfaction, of course, of knowing that you represented the popular side of the argument and that the preponderance of the evidence was with you. But what do you do when you discover at the trial that your opponent has anticipated most of your argument and, indeed, is using it against you? And what do you do when you find yourself gradually being won over by the sheer logic of his position?

Naturally, you had intended, when your turn came, to talk about the dignity and nobility of man, his capacity for great ideas, great works of art, great deeds. You had planned to describe his capacity for evolution and growth and progress. You had planned a long procession of witnesses—men who not only exemplified genius and nobility in themselves, but whose words might be used to support and dramatize your argument. You had planned to summon Aristotle as an example of the Whole Man—one who combined rounded, integrated knowledge with wisdom, and intelligence with conscience; one who understood the elusive but necessary balance between thought and action. And you were especially anxious to offer Aristotle's testimony that man, at his best, was the noblest creature of all. You had planned, too, to bring up Seneca as a witness, so that all might hear him say that man was a social and reasoning animal. You had planned to offer in evidence Longinus's observation that, from the moment of his birth, man had had implanted in him by nature an inextinguishable love for the noble and the good. You had planned. . . .



But all these plans never materialized because your opponent, the prosecuting attorney, admitted their validity at the outset. No one could deny that individual man was capable of great deeds and words, of vast loyalty and integrity and courage. But this, he said, was not the point at issue. He then proceeded to draw a very careful sharp distinction between traits that characterized the individual and traits that characterized the species as a whole.

It was upon this distinction, he said, that he intended to build the main part of his argument. For the central question under consideration concerned the entity that was the human species—the aggregate of men—peoples rather than persons. There could be no doubt, he said, that countless individuals had easily justified the right to survive. Consider, however, that for every symphony or work of art representing individual genius there was an instance of the collective evil of war, or of group injustice in the form of slavery, or starvation or torture. If you were to take the debits and credits on the overall balance sheet of collective man, the final figure would not be in his favor. Nor was there in operation anywhere in the world a group conscience — assuming conscience to be, if not the source, at

least the filter, for determinations of right and wrong.

AS soon as group conscience was mentioned, you wondered whether the prosecutor had overlooked religion. What was Christianity if not the very means of developing the group conscience?

But the prosecutor, it appeared, had overlooked nothing. The great tragedy of the past two thousand years, he said, was that man had plucked out of Christianity for his own use whatever seemed easiest and most convenient, ignoring the rest. He had longed for spiritual security and he had seized upon it in Christianity. But that was only one aspect of Christianity. The aspect of ethics in Christianity — the development of a higher morality for himself and the group as a whole, the refinement of conscience—this he conveniently ignored. Thus Christianity became not so much a new way of life which could ennoble individual and group behavior as a heavily subdivided and even competing series of theological systems which man regarded most often as offering preparation for death rather than for life. This particular emphasis also had the effect of causing people to regard Christianity as a convenient cleansing operation for conscience; the burden of wrongdoing could be discarded, thus squaring the individual with society and giving him the conscious or subconscious satisfaction of knowing that other such burdens might similarly be disposed of. There grew up the phenomenon of the double standard in religion—the believing but not practicing Christian.

Fearing it might be thought that he had been too severe in these criticisms, the prosecutor then asked his audience to consider honestly and frankly what the original prophets and disciples might say about Christianity in the light of history. Would they not repeat what has often been said: that Christianity has yet to be tried by mankind; that the forms it has taken are so far removed from the ideas and urgings of its Originator as to raise the question whether the continued use of the term was not actually fraudulent?

In any event, as it concerned the central question of the trial, the prosecutor said there was no evidence for claiming that religion had endowed man with the virtues which might entitle him to feel he had earned and demonstrated his right to survive. Could there be any sharper proof than was apparent in the fact that, in the name of religion itself, mass murders were carried out as one sect vied with the other in interpreting God's will and in spreading, at the point of a much-used sword, the gospel of the good, the true, and the beautiful?

Passing from religious wars to wars in general, the prosecutor asked whether Christianity or other religions had been effective in avoiding conflict in the past, or whether they were effective today in avoiding what would unquestionably be the last of the world's great wars. Here, too, the failure was dramatized by the lack of group conscience. For questions of right and wrong are absorbed and indeed obliterated by the group ego. Thus it was always the group, right or wrong. He referred to Jefferson's belief that no individual has the right to prey upon or commit aggression against the rights of another individual. And yet, what happened to morality when raised to the collective level? What about the individuals inside nations? What about individuals who had no choice but to join in crime and murder because society or the state arrogated to itself exemption from the moral code?

RIGHT there, you might have thought you detected several serious weaknesses in the prosecutor's argument. Wasn't he making the mistake of oversimplifying war? Wouldn't a group be justified in going to war in a just cause? And what would the price of submission be if it failed to respond to the challenge? The American people, for example, could very easily have avoided war if they had been content to be made part of a vast dictatorial system that would have ground each individual into an evil mold. Was that what the prosecutor had in mind?

Here too, however, you quickly discovered that the prosecutor was aware of the need to qualify his argument.

Certainly, he said, a group had the right to defend itself against evil. But even in that case, the evil is represented by other human beings who, collectively, had abandoned morality. For the fact of the matter is that a study of history reveals that when the group acts as a group, such action is more often selfish than altruistic, more often predatory than social. Besides, he pointed out, what really counts is the conduct and the record of humanity as a whole, rather than that of the subdivisions such as developed along national or other group lines. And it was that total appraisal of the human record that was at issue in this trial.

In the light of that appraisal, he continued, it was clear that there could be only one answer to the question under debate. Indeed, he said, what has happened might actually be called the Human Forfeit, for the right to survive was being squandered.

"Here," he said, "we come to what is the presiding fact of this trial. That fact is that the human race has existed until now largely because it has had an ample margin for error. It could make mistakes but never on so large a scale as to threaten its own existence. It could indulge in wars, despoil the earth on which its subsistence depended, engage in massacre, invite disease and plague out of filth and ignorance; it could do all these things, make all these mistakes, again and again, and yet have an ample cushion against ultimate catastrophe. History was lush with the proliferation of error, but always there was room for recovery—and opportunity for further error.

"But today that margin for error has been used up.

"Here is the world, sound as a nut, perfect, not the smallest piece of chaos left, never a stitch nor an end, not a mark of haste, or botching, or second thought; but the theory of the world is a thing of shreds and patches."
—EMERSON.

One more mistake of the type which in the past repeatedly led to war could be the final mistake. The world can no longer afford the fatal mistake of war.

"Yet man persists in clinging to old errors as though they were life's own trophies—at a time when every major move must be the correct one. He has yet to demonstrate the capacity for presiding over experience, whether personal or historical. Thus his trouble is not that he is obsolescent but that he is adolescent. He is not outmoded but immature.

"Consider his own limited intellectual experience. He has been working with organized knowledge for perhaps only a hundred generations or less—and by far the preponderance of that time has been spent in standing still or sliding back. He still lives in almost total ignorance of what he is, how and why he thinks, or what the connection is between body and mind. Though he presides over a vast universe within his own body, billions of cells, an electrical system involving countless millions of connections, a supremely coordinated apparatus for receiving outside stimuli and impressions; though he must operate this universe, he is largely oblivious of its workings, its motivations, its purposes. He resides in it without governing it. He acts as though he were superimposed upon a highly differentiated clot of energy. Not until three centuries ago did he even discover the fact that the dominant fluid of life actually circulated through him. He has only the barest knowledge of the workings of his nervous system, of the reasons why at a certain point growth yields to the degenerative processes, or, indeed, what the degenerative processes actually are. He is still baffled by an activity that occupies almost one third of his lifetime—sleep—about which he has many theories but no knowledge. As for the phenomenon of ideas—which help to differentiate him from the four-legged mammals, birds, and fish—he is as ignorant of their true operation and composition as he was back in the days when his most complicated idea centered around the fashioning of a club.

"He is brilliant and inventive—but precociously so. It is not necessary for me or anyone to document at this time the trite observation that he possesses a fabulous gift for devising gadgets and launching enterprises which he promptly finds himself unable to control. One aspect of this inventiveness, however, is perhaps relevant to this debate. The real significance of the machine age is not that it replaces human labor but that it replaces human thought. No sooner does it become possible for the great mass of men to enjoy several hours of leisure each day than there are a dozen contrivances which jump in to relieve him of creative thought.

"We now have the Triumph of the Distraction. Thought-replacement is already a giant industry—close to being the biggest industry of them all. An open hour in a day's schedule without access to radio, movies, television, or other absorption devices, produces a feeling of helplessness and boredom in the individual bordering on personal panic. But the gadget has yet to be invented that can make man's decisions for him. Where, then, will the hard, deep thinking come from that can give him command over crisis?

"IF man is lacking in knowledge of himself, consider the lack as it concerns his knowledge of others. For nothing is more characteristic of his adolescence than his inability to understand adequately the society of which he is a part, or the techniques by which society can be changed to meet changing conditions. Yet today he is called upon to create the greatest society of all—a world society.

"Could anything be more immature than the willingness of the peoples of the world to continue to live within the unraveling fabric of the nation-state system? Surely no person of sound reason should hesitate for a single moment in discarding the death-laden concept that peace is possible through the retention by individual nations of their ultimate sovereignty. Yet such a concept dominates the thinking and the established structure of the world.

"One might have supposed, after the last war, that there would have occured a volcanic eruption of popular protest against the first sign that the same measures and methods which failed in the past were again in use today, again starting up the tragic cycle.

"One might have supposed that those who were chosen to lead or who found themselves in positions of leadership in the building of the peace would have had some sense of destiny about them, some understanding of the sweep and the meaning of history, some conception of the long and grand jumps that have to be taken in order to realize the promise of tomorrow. One might have supposed that the instinct for survival alone would have caused these leaders to define necessary new goals with fervor and eloquence.

"One might have supposed that the sudden liberation of the greatest and potentially most cataclysmic

"Every man is as heaven made him, and sometimes is a great deal worse." —CERVANTES.

force known on earth would have touched off a great awakening everywhere, equating fission of the atom with fusion of the human will in the cause of survival. One might have supposed that the need for world government would have risen over the earth like the sun itself, for nothing short of world government could keep expanding nations from colliding inside a shrinking world.

"One might have supposed that there would have been universal recognition that without world government there could be no control of science for destructive purposes. For out of that science in the past three years have come awesome but not inspiring improvements upon the original forms of atomic death. Today, for example, scientific genius has discovered the techniques for creating radioactive rain. It has discovered the techniques for dispersing from the sky vast quantities of radioactive dust particles, not only contaminating entire cities but neatly prolonging the killing ability of atomic energy far beyond the comparatively limited time privileged to the atomic bomb.

"'The cheapness of man,' said Emerson, 'is everyday's tragedy.' We can now kill more in a single day than used to be killed in generations of perpetual conflict. We are on our way towards removing the last barrier that prevents man from converting the earth into a planetary crematorium.

"Man's immaturity is reflected, finally, in what might be called the Four Fascinations that tyrannize him today.

"The First Fascination is the fascination of the mirror. Each people sees itself possessed of such virtues and skills as it is convinced to the death could exist nowhere else in the world. The Americans pride themselves on their skill at shattering the atom, confident that it will take others many years before they can do the same, and deriving a false sense of security from this fact, though they themselves are the most vulnerable major nation of all because of the intensive concentration of their industries and population. The Russians boast of even more fiendish war-making devices, the meanwhile making of their corrupt absolutism a political religion, and attempting to spread that religion through all methods available to them, for they cannot comprehend why other peoples hesitate to make themselves over in their image.

"The Second Fascination is the fascination of apparent reasonableness. Everywhere people are permitting themselves to be hypnotized by what has all the charms of a seemingly logical approach to world problems. They succumb to the apparent reason which holds that the United Nations as presently constituted is adequate to keep the peace. They are lured into investing all their hopes in international conferences, whether with respect to human rights or boundary arrangements, though each conference must be an end unto itself, since nothing that infringes upon national rights need be accepted by the individual nations. They become enamored of official declarations of intent, though not much is said about the machinery to translate intent into action.

"Yet reasonable men say that all this represents progress—as much progress as one ought to expect at this particular stage of the game. And so we acquiesce—acquiesce in the architecture of failure.

"The shame and pity of it is that, to all intents and purposes, the statesmen are doing their best. They are doing their best on the traditional level on which nations have always been accustomed to carry on their affairs—the level of power politics, political and military coalitions, armament preparations, diplomatic maneuvers, treaties, conventions, conferences, pacts. They are doing their best within an outworn and dangerous framework—a framework of limitations rather than of possibilities, a framework which has as its continuing and general objective the winning of the next war rather than the avoidance of it.

"What had to be done was to break through to a new level—to replace conferences with legislative bodies, treaties with law, violations with duly constituted force; in short, the substance of justice and the machinery of justice.

"But that new level has yet to be created.

"The Third Fascination is closely related to the previous two. It is the fascination with difficulty. World government, it is said, will be too difficult. Setting up a system of representation will be too difficult. If what we are looking for is something easy, then nothing will be easier than to slide into an atomic war. Certainly world government will not be easy—either to achieve or to operate. But will it be any easier to undergo another war?

"Meanwhile, we think it less difficult, apparently, to drain off the largest portion of our resources and energies in preparation for the next war; less difficult to build giant industrial plants underground; less difficult to subject our institutions to the heat and pressure of rising tensions which in turn create the occasion for a

"Can anyone imagine anything so ridiculous as this miserable and puny creature—who is not so much as the master of himself but is the butt of all things—and yet who dares to call himself emperor of the universe? And this privilege which he claims for himself of being the single creature in this vast fabric to anticipate its beauty and parts . . . the sole creature who can render thanks to its builder and do the bookkeeping of infinity! Who, I wonder, signed and sealed him this privilege? Let him show us the letter of appointment to this high and noble office." —MONTAIGNE.

IF A SPACE SHIP from Mars were to come within one hundred miles of this planet, this is what the earth would look like. The photograph, first of its kind in history, was taken automatically from a V-2 Navy rocket which took off from the White Sands proving grounds, New Mexico. The area covered in the photograph represents 200,000 square miles; the distance from the base to the curve is nine hundred miles. An outsider, viewing the earth from this height, would have to hypothecate the existence of man. The theories might describe him as an invisible unit of electrical energy—highly agitated, and moving erratically in often-violent clusters over the surface of the earth, from which he extracts his basic energy. Even his cities would resemble little more than a discolored rought spot or mold on the side of an orange. From such a vantage point, "the differences and differentiations [separating man] would seem idiotic to the point of insanity."

corresponding increase in the militarization of government and the steady, piece-by-piece surrender of civil liberties. We think it less difficult to operate vast research and production facilities pressing yet further into techniques for destroying ourselves.

"The Fourth Fascination is with the crisis daydream. There are two such daydreams in vogue today—indulged in so widely as to be readily recognizable. The first daydream is that if only America and Russia could agree, all the world's ills would be cured. It is a daydream because there can be no basic agreement between Russia and America without a higher authority which has the right and the power to mediate between the two, and to carry out its decisions through preponderant force if necessary.

"The United Nations as presently constituted offers no such enforceable powers. It is not a government but a voluntary association which suffers the grotesque paradox of having as its stated purpose the eradication of war, though guaranteeing the sovereignty of the individual nations, and formalizing that guarantee both through the veto and the right of any nation to relinquish its voluntary membership at its pleasure. Meanwhile, both America and Russia, as the two largest nations in the world, are competing with each other to fill the world power-vacuum, lest it be filled by one to the disadvantage of the other.

"There is nothing strange about this. What confronts us is no more than the standardized behavior of sovereign nations which, either out of the sincere need for self-defense or out of the vicious need for predatory expansion, have to look out for their own. And looking out for one's own today is rapidly taking the form of attempted global domination in one form or another, since the entire earth has become a single theatre of potential military operations.

"World government could not possibly eliminate the natural antagonism between these two countries; it could not possibly eliminate the differences between two contrasting and contradictory ways of life. All world government could do would be to set limits to that natural antagonism between the two: it could halt rigidly and abruptly whatever danger of war might proceed out of the highly volatile competition for military supremacy between the two, whether measured in terms of geographical expansion or the race to perfect and produce weapons of mass destruction. It would limit the war-making ability of each. It would reduce the areas and circumstances of potential conflict. It would establish machinery by which the infringements of one upon the other could be forestalled or blocked. For the function of world government would be to insert itself between the two states, not to merge with them, and to create and keep watch over the rules of the game.

"The second and related daydream belonging to the Fourth Fascination is simpler and more idyllic. It glories in the image of a Russia-less world. If only somehow the earth were to open up tomorrow and swallow the Soviet, according to this dream, all the world's problems would be automatically solved. But the question the daydreamers forget is this: what happened *before* there was a Soviet Russia?

"Long before the world heard of Lenin and Trotsky and Stalin and Molotov and Vishinsky and Gromyko, the world suffered the disease of war. Why? Why should nations have staggered from conflict to conflict year in and year out, the fact of war remaining the same, only the names of the principals being changed? Expunging

". . . unhappiness is the fatal result not of our need, but of our abundance." —TOLSTOY.

"It is only in society that a man's powers can be called into full activity. Now, to be a useful member of society, one must do two things. Firstly, what everyone is expected to do everywhere; second, what one's own particular position in the world demands and requires."

—SCHOPENAUER.

Russia would not expunge history any more than it would expunge the continuing danger of war. For Soviet Russia today—and the other nations as well—are but actors in a recurring play, acting out parts and lines that are as old as war itself. You don't change the play by changing the cast. If a Russia-less world lacked the machinery to make and enforce law on nations, the world would still be ripe for war. The same would hold true even if Russia and America had the same political systems, for the dynamics of a two-power world are such that neither nation could afford to be at a disadvantage vis-a-vis the other. And security in the world today takes the form of expansion—political or military or both.

Having thus inventoried what he called the "Four Fascinations," the prosecutor stepped down briefly to take a sip of water. As he did so, you could hear general murmuring in the audience. The general tenor of the comment seemed to be that world government was admirable as a goal but that you couldn't get it unless Russia agreed and was willing to join in forming one and in accepting its authority. But, since there was now no authority which could compel Russia to do this, what means could be used to bring it about?

It was fortunate, therefore, that when the prosecutor resumed he proceeded to examine these questions.

He began by saying that obviously world government couldn't be rejected until it was proposed. He said that there was little hope that Soviet Russia—jealous, fearful, insecure internally and externally—might make such a proposal. Moreover, Russia would probably resist going into a world government — unless, and this is the crux of the matter, she was convinced that the rest of the world was determined to set one up, and that any isolation from a world society might

come at too high a price morally, politically, economically. The real question, however, concerned not Russia but the United States. Was the United States willing to make the proposal for world government? Was the United States willing to be part of a United Nations having preponderant force and compulsory jurisdiction—committing itself in advance to the decisions of such a law-making body? Wasn't it the United States which insisted on the veto at San Francisco? Didn't the State Department testify before Congress, in early 1948, that the U. S. was unwilling to deprive itself of the veto?

Why did the President of the United States inform Congress that the U.N. lacked the power to deal with a crisis and that, therefore, unilateral measures by America were necessary and justified? And what interpretation is to be placed on this statement in the light of the President's failure to agree to those strengthening measures which would enable the U.N. to meet such emergencies? If the U.N. was, as some American officials have frequently claimed, America's first line of defense, why were we spending hundreds of dollars on military measures for every single dollar we put into the United Nations?

"No; America, like Russia, has so far indicated no unqualified willingness to see the U. N. invested with specific and adequate powers without which it will be impossible to create or maintain the conditions of peace. And unqualified willingness means the acceptance of the only sovereignty in the world today that has any real meaning—the common sovereignty of the peoples.

"What is needed is a popular prodding action of mountainous dimensions which can convince the American government that the American people are ready for and are calling for an open and clearly defined official policy in favor of developing the United Nations into a world government. Then at least, America's moral position in the world will be clear. Then at least and at last the American people can have the peace of mind that comes from knowing that on the biggest issue of our time, on the one cause without which no other cause is possible, their government has lived up to its responsibility as the world's most powerful democracy."

* * *

"Law becomes the means whereby the mobility of individual man can assert itself in the group."

—MONTESQUIEU.

AT this point, a short recess was called.

There seemed to be general agreement in the audience that the prosecutor had built up an impressive case, but, as people began to think and talk about it, it occurred to them that there was perhaps a basic contradiction in his argument. In the early portion of his presentation, he had emphasized man's failure to create a group conscience. Later, he emphasized the need for world government. Hence the possible contradiction. What point would there be in setting up a world government only to have it crack up because man lacked the collective conscience necessary to operate it?

Apparently, the prosecutor overheard some of this comment, for when he resumed and launched into his summation, he took up those very questions.

"It has not been my purpose at this trial," he began, "to present a general indictment against the human race. My purpose has been to touch upon some of those aspects of its history that bear directly on the question of the trial; has man *justified* his right to survive?

"I place special emphasis upon the word *justified* because I have deliberately avoided any opinion as to whether he *will* survive. That question falls more properly within the argument of the attorney for the defense.

"I have attempted at this trial to call attention to certain conspicuous failings in man's habits and conditioning and attitudes—please note that I do not say his nature—which so far have caused him great travail and anguish. I have tried to suggest that those failings have been serious in the past, but are critical now because of a fast-vanishing margin for error.

"It may have been observed that I have attempted to take an almost extra-planetary view of man. I have attempted, in general, to view him in his collective being, rather than as Americans or Russians or Englishmen or Frenchmen or Chinese or Indians or Africans and so on. It is easy but dangerous to be caught up in the passions and pressures that grow out of national differentiations. The differences between East and West that split the world today may seem deep and real to those who are involved in them. But viewed from the outside, the differences and the differentiations would seem idiotic to the point of insanity.

"To the outsider there would be only the entity of mankind. If he were to seek an objective and rational explanation for the authorized mass murder of war, or for the staggering lack of political and social justice in the world, or for the clustered misery and starvation that curse man's existence, the outsider would find it inconceivable that only one species was involved. He would be certain that some competing species was preying upon man—and perhaps vice-versa.

"Might I suggest, without encroaching upon the arguments of my opponent, that some such objective view by man of himself might help him avoid his final error.

"One more point. In the course of my remarks, I have referred to the flaw in man's development which has prevented him from creating an adequate basis for existence within the group, as well as between groups. I have been concerned with his failure to invest the group with an essential moral code or conscience.

"I have also referred to his failure so far to recognize that only world government can avert the war now impending.

"There is a direct connection between the two. The immediate objective, the immediate problem, is world government. It offers the means by which the peoples of the world can build a floor over quicksand for a few years. It offers the world a chance to break away from the inevitability of war. It offers a chance to do some hard thinking and to gain the perspective and wisdom necessary for the attainment of the indispensable and ultimate objective.

"That objective is the development and refinement of a collective conscience. In the long run lack of it would of course destroy even (or perhaps especially) a world government. But at least world government might serve as the germinating agency for a collective conscience. At least it might provide the means through which a sense of community of the world's peoples can be nurtured. It could invest the term of world citizenship with real meaning. Perhaps a world freed of war might be able eventually to generate new habits of mutuality which could flow into that conscience.

"If you ask whether I believe the human race will actually set up a world government and attempt to develop the conscience necessary to make it a success, I can only say I do not know. I repeat that I have concerned myself here with the unpromising record to date, and with a statement of essentials for the future. I have not ventured to predict whether those essentials would or could be recognized and met.

"For a consideration of that question, however, I now step down in favor of the attorney for the defense."

* * *

WHAT do you do at this point? What do you say? You realize that you have been called upon to define a basis for hope. The argument you had intended to make—that the human race had *justified* its right to survive—had been fairly well demolished by the prosecutor. You had originally thought of the word "justify" as applying to the inherent virtues of individual man. But the prosecutor had used it more appropriately as applying to man's actual collective capacity, based on experience, to deal with recurring major problems.

Did this mean that there is nothing left to go on, that inevitability is sovereign, and that we might as well resign from the human race?

"Believing as I do that man in the distant future will be a far more perfect creature than he is now, I find it is an intolerable thought that he and all other sentient beings are doomed to complete annihilation after such long-continued slow progress." —DARWIN.

Certainly not. There is a basis for hope. For even if you agreed with everything the prosecutor said, you could properly regard his argument not as obituary but as warning. It was a stern diagnosis but it included a prescription.

Such a prescription is not beyond man's reach. Whatever his limitations may have been in the past, however great the perpetuation of error, the fact of the matter is that what has to be done today is well within his capacity. For what is needed are not superhuman attributes. Man is not being called upon to rearrange the planets or alter the composition of the sun. He is not being called upon to work miracles. He is being called upon to make decisions affecting his own welfare. The only price he has to pay for his survival is decision.

Man is not imprisoned by habit. No one can foretell what great changes in him may be wrought by crisis—once that crisis is recognized and understood.

He has at his command, once he makes the decision to use them, such resources of courage and intelligence as he himself would hardly dare to imagine. "The human individual," said William James, "lives far within his limiits; he possesses powers of various sorts which he habitually fails to use. He energizes below his maximum, and he behaves below his optimum. His life is contracted like the field of vision of an hysteric subject—but with less excuse, for the poor hysteric is diseased, while in the rest of us it is only an inveterate habit—the habit of inferiority to our full self." But once there is the challenge of necessity, he can be "carried over the dam."

Some neurologists contend that the average individual possesses at least four or five times more brain power than he puts to use. They describe huge unused and smooth areas of the brain as constituting vast potential reservoirs of intelligence. They see no arbitrary limits to this capacity for expansion. Only man's own needs and his understanding of those needs can govern that.

The panorama of man's history is not even or flat but heavily patterned and marked with peaks and valleys. On top of those peaks we find forcing-houses of genius; in the valleys we find huts of ignorance and servility. Were the men who lived on the peaks structurally different from those who lived in the valleys? Did they possess different senses, different organs? Hardly. The same group that lived on the peaks during one century might find itself in the valley the next. Why did the Athenians suddenly go into a long slide after the Peloponnesian Wars? Why did China enjoy the greatest flowering of its civilization at precisely the time Europe was stumbling through the Dark Ages? Why did America come to life so brilliantly in the late eighteenth century?

The answer is largely to be found in two of the greatest forces in history, to which Aristotle and Darwin and Spencer and Lamarck and, more recently, Toynbee, have called frequent attention. Those two forces are challenge and response.

What, then, must be done to enable man to recognize the present challenge so that he may respond to it? What must be done to enable him to release and summon those vast reserves of intelligence and courage that can produce the necessary vital decisions?

Perhaps the faculty of anticipation in man could do it.

Let the individual anticipate, if he can, the next war. Let him anticipate the hell of the transient survivors, however few or many. Let him anticipate his place among them—the things he would see and the things he would do.

Let him anticipate the things he would think about. Let him anticipate his disbelief that all this organized insanity should have been allowed to come to pass. Let him anticipate his certainty that all this could have been averted, for he would know then, in retrospect, what should have been done. Let him, most of all, anticipate the problem of living with his conscience.

He would think it fantastic, looking backwards, that anyone anywhere should have concerned himself with anything except the drive to create a world government in time. He would be sickened at the thought that the peoples should have allowed themselves to be persuaded by talk of difficulties and differences in the way of world government. He would be enraged at the reluctance of pygmies in positions of leadership to make the sane moves that had to be made. He would be appalled at the fact that the American nation failed to make the proposal for such a world government. He would know that even if some nations declined, at least all the others might have rallied with America around a moral principle in pooling their sovereignty—enjoying preponderance but keeping the door open and making it clear that the purpose of the common government was a common security under justice.

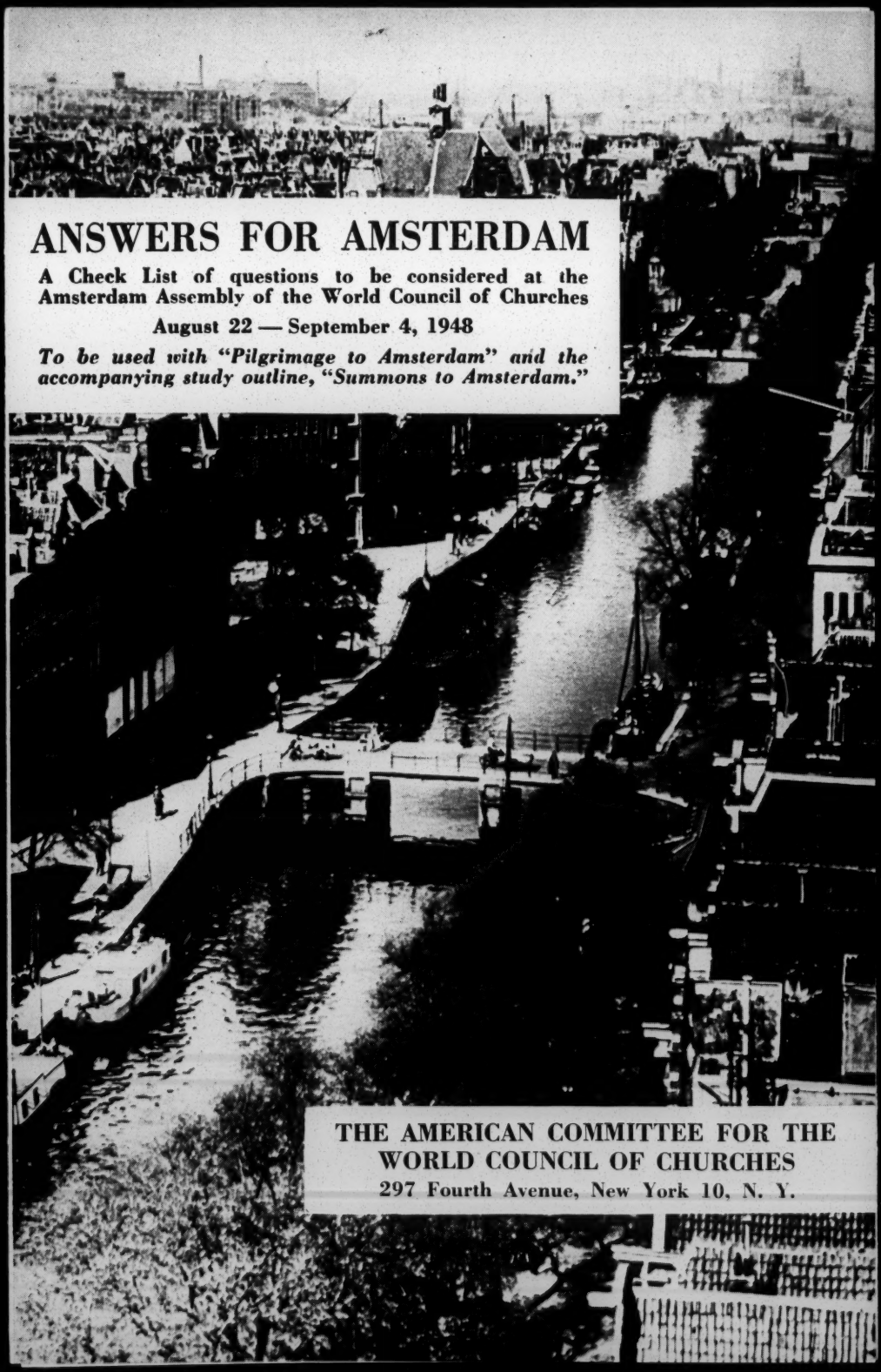
This is the type of anticipatory wisdom, you might say at the trial, that is needed now. For if we have it now, there will be unlocked within us not only the essential intellectual and physical energies but the first real manifestations of collective conscience. We have nothing to lose but our adolescence.

NORMAN COUSINS.

Reprinted by the

EMERGENCY COMMITTEE OF ATOMIC SCIENTISTS

118 Nassau Street, Princeton, New Jersey



ANSWERS FOR AMSTERDAM

A Check List of questions to be considered at the Amsterdam Assembly of the World Council of Churches

August 22 — September 4, 1948

To be used with "Pilgrimage to Amsterdam" and the accompanying study outline, "Summons to Amsterdam."

THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR THE WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

THE World Council of Churches will hold its Constituting Assembly at Amsterdam, Holland, from August 22 to September 4, 1948. This historic occasion will bring together official representatives from 127 communions in 39 countries. North America will be represented by 90 official delegates from 32 communions, plus alternates and accredited visitors.

At this Assembly consideration will be given to the four important areas of Christian interest which are noted in this pamphlet. The American Committee for the World Council of Churches is eager to have a wide expression of opinion on these questions from the rank and file of church people. This check list is provided to stimulate discussion and to guide in the expression of opinion.

It is hoped that these questions will be discussed in churches, ministerial associations, ecclesiastical groups, councils of churches, Y.M.C.A.s, Y.W.C.A.s, men's brotherhoods, women's societies, Bible classes, young people's groups, student associations, theological seminaries and other groups interested in these vital questions. The four topics furnish the basis for four sessions, for each of which careful preparation should be made, with assignments of reading and discussion responsibility.

After discussion, the leader or some other member of the group should check on the following pages the statements which reflect the mind of the group, noting at the bottom of the last page the information requested regarding the leader and those participating. Replies should preferably come from group discussions, though individual expressions of opinion also will be welcome. The pamphlet should then be mailed to the American Committee for the World Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y. All replies should reach New York not later than July 1, 1948. A compilation then will be made of the replies received.

The following two books which have been prepared by the American Committee for the World Council will be found useful in providing information and suggestion for the answering of the questions in this pamphlet: *Pilgrimage to Amsterdam* by H. G. G. Herklots and Henry Smith Leiper ($1.00); and *Summons to Amsterdam*, a Study Outline by Charles H. Corbett (25c). In addition, *Man's Disorder and God's Design* by John C. Bennett (25c) which outlines the preparatory program of study for the Assembly, will be found useful. These may be obtained from the office of the American Committee at the above address.

Approximately 250 individuals from North America will attend the Amsterdam Assembly. They come from various localities in the United States and Canada. In many instances they will be able to give leadership to these discussion groups. The names of those who expect to attend may be obtained from the New York office of the American Committee. Contact should be made direct with these individuals if their help is desired.

Discussion of these questions will provide an appropriate Lenten or post-Lenten project in many churches.

Further information and additional copies of this folder may be obtained gratis from the American Committee for the World Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

I. THE UNIVERSAL CHURCH IN GOD'S DESIGN

Check below the statements which most closely approximate your own ideas.

The Value of the Church

..... 1. The Church is an institution which has outlived its usefulness.

..... 2. The Church, in spite of its shortcomings, furnishes the moral and spiritual foundations needed today for the individual and society.

..... 3. The Church is the only hope for the individual and society in the present troubled world.

The Nature of the Church

..... 4. The Church is an association of Christian believers.

..... 5. The Church is a divinely established institution which as "the body of Christ," is the instrument of His will and work in the world.

..... 6. The Church is the exclusive channel of salvation.

The Quality of the Church

..... 7. The Church, in spirit and program, is satisfactorily doing God's work in the world.

..... 8. The Church needs a new spirit of repentance and faith if it is to fulfill God's will in this present world.

..... 9. The primary test of the Church is the quality of the Christian life exhibited in the local parish.

The Unity of the Church

..... 10. The Church can never be united effectively because of the basic differences within it.

..... 11. The churches have sufficient in common to make unity possible.

..... 12. The unity of the Church should be in spirit and program rather than in ecclesiastical organization.

..... 13. Christian believers should be organically united in one great universal Church.

II. GOD'S DESIGN AND MAN'S WITNESS

Check below the statements which most closely approximate your own ideas.

The Heart of the Christian Witness

The Christian witness is to:

..... 1. The revelation in Jesus Christ of the love and mercy and purpose of God.

..... 2. The redemption of the world from sin through the blood of Christ.

..... 3. The Word of God as the exclusive record of God's revelation to Man.

..... 4. The Church as the divine institution through which alone salvation is given to man.

..... 5. The Person and Work of Jesus Christ as the ground of our hope and the example for our life.

..... 6. The Kingdom of God, the divine order proclaimed by Christ which is immediate in its reality and final as the goal of human destiny.

The Scope of the Witness

..... 7. The Church should concern itself with giving the Gospel to the unnumbered millions who have never heard of Christ.

..... 8. The Church should limit itself to purifying and vitalizing its own life, leaving the non-Christian world to its present religions.

..... 9. The Church should devote itself exclusively to bearing witness to Christ's power to save the individual soul.

..... 10. The whole of human life both individual and social should come within the scope of the Christian gospel.

Hindrances to the Witness

Which of the following seem to you the most important hindrances to the Christian Witness today:

..... 11. The totalitarian philosophy which exalts the State rather than God.

..... 12. The spirit of secularism which tends to limit reality to the material realm.

..... 13. The confusion and suffering of the present world which deaden spiritual sensibilities.

..... 14. The strength of non-Christian religions.

..... 15. The sincere skepticism of earnest people regarding Christian beliefs.

(Continued on next page)

..... 16. The nominal Christians in the Church.

..... 17. The impression that the Church is on the side of privilege and does not fundamentally care about the common people.

..... 18. The divisions within the Church which weaken its impact upon the world.

Methods of Witnessing

The most effective method of witnessing is:

..... 19. The contact of person with person.

..... 20. The regular worship services of the Church.

..... 21. Special evangelistic services, if possible as a united effort of the churches.

..... 22. The education of children and youth in the Christian faith and life.

..... 23. An effective and well planned type of service to the community and to the needs of a suffering world.

..... 24. Active support of the world-wide mission of the Church.

..... 25. The use of contemporary means of communication such as the printed page, the radio, and the movies.

III. THE CHURCH AND THE DISORDER OF SOCIETY

Check below the statements which most closely approximate your own ideas.

Causes of the Present Disorder

..... 1. Deepseated racial differences and antagonisms.

..... 2. Unequal distribution of wealth and economic resources.

..... 3. National pride and desire to perpetuate national interests.

..... 4. The desire to perpetuate old political and economic orders.

..... 5. The conflict of political philosophies such as Communism, Fascism, and Democracy.

..... 6. Personal and social action based on immediate results rather than final good.

..... 7. The loss of moral and spiritual standards of conduct.

The Responsibility of the Church in the Present Situation

..... 8. The Church should ignore the present disorder and devote itself to saving souls for the life beyond.

..... 9. The Church should build Christian character and ideals in individuals and thus lay the foundation for a worthy social order.

..... 10. The Church should reaffirm great Christian principles, and in the light of them bring the present situation into judgment.

..... 11. The Church should work for practical implementation of Christion principles in government and society.

..... 12. The Church should ally itself with one of the current social philosophies such as Socialism, Capitalism, Fascism or Communism.

IV. THE CHURCH AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Check below the statements which most closely approximate your own ideas.

General Attitudes

..... 1. The Church should not concern itself with international affairs.

..... 2. The Church should stress the moral and spiritual implications of world situations and policies.

..... 3. The Church should endeavor to guide public opinion on contemporary international problems, leaving to individuals as citizens all political action.

..... 4. The Church should bring political pressure to bear in the attempt to solve present problems.

Practical Situations

Which of the following seem to you the most fitting areas in which the Church should use its influence:

..... 5. Support of the United Nations.

..... 6. Solution of the East-West conflict.

..... 7. Use of the Atomic Bomb.

..... 8. Justice to Dependent Peoples.

..... 9. Relief of Human Need.

..... 10. Creation of a world-community consciousness.

NAME OF INDIVIDUAL REPORTING

(*Print or Type*)

.....

Address .....

GROUP CHECKING THESE QUESTIONS

.....

Number in Group.....

Date.....

39 - World Affairs

October, 1948

JDC DIGEST

Publication of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee

USHERING IN A YEAR OF HOPE

(*See Page* 3)

[COMMITTEE PRINT]

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
EIGHTIETH CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

TEXT OF PROPOSED CHINA AID BILL

AND

BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE PROGRAM FOR CHINA

Submitted by the Department of State to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

FEBRUARY 20, 1948

Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Affairs

UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
781716 WASHINGTON : 1948

39 - World Affairs

North Atlantic Treaty

PROPOSED FOR SIGNATURE DURING FIRST WEEK IN APRIL, 1949

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MAR 21
Southern Regional Council

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Publication 3464
General Foreign Policy Series 8

Released March 1949

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OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1949

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office
Washington 25, D. C. - Price 5 cents

PREAMBLE

THE Parties to this Treaty reaffirm their faith in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and their desire to live in peace with all peoples and all governments.

They are determined to safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilization of their peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law.

They seek to promote stability and well-being in the North Atlantic area.

They are resolved to unite their efforts for collective defense and for the preservation of peace and security.

They therefore agree to this North Atlantic Treaty:

Article 1

The Parties undertake, as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, to settle any international disputes in which they may be involved by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered, and to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

Article 2

The Parties will contribute toward the further development of peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions, by bringing about a better understanding of the principles upon which these institutions are founded, and by pro-

moting conditions of stability and well-being. They will seek to eliminate conflict in their international economic policies and will encourage economic collaboration between any or all of them.

Article 3

In order more effectively to achieve the objectives of this Treaty, the Parties, separately and jointly, by means of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid, will maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack.

Article 4

The Parties will consult together whenever, in the opinion of any of them, the territorial integrity, political independence or security of any of the Parties is threatened.

Article 5

The Parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all; and consequently they agree that, if such an armed attack occurs, each of them, in exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defense recognized by Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, will assist the Party or Parties so attacked by taking forthwith, individually and in concert with the other Parties, such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area.

Any such armed attack and all measures taken as a result thereof shall immediately be reported to the Security Council. Such measures shall be terminated when the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to restore and maintain international peace and security.

Article 6

For the purpose of Article 5 an armed attack on one or more of the Parties is deemed to include an armed attack on the terri-

tory of any of the Parties in Europe or North America, on the Algerian departments of France, on the occupation forces of any Party in Europe, on the islands under the jurisdiction of any Party in the North Atlantic area north of the Tropic of Cancer or on the vessels or aircraft in this area of any of the Parties.

Article 7

This Treaty does not affect, and shall not be interpreted as affecting, in any way the rights and obligations under the Charter of the Parties which are members of the United Nations, or the primary responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Article 8

Each Party declares that none of the international engagements now in force between it and any other of the Parties or any third state is in conflict with the provisions of this Treaty, and undertakes not to enter into any international engagement in conflict with this Treaty.

Article 9

The Parties hereby establish a council, on which each of them shall be represented, to consider matters concerning the implementation of this Treaty. The council shall be so organized as to be able to meet promptly at any time. The council shall set up such subsidiary bodies as may be necessary; in particular it shall establish immediately a defense committee which shall recommend measures for the implementation of Articles 3 and 5.

Article 10

The Parties may, by unanimous agreement, invite any other European state in a position to further the principles of this Treaty and to contribute to the security of the North Atlantic area to accede to this Treaty. Any state so invited may become a party to the Treaty by depositing its instrument of accession with the Government of the United States of America. The Government of

the United States of America will inform each of the Parties of the deposit of each such instrument of accession.

Article 11

This Treaty shall be ratified and its provisions carried out by the Parties in accordance with their respective constitutional processes. The instruments of ratification shall be deposited as soon as possible with the Government of the United States of America, which will notify all the other signatories of each deposit. The Treaty shall enter into force between the states which have ratified it as soon as the ratifications of the majority of the signatories, including the ratifications of Belgium, Canada, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the United States, have been deposited and shall come into effect with respect to other states on the date of the deposit of their ratifications.

Article 12

After the Treaty has been in force for ten years, or at any time thereafter, the Parties shall, if any of them so requests, consult together for the purpose of reviewing the Treaty, having regard for the factors then affecting peace and security in the North Atlantic area, including the development of universal as well as regional arrangements under the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Article 13

After the Treaty has been in force for twenty years, any Party may cease to be a party one year after its notice of denunciation has been given to the Government of the United States of America, which will inform the Governments of the other Parties of the deposit of each notice of denunciation.

Article 14

This Treaty, of which the English and French texts are equally authentic, shall be deposited in the archives of the Government of

the United States of America. Duly certified copies thereof will be transmitted by that Government to the Governments of the other signatories.

In witness whereof, the undersigned plenipotentiaries have signed this Treaty.

Done at Washington, the day of April, 1949.

39 - World Affairs

By Private Subscription Only. Vol. 11 Chapter 6 1 May, 1949

INTELLIGENCE DIGEST

REVIEW OF WORLD AFFAIRS

Produced by

KENNETH de COURCY

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FROM THE DESK OF

Alex Miller

TO

I thought you would be interested in the attached.

39 - World Affairs

RECEIVED
JAN 11 1950
Southern Regional Council

THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF JERUSALEM

Background of the Controversy

The Palestine question which has figured continuously in United Nations debate for the past two and a half years has emerged as a crucial issue at this session of the General Assembly.

The start of the debate over Jerusalem in the Special Political Committee came just five days before the second anniversary of the adoption of the partition plan.

It will be recalled that this plan envisaged the Jerusalem area as an international enclave administered under the supervision of the United Nations Trusteeship Council.

The Jewish Agency representatives at that time acceded to the plan of internationalization in order not to jeopardize the recommendations for Jewish statehood.

However, the specifications of the UN resolution of November 29, 1947 were not followed by the Arab states. Instead, they elected to open hostilities against the Jews. In the war that ensued, Jewish arms prevailed. They not only drove the Arabs out of a territory of 5,600 square miles assigned to Israel by the partition resolution but occupied an additional 1,600 square miles that had been assigned to the Arabs.

As far as Jerusalem was concerned, neither side was able to take the entire city. At the armistice agreement of last spring, King Abdullah of Jordan occupied the Old City of Jerusalem, where 95% of the Holy Places are situated, while Israeli forces held the city of New Jerusalem.

It is not unjust to conclude that the existence of the Jewish state and the fact that New Jerusalem is under Israeli administration is due less to the activity of the UN than to sacrifices of the Jewish defense.

Religious and Historical Factors

To the Christians, Jerusalem is a holy city because of the many shrines and sites associated with the life and death of Jesus Christ; to the Mohammedans because the Haram Es-Sharif area is associated with Mohammed's ascension to heaven. To the Jews, Jerusalem is holy because it was the city of the Temple. However, an additional historical factor must be cited in relation to the Jewish reverence for Jerusalem. Jerusalem has symbolic meaning to the Jews for the glory which was the past, and to some extent, for Jewish hopes for the future.

Even in the middle of the nineteenth century, the Jews constituted a sizeable percentage of the total population of Jerusalem. It was estimated that out of a total population of 18,000 the Jews numbered 5,700.

The New City of Jerusalem was first begun in 1855, when Sir Moses Montefiore, the British Jewish leader obtained permission from the Sultan of Turkey to buy land in Palestine. In 1860, on the land Montefiore purchased, outside of the Old City, buildings were erected with funds left by Judah Touro of New Orleans.

Through the years, the population increased as buildings continuted to be erected. By 1895, the majority of Jerusalem's 28,000 Jews lived outside the Old City. At the outbreak of hostilities in 1947, all the central and educational institutions of Jewish Palestine were concentrated in the new city, including the Jewish Agency, the Keren Hayesod, the Jewish National Fund, the Vaad Leumi, the Hebrew University and various hospitals. Those important buildings gave New Jerusalem all the characteristics of a Capital.

The preponderance of Jews in the New City is indicated by the following figures: in 1922, they numbered 28,000 out of a total population of 40,000; in 1931, 46,000 out of a total of 65,000; in 1936, 74,000 out of 100,000; in 1948, about 95 per cent.

Plan of the UN Conciliation Commission

In December, 1948, the United Nations General Assembly instructed its Conciliation Commission for Palestine to draft a plan for a permanent international regime in the Jerusalem area. This plan was made public in September, 1949. Its main features are:-

Full United Nations' sovereignty in the Jerusalem area.

The Jerusalem area is to be "permanently demilitarized and neutralized."

Each distinctive population group in the area is to enjoy the maximum amount of autonomy compatible with international control. This autonomy is to be administered by the communal authorities.

Access to the Holy Places is to be permanently supervised by UN bodies.

Mass immigration into the Jewish or Arab sectors of the city is to be prohibited. The international regime is to maintain immigration into one sector at the same ratio as that in the other, so as not to disturb the present balance of population between Jews and Arabs.

The Jerusalem area as a whole is to be administered by:

A UN Commissioner appointed by the General Assembly for a term of five years. He would have his own police force which, in addition to ordinary police duties, would ensure free access to the Holy Places, supervise the demilitarization of the area, and protect human rights.

A general council composed of five Jews, five Arabs, and four members of other population groups. The council would have jurisdiction over financial and economic matters and would also deal with problems affecting the general relationship between the various autonomous population groups.

An international tribunal of three judges and one deputy, elected by the UN General Assembly, empowered to determine issues arising between the communal authorities in the Jerusalem area and between the UN Commissioner and the Israeli and Arab governments. It would also interpret the basic statute establishing the international regime.

Sharp criticism of this plan which immediately followed its publication caused the Conciliation Commission for Palestine to issue an official interpretation of it in November, 1949. According to this interpretation, the plan "leaves to the governments

of the adjoining states virtually all powers of government within the Arab and Jewish parts of Jerusalem. Accordingly, the inhabitants of the area would retain their present nationalities and would continue to enjoy all the rights and duties entailed in such a nationality." Thus the plan contemplates "only the establishment of an organ of coordination for matters of common interest to the two parts of the city which would in practice have only consultative and advisory functions with the Arab and Jewish authorities."

Arab Reaction

Except for Lebanon, the Arab countries had never indicated until November that they were ready to accept the internationalization of Jerusalem. The failure of the General Assembly to adopt the temporary trusteeship plan for the city (May 14, 1948) was attributed in part to Arab opposition. At the plenary session of the General Assembly, Egypt, Syria, Iraq and Yemen attacked the temporary UN trusteeship plan proposed by the United States and France -- and all seven of them, including Lebanon voted against it. The only Arab representative who endorsed internationalization the following May was Dr. Charles Malik of Lebanon, himself a Christian and representing a Christian-Arab country.

In mid-November, 1949, at Lake Success, before the Assembly's fifty-nine nation Special Political Committee, all the Arab states except Jordan came out for internationalization. To what extent inter-Arab malice and suspicions prompted some Arab countries to oppose Abdullah and support internationalization is speculative. In any event, on November 26, 1949, the Government of Jordan informed the United Nations that it would not pull its troops out of Jerusalem nor agree to any change in the present system of divided Israeli-Jordanian control over the Holy City. "This major declaration made to the General Assembly's Special Political Committee by Fouzi Pasha el Mulki clarified at last the long-standing puzzle over Jordan's approach to a Jerusalem solution." (NY Times, November 27, 1949)

Israeli Reaction

The position of the Israelis had been clarified through a number of statements over a considerable period. At the Third session of the General Assembly in Paris last year, the Israeli representative had proposed that internationalization be limited in area and apply only to that part of the city which contained the greatest concentration of religious and historic shrines.

Again on April 23, 1949, Dr. Chaim Weizmann, the president of Israel, had said

"The Government and people of Israel are conscious of the international interest in the safety of the Holy Places and the right of free access to them. We pledge ourselves to ensure full security for religious institutions in the exercise of their functions; to grant the supervision of the Holy Places by those who hold them sacred; and to encourage and accept the fullest international safeguards and controls for their immunity and protection. Just as we are resolved to give complete and practical expression to the universal interest arising from the Holy Places, so we expect that the international community will understand the direct and inescapable responsibility which Israel bears and exercises in the daily life and administration of Jewish Jerusalem. I am satisfied that no real incompatibility exists between the interests and concerns of Christianity, in which His Holiness the Pope has recently given eloquent expression, and the aspirations of the people of Jerusalem to assure their government and security in conformity with their national allegiance.

If there is a genuine desire to reconcile these two interests, a harmonious solution can swiftly be secured with international consent."

On May 5, 1949 Israel's representative Aubrey Eban, in addressing the Political Committee of the General Assembly, suggested that the solution for Jerusalem should be sought in an international regime which would apply to the whole city, but which would be restricted functionally to concern itself only with the control and protection of the Holy Places and not with any purely secular or political aspects of life and government. After emphasizing that his Government uphold the necessity "to which attention was drawn in the Pope's recent encyclical to ensure free access to the Holy Places, the security of Catholic and other Christian institutions, and to accept and encourage full international control for the protection and immunity of the Holy Places," he added: "The Government of Israel advocates and supports the establishment by the United Nations of an international regime for Jerusalem concerned exclusively with the control and protection of the Holy Places and sites. If such a regime for the Holy Places is established, my Government will cooperate with it." The Government of Israel, he further declared, "is prepared to offer the fullest safeguards and guarantees for the security of religious institutions in the exercise of their functions."

Similar declarations continued to be made by Israeli leaders, and on November 15, 1949, Israel submitted a thirty-six page memorandum to the Special Political Committee of the General Assembly, rejecting the draft statute of the Conciliation Commission. Israel told the United Nations that an international regime would "convulse the city in widespread discontent and confusion." The memorandum stated in regard to demilitarization of Jerusalem: "There is no vital aspect of Israel's essential authority in Jerusalem which would not disintegrate if the plan were put into practice. The memorandum taxed the entire plan as impractical, as nullifying the Israel-Jordanian armistice agreement and reaffirmed Israel's readiness to negotiate with the UN for international guarantees of free access to the holy places under her jurisdiction.

On November 25, 1949, Moshe Sharett, Foreign Minister of Israel, declared to the Special Political Committee that Israel could not accept internationalization of the New City. He argued that Israel had held Jerusalem at a great sacrifice in human lifes, that Jerusalem is now an integral part of the Jewish state and cannot be relinquished without jeopardizing Israel's security. Mr. Sharett said: "Left to fight it out or surrender, the Jews fought and won. What they regained was not merely their stake in Jerusalem but the link between it and the State of Israel."

The Soviet Union Reaction

The Soviet Union, which has puzzled observers in its repeated shifts of attitude towards Israel, demanded on November 29, 1949, that the United Nations General Assembly proceed with the plan for the international administration of the Jerusalem area contained in the Palestine partition resolution adopted two years ago.

The Soviet representative, Semyon K. Tsarapkin, charged in the Assembly's Special Political Committee that the Conciliation Committee's proposals constituted an attempt by the United States and Britain to gain control over an important military and strategic center.

Mr. Tsarapkin's statements were interpreted generally to mean that the Soviet Union had swung away from Israel to win support among the Arabs. The only Arab country he attacked was Jordan, which strongly rejects internationalization. The Soviet representative charged that King Abdullah was a tool of Britain and "renewed earlier Soviet proposals for the establishment of a Palestine Arab state" (NY Times, Nov. 30, 1949).

The Catholic Attitude

Another factor in the Jerusalem situation is the attitude of the Catholic Church. Various pronouncements by the Vatican were summarized in a statement issued by the Roman Catholic hierarchy in the United States on November 18, 1949.

> "The question of the status of Jerusalem and the Holy Places, now before the United Nations," the statement says in part, "(is) pre-eminently religious in character..."

On this basis, the statement declares:-

> "Our Holy Father, Pope Pius XII, time and time again has made it clear that the only effective guarantee for the safety, and the sacred character of Jerusalem, for the protection of the Holy Places, and for the free exercise of the indisputable rights of a Christian minority, and for free access of pilgrims to their Shrines, is a territorial internationalization of Jerusalem and its area under the sovereignty and the effective control of the family of nations."

The Position of the American Jewish Committee

In the present Jerusalem situation, the two directly interested parties -- Israel and Jordan -- are opposed to the Conciliation Commission's plan. The UN could hardly impose this plan upon these parties. It seems unlikely, furthermore, that the plan can obtain the necessary two-thirds majority vote in the General Assembly. For among UN delegates who are concerned with strengthening the world organization -- and these include delegates who favor the plan -- there are grave doubts whether the UN can, at the present time, successfully assume administrative, economic and police responsibilities for an area like Jerusalem.

The American Jewish Committee believes that it would be more statesmanlike for the General Assembly, at its present session, to work out a scheme for the internationalization of the Holy Places under UN jurisdiction while leaving the general problem of sovereignty over the Jerusalem area to be determined by negotiations between Israel and Jordan under the guidance of the Conciliation Commission.

As the representatives of the world community, UN's main interest in Jerusalem are the Holy Places. The Israeli government has time and again offered to negotiate an agreement with the UN which would fully secure the internationalization and international protection of the Holy Places by a UN body. Such an agreement could be worked out with Israel for the New City, where there are only a few Holy Places, and with Jordan for the Old City, where most of the Holy Places are located.

Trend (December 8, 1949)

According to the New York Times (December 8th), the Special Political Committee of the United Nations General Assembly today voted by an impressive margin to create a permanent international regime in Jerusalem. The city and its environs would form a separate enclave under the administration of the Trusteeship Council.

This decision was taken upon the very nearly solid bloc voting of the South American countries, Arab states and the Soviet bloc. The final count was 35 to 13, with 11 abstentions.

The United States and Britain led the opposition. The vote marked the second defeat of the United States in two days by the Latin-American republics. The other came yesterday on the question of China.

Wins by More Than Two-Thirds

Even the most sanguine supporters of the Jerusalem project, originally introduced as a resolution by Australia, were surprised at the strength of the endorsement it received in committee. The plan won more than two-thirds of the votes cast and, therefore, is expected to be adopted by the Assembly in plenary session, probably Friday. A majority vote is necessary in committee and two-thirds for matters of substance in the Assembly itself.

ATOMIC SCIENCE

Reading List

By Albert Einstein

'48 *The Magazine of the Year* • *Vol. 2, No. 1* • **JANUARY 1948**

'48 **Reading List** **By Albert Einstein**

ATOMIC SCIENCE

. . . wrapped up in just six titles

From time to time, '48 will ask a leading authority in a field of current interest to select a short list of readable books which provide a sound understanding of the subject. Following is the first in the series. Readers are invited to suggest subjects.

IN MY OPINION, no one can approach the subject of atomic energy—the most important problem in the world today—from a merely scientific and technical point of view. It seems to me that it is not enough to know all about isotopes and pitchblende and plutonium. The whole of human destiny is entwined in this subject. That is why, in proposing a bibliography within the reach of every reader, and one that any reader could find time to encompass, I have included, besides scientific and historical sources, three books on the problems of peace, security, and the continued life of man with man.

My selections are:

Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, published monthly by the Atomic Scientists of Chicago, 1126 E. 59 St., Chicago, Ill. Yearly subscription, $2.50; also available at some newsstands, 25c per copy.

Personally, I find the *Bulletin* the most valuable single source of up-to-date information on atomic energy. It reports progress on its use and control. It analyzes the divergences of view between the U.S., the U.S.S.R., and other nations, as well as the hopes for progress. It reviews Army and Navy thinking on atomic warfare. It reports developments in peaceful uses of atomic energy.

Selig Hecht, *Explaining the Atom*, Viking Press, 1947, $2.75.

An authoritative account of the scientific steps, both theoretical and experimental, that have led to our present knowledge of nuclear fission, by a distinguished colleague of mine who took part in many of them. In this book, the late Selig Hecht provides, in very simple language, the necessary information for a layman to form an independent opinion on the practical problems of atomic energy confronting the world today.

John Hersey, *Hiroshima*, Alfred A. Knopf, 1946, $1.75.

A vivid description of the impact of the atomic bomb on a community of men, women, and children. This book describes in terms of human experience the fate of people subjected to atomic bombing.

Cord Meyer, Jr., *Peace or Anarchy*, Little, Brown, 1947, $2.50.

This book reviews in a very complete manner the whole complex of problems connected with peace and security. It includes what I consider to be an honest discussion of the political and social implications of the atomic bomb.

Emery Reves, *The Anatomy of Peace*, Harper, 1945, $2.00.

This book takes up the whole problem of peace against a broad background of world history. The author presents convincingly the necessity for world government as the only effective solution of the security problem. Is there *any* other solution?

Raymond Swing, *In the Name of Sanity*, Harper, 1946, $1.00.

Based on a series of broadcasts, this book contains analytical and critical discussions of important events in the months immediately following the release of the news of the atomic energy discoveries. It is excellent, I think, for a day-to-day account of the most important events affecting the development of national and international policy on atomic power. END

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ATOMIC

WAR OR PEACE

By ALBERT EINSTEIN
as told to RAYMOND SWING

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THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY

In keeping with its policy of promoting public discussion and evaluation of various proposals for effective international control of atomic energy, the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists takes pleasure in making available to its friends this article expressing the views of Albert Einstein on this vital subject.

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ATOMIC WAR OR PEACE

By ALBERT EINSTEIN

As told to RAYMOND SWING

SINCE the completion of the first atomic bomb nothing has been accomplished to make the world more safe from war, while much has been done to increase the destructiveness of war. I am not able to speak from any firsthand knowledge about the development of the atomic bomb, since I do not work in this field. But enough has been said by those who do to indicate that the bomb has been made more effective. Certainly the possibility can be envisaged of building a bomb of far greater size, capable of producing destruction over a larger area. It also is credible that an extensive use could be made of radioactivated gases which would spread over a wide region, causing heavy loss of life without damage to buildings.

I do not believe it is necessary to go on beyond these possibilities to contemplate a vast extension of bacteriological warfare. I am skeptical that this form presents dangers comparable with those of atomic warfare. Nor do I take into account a danger of starting a chain reaction of a scope great enough to destroy part or all of this planet. I dismiss this on the ground that if it could happen from a man-made atomic explosion it would already have happened from the action of the cosmic rays which are continually reaching the earth's surface.

BUT it is not necessary to imagine the earth being destroyed like a nova by a stellar explosion to understand vividly the growing scope of atomic war and to recognize that unless another war is prevented it is likely to bring destruction on a scale never before held possible and even now hardly conceived, and that little civilization would survive it.

In the first two years of the atomic era another phenomenon is to be noted. The public, having been warned of the horrible nature of atomic warfare, has done nothing about it, and to a large extent has dismissed the warning from its consciousness. A danger that cannot be averted had perhaps better be forgotten; or a danger against which every possible precaution has been taken also had probably better be forgotten. That is, if the United States had dispersed its industries and decentralized its cities, it might be reasonable for people to forget the peril they face.

I SHOULD say parenthetically that it is well that this country has not taken these precautions, for to have done so would make atomic war still more probable, since it would convince the rest of the world that we are resigned to it and are preparing for it. But nothing has been done to avert war, while much has been done to make atomic war more horrible; so there is no excuse for ignoring the danger.

I say that nothing has been done to avert war since the completion of the atomic bomb, despite the proposal for supranational control of atomic energy put forward by the United States in the United Nations. This country has made only a conditional proposal, and on conditions which the Soviet Union is now determined not to accept. This makes it possible to blame the failure on the Russians.

But in blaming the Russians the Americans should not ignore the fact that they themselves have not voluntarily renounced the use of the bomb as an ordinary weapon in the time before the achievement of supranational control, or if supranational control is not achieved. Thus they have fed the fear of other countries that they consider the bomb a legitimate part of their arsenal

so long as other countries decline to accept their terms for supranational control.

AMERICANS may be convinced of their determination not to launch an aggressive or preventive war. So they may believe it is superfluous to announce publicly that they will not a second time be the first to use the atomic bomb. But this country has been solemnly invited to renounce the use of the bomb—that is, to outlaw it— and has declined to do so unless its terms for supranational control are accepted.

I believe this policy is a mistake. I see a certain military gain from not renouncing the use of the bomb in that this may be deemed to restrain another country from starting a war in which the United States might use it. But what is gained in one way is lost in another. For an understanding over the supranational control of atomic energy has been made more remote. That may be no military drawback so long as the United States has the exclusive use of the bomb. But the moment another country is able to make it in substantial quantities, the United States loses greatly through the absence of an international agreement, because of the vulnerability of its concentrated industries and its highly developed urban life.

In refusing to outlaw the bomb while having the monopoly of it, this country suffers in another respect, in that it fails to return publicly to the ethical standards of warfare formally accepted previous to the last war. It should not be forgotten that the atomic bomb was made in this country as a preventive measure; it was to head off its use by the Germans, if they discovered it. The bombing of civilian centers was initiated by the Germans and adopted by the Japanese. To it the Allies responded in kind—as it turned out, with greater effectiveness—and they were morally justified in doing so. But now, without any provocation, and without the justification of reprisal or retaliation, a refusal to outlaw the use of the bomb save in reprisal is making a political purpose of its possession. This is hardly pardonable.

I AM not saying that the United States should not manufacture and stockpile the bomb, for I believe that it must do so; it must be able to deter another nation from making an atomic attack when it also has the bomb. But deterrence should be the only purpose of the stockpile of bombs. In the same way I believe that the United Nations should have the atomic bomb when it is supplied with its own armed forces and weapons. But it too should have the bomb for the sole purpose of deterring an aggressor or rebellious nation from making an atomic attack. It should not use the atomic bomb on its own initiative any more than the United States or any other power should do so. To keep a stockpile of atomic bombs without promising not to initiate its use is exploiting the possession of the bombs for political ends. It may be that the United States hopes in this way to frighten the Soviet Union into accepting supranational control of atomic energy. But the creation of fear only heightens antagonism and increases the danger of war. I am of the opinion that this policy has detracted from the very real virtue in the offer of supranational control of atomic energy.

We have emerged from a war in which we had to accept the degradingly low ethical standards of the enemy. But instead of feeling liberated from his standards, and set free to restore the sanctity of human life and the safety of noncombatants, we are in effect making the low standards of the enemy in the last war our own for the present. Thus we are starting toward another war degraded by our own choice.

IT MAY be the public is not fully aware that in another war atomic bombs will be available in large quantities. It may measure the dangers in the terms of the three bombs exploded before the end of the last war. The public also may not appreciate that, in relation to the damage inflicted, atomic bombs already have become the most economical form of destruction that can be used on the offensive. In another war the bombs will be plentiful and they will be comparatively

cheap. Unless there is a determination not to use them that is far stronger than can be noted today among American political and military leaders, and on the part of the public itself, atomic warfare will be hard to avoid. Unless Americans come to recognize that they are not stronger in the world because they have the bomb, but weaker because of their vulnerability to atomic attack, they are not likely to conduct their policy at Lake Success or in their relations with Russia in a spirit that furthers the arrival at an understanding.

BUT I do not suggest that the American failure to outlaw the use of the bomb except in retaliation is the only cause of the absence of an agreement with the Soviet Union over atomic control. The Russians have made it clear that they will do everything in their power to prevent a supranational regime from coming into existence. They not only reject it in the range of atomic energy: they reject it sharply on principle, and thus have spurned in advance any overture to join a limited world government.

Mr. Gromyko has rightly said that the essence of the American atomic proposal is that national sovereignty is not compatible with the atomic era. He declares that the Soviet Union cannot accept this thesis. The reasons he gives are obscure, for they quite obviously are pretexts. But what seems to be true is that the Soviet leaders believe they cannot preserve the social structure of the Soviet state in a supranational regime. The Soviet government is determined to maintain its present social structure, and the leaders of Russia, who hold their great power through the nature of that structure, will spare no effort to prevent a supranational regime from coming into existence, to control atomic energy or anything else.

The Russians may be partly right about the difficulty of retaining their present social structure in a supranational regime, though in time they may be brought to see that this is a far lesser loss than remaining isolated from a world of law. But at present they appear to be guided by their fears, and one must admit that the United States has made ample contributions to these fears, not only as to atomic energy but in many other respects. Indeed this country has conducted its Russian policy as though it were convinced that fear is the greatest of all diplomatic instruments.

THAT the Russians are striving to prevent the formation of a supranational security system is no reason why the rest of the world should not work to create one. It has been pointed out that the Russians have a way of resisting with all their arts what they do not wish to have happen; but once it happens, they can be flexible and accommodate themselves to it. So it would be well for the United States and other powers not to permit the Russians to veto an attempt to create supranational security. They can proceed with some hope that once the Russians see they cannot prevent such a regime they may join it.

So far the United States has shown no interest in preserving the security of the Soviet Union. It has been interested in its own security, which is characteristic of the competition which marks the conflict for power between sovereign states. But one cannot know in advance what would be the effect on Russian fears if the American people forced their leaders to pursue a policy of substituting law for the present anarchy of international relations. In a world of law, Russian security would be equal to our own, and for the American people to espouse this wholeheartedly – something that should be possible under the workings of democracy – might work a kind of miracle in Russian thinking.

At present the Russians have no evidence to convince them that the American people are not contentedly supporting a policy of military preparedness which they regard as a policy of deliberate intimidation. If they had evidences of a passionate desire by Americans to preserve peace in the one way it can be maintained, by a supranational regime of law, this would upset Russian calculations about the peril to Russian security

in current trends of American thought. Not until a genuine, convincing offer is made to the Soviet Union, backed by an aroused American public, will one be entitled to say what the Russian response would be.

IT MAY be that the first response would be to reject the world of law. But if from that moment it began to be clear to the Russians that such a world was coming into existence without them, and that their own security was being increased, their ideas necessarily would change.

I am in favor of inviting the Russians to join a world government authorized to provide security, and if they are unwilling to join, to proceed to establish supranational security without them. Let me admit quickly that I see great peril in such a course. If it is adopted it must be done in a way to make it utterly clear that the new regime is not a combination of power against Russia. It must be a combination that by its composite nature will greatly reduce the chances of war. It will be more diverse in its interests than any single state, thus less likely to resort to aggressive or preventive war. It will be larger, hence stronger, than any single nation. It will be geographically much more extensive, and thus more difficult to defeat by military means. It will be dedicated to supranational security, and thus escape the emphasis on national supremacy which is so strong a factor in war.

If a supranational regime is set up without Russia, its service to peace will depend on the skill and sincerity with which it is done. Emphasis should always be apparent on the desire to have Russia take part. It must be clear to Russia, and no less so to the nations comprising the organization, that no penalty is incurred or implied because a nation declines to join. If the Russians do not join at the outset, they must be sure of a welcome when they do decide to join. Those who create the organization must understand that they are building with the final objective of obtaining Russian adherence.

THESE are abstractions, and it is not easy to outline the specific lines a partial world government must follow to induce the Russians to join. But two conditions are clear to me: the new organization must have no military secrets; and the Russians must be free to have observers at every session of the organization, where its new laws are drafted, discussed, and adopted, and where its policies are decided. That would destroy the great factory of secrecy where so many of the world's suspicions are manufactured.

It may affront the military-minded person to suggest a regime that does not maintain any military secrets. He has been taught to believe that secrets thus divulged would enable a war-minded nation to seek to conquer the earth. (As to the so-called secret of the atomic bomb, I am assuming the Russians will have this through their own efforts within a short time.) I grant there is a risk in not maintaining military secrets. If a sufficient number of nations have pooled their strength they can take this risk, for their security will be greatly increased. And it can be done with greater assurance because of the decrease of fear, suspicion, and distrust that will result. The tensions of the increasing likelihood of war in a world based on sovereignty would be replaced by the relaxation of the growing confidence in peace. In time this might so allure the Russian people that their leaders would mellow in their attitude toward the West.

MEMBERSHIP in a supranational security system should not, in my opinion, be based on any arbitrary democratic standards. The one requirement from all should be that the representatives to supranational organization—assembly and council—must be elected by the people in each member country through a secret ballot. These representatives must represent the people rather than any government—which would enhance the pacific nature of the organization.

To require that other democratic criteria be met is, I believe, inadvisable. Democratic institu-

tions and standards are the result of historic developments to an extent not always appreciated in the lands which enjoy them. Setting arbitrary standards sharpens the ideological differences between the Western and Soviet systems.

But it is not the ideological differences which now are pushing the world in the direction of war. Indeed, if all the Western nations were to adopt socialism, while maintaining their national sovereignty, it is quite likely that the conflict for power between East and West would continue. The passion expressed over the economic systems of the present seems to me quite irrational. Whether the economic life of America should be dominated by relatively few individuals, as it is, or these individuals should be controlled by the state, may be important, but it is not important enough to justify all the feelings that are stirred up over it.

I should wish to see all the nations forming the supranational state pool all their military forces, keeping for themselves only local police. Then I should like to see these forces commingled and distributed as were the regiments of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. There it was appreciated that the men and the officers of one region would serve the purposes of empire better by not being stationed exclusively in their own provinces, subject to local and racial pulls.

I should like to see the authority of the supranational regime restricted altogether to the field of security. Whether this would be possible I am not sure. Experience may point to the desirability of adding some authority over economic matters, since under modern conditions these are capable of causing national upsets that have in them the seeds of violent conflict. But I should prefer to see the function of the organization altogether limited to the tasks of security. I also should like to see this regime established through the strengthening of the United Nations, so as not to sacrifice continuity in the search for peace.

I do not hide from myself the great difficulties of establishing a world government, either a beginning without Russia or one with Russia. I am aware of the risks. Since I should not wish it to be permissible for any country that has joined the supranational organization to secede, one of these risks is a possible civil war. But I also believe that world government is certain to come in time, and that the question is how much it is to be permitted to cost. It will come, I believe, even if there is another world war, though after such a war, if it is won, it would be world government established by the victor, resting on the victor's military power, and thus to be maintained permanently only through the permanent militarization of the human race.

But I also believe it can come through agreement and through the force of persuasion alone, hence at low cost. But if it is to come in this way it will not be enough to appeal to reason. One strength of the communist system of the East is that it has some of the character of a religion and inspires the emotions of a religion. Unless the cause of peace based on law gathers behind it the force and zeal of a religion, it hardly can hope to succeed. Those to whom the moral teaching of the human race is entrusted surely have a great duty and a great opportunity. The atomic scientists, I think, have become convinced that they cannot arouse the American people to the truths of the atomic era by logic alone. There must be added that deep power of emotion which is a basic ingredient of religion. It is to be hoped that not only the churches but the schools, the colleges, and the leading organs of opinion will acquit themselves well of their unique responsibility in this regard.

EMERGENCY COMMITTEE OF ATOMIC SCIENTISTS

INCORPORATED

The Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists was organized informally in May, 1946 by a small group of atomic scientists headed by Albert Einstein and Harold C. Urey; the Committee was incorporated in August, 1946. The atomic scientists recognized, because of their unique knowledge, the tremendous new problems which faced mankind through the release of atomic energy. Their purpose in coming together was to arouse the American people to an understanding of the unprecedented crisis in national and international affairs precipitated by the atomic discoveries.

The part they had borne in these discoveries had aroused in scientists a deep sense of responsibility for the immediate and eventual uses to which this great new power might be put. As scientists, working in the interests of their country at a time of national peril, they had released overwhelming new forces. As citizens, they saw that the people were wholly unaware of the supreme implications of this new power, mainly because of the necessity of military security. They believed that the connotations of secrecy, national rivalry, and mass destruction that unavoidably attached to the atomic discoveries from their inception must be removed, that men might determine the future use and control of atomic energy in an atmosphere of free and democratic discussion.

During the year that has passed, every member of the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists has done his utmost to bring home to the people of the United States the simple facts of atomic energy and their tremendous implications for world peace or world destruction. By conference and letter this small group of men have reached directly over a quarter of a million key citizens. To reach a wider audience, they have the willing cooperation of hundreds of younger scientists who, forming themselves into the Association of Scientists for Atomic Education, have sent out teams of speakers to bring to large cities and small towns in simple concrete terms the facts of atomic energy. Their work is complemented by the nationwide educational effort of the National Committee on Atomic Information, likewise formed at the urgent behest of leading atomic scientists.

Also financed by the Committee is the uniquely valuable *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists,* which month by month presents and appraises every important proposal for international control, whether emanating from government or private sources. The *Bulletin* is perhaps the most valuable existing medium for disseminating information and opinion on atomic energy control. It reaches those who are responsible for governmental policy both in the United States and abroad, carrying to them the thoughtful conclusions of the world's leading atomic scientists.

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The Political and Legislative History of Liberia

A Documentary History of the Constitutions, Laws and Treaties of Liberia from the Earliest Settlements to the Establishment of the Republic, a Sketch of the Activities of the American Colonization Societies, a Commentary on the Constitution of the Republic and a Survey of the Political and Social Legislation from 1847 to 1944

With Appendices Containing the Laws of the Colony of Liberia, 1820-1839, and Acts of the Governor and Council, 1839-1847

By

CHARLES HENRY HUBERICH

J.U.D. (Heidelberg), D.C.L. (Yale), LL.D. (Melbourne)
Sometime Professor of Law, Stanford University
Member of the Bar of the Supreme Court
of the United States of America

WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

FOREWORD BY ROSCOE POUND

In Two Volumes (1733 Pages)

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REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA

Department of State SS.

I, **Gabriel L. Dennis,** Secretary of State of Liberia, *do hereby certify that the annexed publication entitled* Laws of the Colony of Liberia *passed by the Governor and Council of Liberia from 1820 to January 1847 and also containing the Constitution for the Government of the African Colony in Liberia, was duly authorized by the Government of the Republic of Liberia to be printed for publication.*

Given *under my hand and Seal of the Department of State this Sixth day of March in the year of our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Forty-seven, and of the Republic the One Hundredth.*

GABRIEL L. DENNIS

Secretary of State

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See Urban Planning Prof

Atlanta Housing:
A Study of Patterns, Changes and Mechanisms Controlling Negro Housing

By

Samuel L. Adams

December 1966

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The research and writing of this report benefits greatly from the help of many individuals and organizations. Notably among them were Harry Adley, President of Adley Associates, Inc. (Urban Planning Consultants); Robert Thompson, Assistant to the Regional Administrator, Region III of the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development; Jack Wood and Edward Rutledge, Associate Directors of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing; Dr. Leslie Dunbar, former head of Southern Regional Council and now Executive Director of the Field Foundation; Mrs. Eliza Paschall, Director of Atlanta Council in Human Relations, and W. L. Calloway, President of Empire Real Estate Board.

FOREWORD

"The greatness of our country rests upon the principle of equal opportunity for all."*

That is the succinct way in which Atlanta Mayor Ivan Allen emphasized the need for "real" and full democracy for all Americans in all sectors of their lives--economic, religious, political, and recreational. Commenting on Atlanta's needs and performance in the housing sector, the Mayor said:

"We must have the spaces for our citizens to live as well as places for them to make a living...Congestion of population can become a deadly deterrent to progress."**

The Mayor of Atlanta obviously recognized the moral as well as the practical compulsions for equal opportunity for the city's minority group members, but he also realized that in the sector of housing a solution to the problems would be difficult. He pointed out that neighborhood transitions constitute one of the most delicate and difficult problems facing the city.

This study--an assessment of Negro housing in Atlanta--attempts to put these problems into clearer prospective. Our conclusions may be disappointing to some who are accustomed to thinking of Atlanta as a city "too busy to hate." For there emerges here a pattern of residential segregation that admittedly in the past was promulgated by some city officials, and financial and real estate leaders, and which continues today despite the best intentions of others.

The gravity of the problem--especially prior to Atlanta's 1966 clash between police and residents of the city's Summerhill slum area--appears not to have been seen, a blindness that might have developed because the city was "too busy to see," and may be "too busy to care."

*See Atlanta Journal, November 19, 1962.
**See Atlanta Journal, January 8, 1963 for Mayor Allen's "State of the State Report.

INTRODUCTION

My 6-year-old son returned home from school on day last month and engaged his mother in serious conversation.

Mama," he said, "Do you know why I didn't want you to take me into the zoo when we were out riding yesterday? I was scared those white people might say something to you and hurt your feelings."

Then he told of being chased home a half hour earlier by some larger boys. "They throw things on me and call me names. I wish I was white so they wouldn't do it."

Thoroughly disturbed by his remarks, his mother explained about how God had made him and about the desirability of being "what He made us," but that failed to change his young mind. He already had learned by precept and example, some perhaps internalized from his immediate family, that there might be advantages if he were white. He had been to the Madison zoo on other occasions with the white family he calls "his best friends," and for some reason he felt that "Brad's mama" could take him to the zoo without any prospect of insults.

How did these race concepts develop and what contributed to them? Madison is a friendly town not noted for obvious race prejudice. Yet my son was primed to observe differential treatment among his playmates and to base it on race while at the same time selecting someone who is white as his best friend.

I saw the development of this psychological set when he was 5 years old, growing up in an antogonistic white neighborhood

where we were the only Negro family on our street. That was in Atlanta, Georgia. In his kindergarten class there was one other Negro youngster, the son of a physician who lived less than a mile from us. Our presence in the neighborhood caused tensions that were felt by our children. My 16-year-old daughter was one of 20 Negroes attending the neighborhood high school five blocks from our home. The family's experiences give some clue to reasons why many Negroes are not interested in moving into better housing outside the ghetto. Generally, those who do move into white neighborhoods do so under the extreme pressure of needs for space and better housing in crowded Negro areas. And their moves are mainly just beyond the fringe of the Negro community, into areas that usually become an extension of the ghetto.

The mechanisms that operate to make and to keep communities segregated touch the lives of both whites and Negroes in areas where racial minorities are restricted. The day after we moved into our new Atlanta home, we found our bedroom window broken. Subsequently, shots were fired, cherry bombs and molotov cocktails were set off, and ominous looking black flambeaus were placed in our yard at night, the obvious intent of the perpetrator(s) being to light them. We were often pelted with eggs--on automobiles in our driveway and on windows--and trees on our lawn were favorite objects for toilet paper (called TP job).

Our son heard the family's discussion of these things and began to conceptualize differential racial treatment he had not known in St. Petersburg, Florida, where ours was a more friendly

interracial setting. He began to ask the meaning of racial slurs and obscenities that were repeated nightly by screaming night riders. He saw his sister in tears after almost being run down by menacing teenage drivers while walking along the road coming from school. He heard her tell of being struck in school corridors by both girls and boys. And from some place he got the impression that "black" was a bad word when they used it to describe someone's face.

The impact of Negroes moving into a white neighborhood is not felt just by the minority group members. A white family whose house on our street had "for sale" signs of a Negro real estate firm found the dwelling vandalized. And other whites in the area were the constant targets of real estate agents trying to obtain "for sale" listings. The offending agents were both whites and Negroes.

Having had the problem of finding suitable housing for my family, and having had both positive and negative experience in racially integrated housing, I developed an interest in urban housing problems and was anxious to study the housing pattern of Atlanta.

PURPOSE

The main purpose of this research is to determine the means through which the system of racial segregation is established and maintained in Atlanta housing. Empirical evidence that the city's housing is, in fact, segregated may be found in the data of the United States Census of Population and Housing.* And the existence of housing segregation is a well known fact in most of the nation; consequently, the lengthy gymnastics of documenting the existence of segregation and devising indexes for measuring it won't be needed here. What I propose to do is to examine maps and census data to see the pattern Atlanta's segregated housing takes, to investigate the process of change that may be taking place there, and to study and isolate some of the mechanisms controlling, influencing or limiting change.

Indexes measuring racial separation in Atlanta housing show that Atlanta is 93.6 per cent segregated.** I wish to know what keeps it so rigidly segregated. While this study is not focused primarily on the SES effects of housing segregation, the socio-economic, the cultural, the psychological and the educational deprivation that isolation causes are underlying problems that give added significance to this study. For this research they are the primary raison d'etre. My personal knowledge of some of

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* See appended data

** See Taeuber and Taeuber, Negroes in Cities

the detrimental effects of housing problems guides the research and writing of this report.

A more general objective is broader than the specific: To bare the mechanisms through which housing segregation is established and maintained in the South. The data to be examined in this report are from Atlanta, but some projections may be made. Hopefully a series of investigations ultimately will be completed on the causes of existing housing patterns in a cross-section of southern cities.

Since Atlanta, the bell weather of the South, can boast of some racial cooperation in housing and can claim one of the nation's gilded Negro ghettos, generalizations made from the Atlanta study might provide useful slants or directions for observing and predicting patterns and mechanisms in the more progressive areas of the South. Whereas a variety of patterns might be found among various cities, it is expected that many of the mechanisms of control found in Atlanta, will be common to many of the other southern cities. But the more race conscious cities might show a more intense use of the common mechanisms for keeping racial housing segregated. In other words, bombs and violence may be used to slow housing desegregation in Atlanta, but a greater number of bombs, placed in a manner that might cause death, might be expected if attempts were made to desegregate housing in Birmingham, or Jackson, or some of the other cities of more intense racial antagonism.

IMPORTANCE OF THE PROBLEM

"The problem of the cities, in the form that it is now assuming, is the most urgent, the most difficult and the most frieghtening American domestic problem that has emerged in all the years of this country's history since the Civil War. Unless present trends are reversed, most of our great cities are due to become huge Negro reservations--a series of super-Watts. When and if that happens, 'black power' will no doubt be installed in City Hall."

Those words of syndicated columnist Joseph Alsop cogently state the significance of the problem under investigation. Continuing his August 1, 1966 column, the St. Petersburg Times, he writes:

"But when and if that happens...there will be other consequences, too. The change in the cities will not only accelerate white movement to the suburbs, until the city centers truly are reservations in the grimmest sense of that grim word. This change will also, and above all, accelerate another movement that has already begun without anyone paying much attention."

Alsop believes that finance and business, industry and commerce will follow the flight into the suburbs and that all the vast national investment in the centers will quite suddenly be almost worthless. More depressing, he visualizes city-sized

super-Watts of the future as having hardly more resources of their own to solve their problems than the Watts District of Los Angeles has today. So he urged attention to the problem:

> "If we do not change the trend, there will be no hope of integration, no hope of equality for the Negro Americans. There will be an immense increase of the ugly race feeling that the riots have already begun to promote. There could even be, one day, a President Verwoerd in the White House. Any effort, any expenditure, any personal or national sacrifice, will be better than the thing we are threatened with, whites and Negroes together."

Alsop's statement does more than justify researching the problems, it justifies action programs. Even if racial problems are ignored, cities are becoming the nation's most pressing problem. If rigid racial segregation is joined with Negroes occupying expensive land in deteriorating core areas, urban troubles are greatly increased. Such settings provide contrasts between the haves and the have-nots. And poor housing is perpetuated, especially for Negroes who discover they can get credit to buy a $4,000 automobile but cannot get credit to buy a $5,000 home. Moreover, such settings further increase unnatural concentrations;* for example, 73 per cent of the nation's Negroes live in urban centers. About 35 years ago, 65 per cent lived in

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* See 1960 U.S. Census of Population, U. S. Summary, Detailed Characteristics, U. S. Department of Commerce; and Leo F. Schnore, The Urban Scene, for the 25 cities with largest Negro populations.

rural areas. Of the nation's 20 million Negroes, 52 per cent live in only 72 cities, and 75 per cent of them live in as few as 25 cities--Washington having the largest concentration and Atlanta having the 11th largest. Such concentrations harbor unemployment, cause transportation problems, generate communications static, and contribute to crime and delinquency.*

Further attesting to the significance of the urban housing problem and racial segregation in city housing are programs recently undertaken by governmental bodies. The Federal government has raised the Department of Housing and Urban Development to Cabinet level and given its work high priority. And on November 15, 1966, the city government of Atlanta sponsored a conference to discuss approaches and programs for eradication of minority group housing problems.

METHODOLOGY OF THIS REPORT

Participant observation accounts for no small part of the research for this report. Having lived from June, 1965 to June, 1966 isolated somewhat in a changing white neighborhood, I was an important statistic on the Atlanta housing scene. As the single Negro family on an otherwise all-white street in a fashionable Southwest Atlanta neighborhood, my family's first-hand experiences and their behavior under the stress of racial

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* This is no suggestion that cities are bad just because they are cities. However, uprooted people migrating to densely populated areas where there is social disintegration are, in fact, more proned to be victims of social degredation. See The Gang by Frederic M. Thrasher (University of Chicago Press, revised edition 1966) for a background discussion of this opinion.

pressures offered hints and insights into what Negroes encounter in changing communities.

Other sources of data are newspaper clippings, the research files of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., other published and unpublished documents, and interviews with key persons having special kinds of knowledge about Atlanta housing because of their employment, position, interest, or other factors. Data and impressions also were obtained from field trips, from interviews with and/or letters of financiers, real estate men, politicians, policemen and civil rights leaders, and from direct confrontations and conversations with both white and Negro residents of the city's few racially mixed neighborhoods.

HYPOTHESIS

The ~~tree~~-fold postulate that appears to be supported by available evidence is that (1) subordinate groups in societies with strong anti-minority group prejudices will tend to locate in housing that is in a coterminous area to other members of the subordinate group so as to permit interaction with in-group members; (2) that dysfunctions, limited space and socio-economic locational pressures will tend to force some families to migrate from restricted minority areas, but the migration will tend to be to destinations at the fringe or in close commuting distance to the area occupied by the subordinant group; and (3) stress against Negro migration to white areas will govern selection of who among the Negroes will migrate into unfriendly areas. Those

migrating will tend to be those forced to move by poor housing conditions, and they generally will relocate in deteriorating former white housing. Conditioning factors will be access to convenient transportation that will permit them to maintain ties in the friendly area while they are establishing stability in the new area. Negroes with prior experience among whites will be, in most instances, better able to cope with the antagonism of the new locations.

The hypothesis is stated deliberately as if the subordinant racial or ethnic groups do have the choice of where they will locate. Some ethnic groups do. Negroes, for the most part, do not. Severe pressure from the superordinant group keeps most subordinants in their places, and the pressure helps determine who among the subordinant group are able to cope with the hardships of moving from the friendly environs into a sea of antagonism. Put more concretely, Negro ghettoes and such enclaves as "Little Italy" or "China Town" will attract and hold their residents because of a friendliness and tolerance to them, and because ventures outside the areas are made more intolerable by the hostile superordinant community. This will tend to be the case despite the other obvious advantages a new area might offer in locational economy, physical ammenities, municipal services, and over-all housing improvements. To consider properly the ecological forces impinging on the location of housing for minorities, then, one must take cognizance of both external (superordinant) and internal (subordinant) group

controls, viz. the prejudices and pressures of the dominant group and the withdrawal of the minority group.

In this connection, Firey has pointed out how in Boston, Massachusetts, the paesari (people from the same village or origin) and the festas (anniversaries and other Old World celebrations) operate among Italian immigrants to keep them in the city's run-down North End.* He quotes a second generation Italian whom he asked if his immigrant parents ever contemplated leaving their North End tenement:

> "No, because all their friends are there, their relatives. They know everyone there."

In the case of Negroes clinging to slum areas in the South and other parts of the nation, conditions often are so bad that many residents would gladly move to new areas if open land and development capital or existing vacant housing were available for an extension of the ghetto or for an enclave. On the other hand, in the case of those who migrate to white areas, propelled by an adventurous spirit (or maybe a rebellious spirit) or by housing economics and need, sharp pulls and pressures may keep them torn between friends in the ghetto and the more desirable housing conditions outside.

Not the least of the problems may relate to schools. A Negro family in a predominantly white community may be isolated, not only in their home; their children, if not outright targets of prejudice, may be isolated in classrooms. And a charming

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* Walter Firey, "Sentiment and Symbolism As Ecological Variables," American Sociological Review, Vol. X, 1965, pp 148.

Negro girl who leaves a predominatly Negro high school where she is a candidate for school queen might have to reconcile herself to being ignored or scorned in her new integrated school setting. Or she may be met with other pressures--harrassment, violence, academic failure, and/or social ostracism. (The violence,* as the data shows, may range from fist fights to bombings. And the harrassment may range from telephone threats to the firing of parents from their jobs.)

As subsequent pages of this study will show, the major mechanisms for creating and maintaining housing segregation are external to the Negro community, but the external controls are supplemented by internal controls. And more than a few Negroes are unwilling to move into white areas; some say that they do not want to go where they are not wanted. In Atlanta and other cities, the land generally is controlled by whites, as we shall see below. Some Negroes who at first appear to be controllers of land and development capital are subsequently discovered to be fronts, representing white owners or backers.

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* Violence my be directed at Negroes in formerly all-white schools as well as those in formerly all-white neighborhoods.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF NEGRO RESIDENCE IN ATLANTA

Atlanta is fast becoming a predominatly Negro city, as did Washington, D. C., some years ago. Atlanta's leading politicians are fighting such a development, but they failed last summer in an attempt to pass a referendum for annexing Sandy Springs, a white suburban community. The annexation of suburban white communities would not automatically change the separateness of the two races in Atlanta, but it would bring about a better population balance between the races in the corporate city limits. The percentage of Negroes in the combined metropolitan area is holding steady at around 22 per cent, but the proportion of Negroes within the city has jumped from 38 per cent ot 43 per cent in the last five years.* Increase in the Negro proportion of the city population stems mainly from the movement of whites to bedroom communities outside the city limits.

The racial shift is even more pronounced when it comes to the school population. The major portion of white families moving to the suburbs are those with children. While the number of Negro children in Atlanta public schools was increasing 20,000 during the last five years, the overall number of white children was decreasing 2,000, according to Atlanta School Superintendent John Letson.**

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* The figures are computed from data of Atlant Metropolitan Region Planning Commission.

** The Atlanta Journal, March 15, 1966

This trend started about two decades ago when the Negro population began breaking out of a tight belt that cramped it into too little space in the central city. In the early years of expansion of the Negro community, the movement was mainly westward, the direction the city's political and financial determiners decreed. Negro and white real estate coalitions sometimes agreed on peripheral constructions such as cemeteries and public housing units which served as buffers to Negro expansion in undersired directions. Moreover, land planners and those responsible for the development of street patterns have used green areas, parks, railroads with the absence of under or overhead passes, and the absence of direct arterial access to sustain the pattern of racial separation in housing. It is hard to go from Negro areas to white areas. There is no circular pattern of travel and transportation.* Virtually all public transportation terminals in or near the heart of the city, and transfers from lines serving the Negro community to lines serving the white community generally requires a walk of several blocks. At about 8 a.m. on regualr work days, the downtown sidewalks are crowded with Negro domestic workers making their way to work in white homes, a trip that may take up to two or three hours each way, if the waiting periods are included.

The normal economic and commercial interest of the city would be served by an efficient circulation system. A good

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* Atlanta is constructing a perimeter highway that will, when completed, permit circular travel at the edge of the city.

example of how the Atlanta road pattern defeats this goal is seen along the southern boundary of the Negro ghetto in the western part of the city. From the central area to the west city limits, a distance of about six miles, there are only three thorofares that provide fairly direct access between the Negro area at the Northwest and the white area at the Southwest. These are Ashby Street, Peyton Road, and Fairburn Road. All of the three except Peyton intersect with Cascade, a main artery in the Southwest.

It was clearly understood in the early '50's that Negroes were to have a corridor to the west for housing growth. The Butler Street Young Man's Christian Association and the Citizens Trust Company, both Negro institutions, planned and later built west side branches. Real estate interests developed fabulous Collier Heights and other subdivisions. But even in some agreed-upon growth directions, some of the affected whites took matters into their own hands and resisted Negro encroachment.* Explosives were planted near several newly purchased, fringe area homes as Negro migration threatened the Edgewood and Bankhead areas in the east and west parts of the city, the blasts coming frequently in the first half of the 1950's and then tapering off, only to increase again at the turn of the next decade.**

Early movement of affluent Negroes to the west brought other action from nonviolent and more sophisticated whites. Though

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* A committee from the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce and Negro real estate men for a number of years met to smooth housing problems.

** This pattern of violence is reflected in newspaper reports,, Atlanta police records, and in Table on page of this study.

sometimes living on a common thoroughfare with Negroes, they tried to retain the prestige of not living on the same street with Negroes in some cases by changing the street's name in their area. Hunter Road, for example, became Mosley Drive at Chicamauga, and from Anderson Avenue westward it is called Gordon Road. As Negro expansion crept toward Ponce de Leon in the central northeast area a few years ago, the part of Boulevard beyond Ponce de Leon was renamed Monroe Drive and the extension of Parkway beyond the Negro residences was renamed Charles Allen Drive.

Movement of a Negro doctor into the Utoy-Peyton Forest area led to the erection of a barricade across Peyton Road to prevent direct ingress and egress of Negroes there and to deter further Negro housing expansion in that sector. This so-called Berlin Wall or Bamboo Curtain between the races was removed as a result of Negro political and legal pressures.[3]

Whites in the Peyton Forest area as in some other communities organized to resist Negro penetration and offered to buy the homes of those insistent on moving.

Before the federal courts struck down state and local laws and policies which excluded Negroes from public swimming pools and parks reserved for whites, the creeping expansion of the Negro community left the alternative of abandoning some formerly white parks and schools that became surrounded by Negro residents, or the choice of converting them for minority use. Georgia Avenue School on the southeast and Mosley Park on the west are good examples. Both were eventually turned over to Negroes.

footnote?

During much of the last decade, government activity has increased both population and housing change. Public construction such as urban renewal and highways has displaced thousands of families, according to information from the Atlanta Journal gathered from various studies, reports, and proposed urban renewal and highway project projections. As reported by the Atlanta Journal on November 4, 1965, "Government activities have displaced 15,500 families during the past nine-and-one-half years, statistics show. From 9,000 to 12,000 of these families were in income brackets low enough to qualify for public housing. Yet during the same period, from January 1, 1956 to June 30, 1965, only slightly more than 4,000 new low-cost units of housing were made available. That leaves a housing deficit of 5,000 to 7,000 units for poorer Atlanta families." Enforcement of the city's minimum housing code displaced approximately 2,240 additional families, according to the Journal article.

Actually, the deficit is even higher. The figures do not reflect what is generally accepted as a significant population increase among poor Atlanta Negro families. The data was gathered from the 1958 relocation plan of the city of Atlanta, the city's workable Program, Atlanta's Urban Renewal Status Report of June 30, 1965, urban renewal project applications, and other sources.

In a large measure, those forced to relocate are on the lower economic rung, and that is indicative of the fact that greater economic problems are created for low income families.

Extremely hard pressed are those Negroes of small means, especially those who need, but are unable to qualify for, the inadequate supply of public housing.* Private Atlanta rentals run approximately 20 per cent higher than low-rent projects charge for comparable facilities. And developers have built few new homes in the city for prices less than $10,000. In a spot check of the cost of lots in the Negro community we find none selling for less than $3,000, even though some land we priced is of minimal sized lots. The high land cost tends to make construction of modest homes more expensive to buyers and less profitable to builders.

What has been said suggests that special attention is needed for the housing problems of the poor, especially poor Negroes where ghetto conditions create an artificial housing market. Among other things, subsequent pages of this paper will take a hard look at Atlanta's housing needs, the resources for supplying some needs by dissolution of the Negro ghetto, and the mechanisms--financial, political, attitudinal--that create and perpetuate the ghetto for minority group members. The urgency of a study of this type to guide policy decisions and action in this connection is signaled by the restiveness and violence of Watts in California and other erupting poverty pockets of the Northeast, Midwest, West and the South, including Atlanta.

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* Some persons whose earnings are below the maximum prescribed for public housing tenants cannot qualify for admission for such reasons as these: No steady job, no husband in family, common law marriage, and most significant, no vacancy for large family in project applied for. Policy militates against placing a large family in an undersized apartment.

THE HOUSING PREDICAMENT OF ATLANTA'S NEGROES

Atlanta is the key metropolis in the Southeast, one of the 25 largest cities in this area with over one million persons residing in its five-county metropolitan area. Atlanta's industrial and commercial growth attracts thousands of low income newcomers annually, many of whom are Negroes who must seek shelter in deteriorating sections of the city. Their homes are the dilapidated and threadbare structures left behind by more affluent white citizens migrating to other neighborhoods and other communities.

Statistical evidence to support this conclusion is found in Table I. It reveals that the city is heavily Negro, and the surrounding suburban communities predominantly white. But it shows more than this: nearly 187,000 Negroes are competing feverishly for spcae in the segregated neighborhoods now open to them.

Table I
NUMBER AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRO AND WHITE POPULATION LIVING INSIDE AND OUTSIDE CITY LIMITS OF ATLANTA, GA., 1960

Race	Total	Inside City Limits	Outside City Limits	Per Cent Inside City Limits
Total	1,017,188	487,455	529,733	47.9
Negro	232,169	186,464	45,705	80.5
White	785,019	300,991	484,028	38.3

Source: U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 1960

The situation is getting worse. While the 1960 U.S. Census fi figures and the April 1965 setimates of the Atlanta Region Metropolitan Planning Commission show a significant rise in the total population for the Atlanta area, they also show a slight decline in the number of white city residents and relatively large increases in Negro city residents (See Table 2 below).

Where is text on table 2

Is this one necessary? It seems it could have been tacked onto

Table 2
POPULATION OF ATLANTA, 1960, 1964, 1965
AND NET CHANGE 1960-65

	1960	1964	1965	Net Change 1960-65
Total	487,455	506,200	504,600	Plus 17,145
White	300,991	298,658	284,719	Minus 16,272
Negro	186,464	207,542	219,881	Plus 33,417

SOURCE: Computed from U.S. Census data and estimates of Atlanta Regional Metropolitan Planning Commission

Negro Housing Lag--Contrasting with the increased Negro share of the total city population is the lagging growth in the number of Negro housing units. Despite a drop in the percentage of whites in the total population, white housing units increased significantly (see Table 3 below). This suggests a continuing shift of families with children to suburbia and a counter movement of childless couples and single persons into high rise apartments in the central city. At least one of these high rise apartments[4] in the upper-middle income brackets was built on land from which deteriorating Negro housing was removed in urban renewal projects, and some of the cleared land was converted to industrial use.

The pinch that this trend of slum removal and the concommittant restrictions against open occupancy are making on Negroes is accentuated by a variety of programs considered progressive when properly administered--highway construction, condemnations to make way for public buildings, etc.

Negro Overcrowding--Evidence that highway construction and urba renewal are among factors influencing crowding of low income Negroes is reported in the 1963 annual report of the Fulton County Departmen of Family and Children Services. Entitled, Applachia in Atlanta the report states that bulldozing for renewal and highways has indeed cleared away some slums, but a result has been the pushing of many slum dwellers back to the fringes of the areas cleared, making their overcrowded conditions even more crowded.

This is not reflected in the overall tract figures of census data, for the units are too large. And no block-by-block analysis was undertaken. Nevertheless, field trips to hard-core poverty pockets suggest increasing density of some of the poorest families;

for example, the welfare department's report discloses that, "...for five years prior to 1960, 102 welfare recipients lived in Merritts Avenue, N.E. (adjacent to an urban renewal area), while during the last five years, 192 welfare recipients have lived on the same street." * That latter figure represents about a 90 per cent increase in the density of Merritts Avenue welfare recipients.

Inspection of working maps reveals that the Negro population, which represents 43 per cent of the city of Atlanta's total, occupies only about 15 to 20 per cent of the city's land area. These figures imply dense ghetto living for Negroes, especially in low income districts; but they are somewhat relieved by the rapid pace of housing construction for both whites and Negroes. For those who can afford better housing, the situation seems to be improving. (see Table 3)

Table 3
HOUSING INCREASES IN ATLANTA, 1960-65

	1960	1964	1964	Net Change 1960-65
Total	154,224	168,717	164,492	10,268
White	97,967	103,928	103,111	5,144
Negro	48,044	55,793	61,381	13,274
Vacant	8,213	8,996	9,040	827

SOURCE: Calculated from field data supplied by Atlanta Regional Metropolitan Planning Commission

Housing Conditions--While the over-all quantity of Negro housing units is inadequate and the Negro's proportional share of land use falls far below Negro population percentages, a more important problem is the condition of the housing in the Negro ghetto.[5] A study now in progress by the city indicates that when data relating to condition of housing are introduced, Negro housing balance is far out of proportion.[6]

*See Appalachia Atlanta, the 1963 annual report of Fulton County Department of Family and Children Services (pamphlet).

In 1960 U.S. Census reports 46 of each 100 Negro homes surveyed were deteriorating, dilapidated, or lacked amenities. When applied to the total of Atlanta Negro housing, this suggests that 28,235 Negr houses are substandard in one degree or another.

According to Appalachia in Atlanta "the physical condition of the shelter occupied by 54 per cent of welfare recipients is classified as ranging from fair to very poor; 76.84 per cent of them are living in unsanitary conditions, and 55.08 per cent are residing in housing needing renovation or repairs."* (Plunketown, near the city's south corporate limits, is a pocket of Negro housing with outside privies and slum dwellings.)

Moreover, since much of the Negro housing migration tends to be into lowincome white fringe areas, old, formerly white houses newly purchased by Negroes are likely to deteriorate rapidly. This is especially true of borderline homes like those Negroes are buying in Atlanta's West End and Kirkwood areas and, more recently, the Center Hill area.

High Cost of Negro Housing--Not only is the Negro disadvantaged from the standpoint of availability oand quality of housing, he must pay premium prices for the inadequate facilities available to him. These prices are rising, Between 1950 and 1960, median rentals to Negro families in the Atlanta area more than doubled their cost, rising from $23.72 to $52.00. Most Negro families pay from $40.00 to $59.00 a month in rent (See Table 4).

Table 4
AMOUNT OF GROSS RENT PAID BY NON-WHITE RENTERS
IN STANDARD METROPOLITAN ATLANTA IN 1960

Amount	Number	Per Cent
Less than $20.00	1,153	2.9
20-39	8,617	21.7
40-59	15,357	39.0
60-79	10,096	25.4
80-99	2,625	6.6
100 or more	426	1.1
No Cash Rent	1,299	3.3
	39,637	100.0

SOURCE: U.S. Census of Population and Housing

* Ibid.

In absolute terms, cost of housing does not seem to be high for the Negro in the Atlanta area, but when the costs are related to his meager income they are seen to constitute a heavy drain. Average income for all families in Atlanta in 1959 was $5,758, but the average non-white family income was only $3,033. Although non-white family income is about half the average for all families, the non-white family pays only $15.00 less than the average rent, $67.00 , paid by all families. In other words, on a proportional basis, the non-white family pays substantially more rent than does the white Atlantan. (See Table 5).

Table 5
INCOME OF NON-WHITE PERSONS IN STANDARD METROPOLITAN ATLANTA, 1949-59, AND FAMILY INCOME FOR 1959

Amount of Income	1959		1949		Family Income for 1959	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Totals	110,363	100.0	78,415	100.0	50,020	100.0
Under $3,000	90,407	81.9	76,395	97.4	24,714	49.4
$3,000-3,999	10,413	9.4	1,385	1.8	9,044	18.1
4,000-4,999	5,295	4.8	305	0.4	5,915	11.8
5,000-5,999	2,604	2.4	100	0.1	3,910	7.8
6,000 Plus	1,655	1.5	235	0.3	-	-
6,000-6,999	-	-	-	-	2,213	4.4
7,000-7,999	-	-	-	-	1,494	3.0
8,000-8,999	-	-	-	-	965	1.9
9,000-9,999	-	-	-	-	642	1.3
10,000 and over	-	-	-	-	1,123	2.3
Median	1,510				3,033	

Costs of building or buying homes in Negro areas also appear to be markedly higher than costs of equivalent accommodations in some white communities. For example, housing experts interviewed estimated that "other things being equal," a $20,000 house in the all-Negro Collier Heights district would cost an estimated $2,000 less in Chamblee, a white suburban area. *

* Obviously this is due to the greater demand for land in Negro areas where a proportionally smaller amount of land is available for a larger number of potential buyers, many of whom are restricted from land outside the Negro ghetto. Owners of land in the Negro areas include whites and Negroes, but few Negroes own land in the white areas.

Conclusions--Neither the corporate city of Atlanta nor any governmental unit of the metropolitan area has laws prohibiting racial discrimination in housing. Consequently, many of the Negroes displaced by slum clearance and/or other public projects such as highway construction and schools face heavy burdens in their search for standard housing. Many with very low income end up more poorly housed and cramped by overcrowding after displacement This is due largely to the building of proportionately fewer homes for low-income families and partly to the limited availability of homes for large families, especially those needing three or more bedrooms. For large poor families, the city's oldest supply of houses offers best prospects for obtaining enough room, and this is likely to be deteriorating rapidly.

In sum, the predicament of the Negro resident of Atlanta is that of rapidly expanding population pressing on limited and inadequate housing resources. Its consequence is crowding, high costs, and personal and social disturbance and dislocation. There has been no effective effort to relieve this situation by public or private interests. Migration into contiquous previously white neighborhoods and a limited movement of wealthier Negroes into formerly segregated suburbs has taken place, but these shifts serve to merely to highlight the basic problem--large numbers of Negro residents who remain compacted in dreary and relatively costly quarters--a blemish on the city and a threat to the community.

RESOURCES FOR HOUSING RELOCATION

The preceding section of this report confirms the assumption that a sizeable segment of Atlanta's Negro population has grave housing needs that are not presently being satisfied. Ironically, these needs exist in a dynamic, fast growing city where housing resources outside the ghetto areas are substantial. These resources include: a good supply of vacant homes of standard quality; and, adequate basic community services (schools, libraries, health, fir and police protection) adjacent to this housing.

As mentioned above, Negroes are moving into some of these areas. This migration is increasing in volume, and destinations are becoming more varied. Table 6 catalogues this trend.

TABLE 6. CHANGE IN NON-WHITE HOUSING IN ATLANTA BY AREA[7]

Year	Central	West	East	South	North west	South west	North	North west
1960	35,256	4,631	2,061	3,249	1,954	456	270	167
1965	34,738	9,760	4,136	3,315	2,420	987	267	170
Net Change	-518	5,129	2,075	66	466	531	-3	3

SOURCE: Candeub, Fleissig, Adley, and Associates--planning consultants

The reader will note that three areas in Table 6 increased over 100 per cent--Southwest 116; West 111, and East 101 per cent. The pattern of Negro migration in Atlanta is lateral--east and west

Vacant Houses and Economics -- Scattered throughout the city are some 9,040 vacant houses, a sum computed from the figures of Atlanta Region Metropolitan Planning Commission. In addition, 11,732 units are available outside the city limits but within the metropolitan area, for a total of 20,772 vacant units.[8]

Newspaper reports published during the summer of 1966 indicated that approximately 300 of the vacant units are in public low-income projects.[9] These projects are=desegrating slowly; 16 to 20 Negro families live among whites in these projects. The projects have long waiting lists, yet some poverty-striken Negroes cannot qualify for admission because they have no steady employment, cannot prove marriage, or for some other reason. All eleven of Atlanta's public housing projects are situated wither within or adjacent to predominantly Negro communities. To some degree, they serve as buffers to expansion of the ghetto at some fringes of Negro sections. There is no way short of actually surveying the various costs of vacant residences and earnings of potential Negro occupants to determine whether ill-housed Negroes could afford the vacant dwellings which are found in every census tract in the city.[10] But, obviously, many could. Karl Taeuber says there would be amply supply of economical housing for low income Negroes if race were not a barrier. Giving added weight to this assumption is the evidence above that Negroes tend to pay more than whites for comparable housing because of the artificial market created by ghetto barriers.

Support of the findings of this report is found in a recent Labor Department study: Writing in the October, 1966, issue of the monthly Labor Review, Phyllis Groom of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, reported that in Atlanta and the five other cities included in the study families with incomes of less than $3,000 a year got less for their rent dollars "considering conditions

of the housing, heating and plumbing facilities, number of rooms and the quality of the neighborhood."* Surveys for the Labor Department study were conducted in Atlanta, Chicago, Houston, and Los Angeles.

In addition to the above, there is evidence that some Negroes must decline offers of jobs in outlying areas because they either are unable to solve problems of transportation to and from the job or they are not free to move nearer the place of potential employment.[11] This highlights another of the complexities that relate housing to socio-economics. Even the federal government, like some other so-called "Equal Opportunity Employers," unwittingly builds bias against potential Negro employees by locating plants far from the areas where most Negroes live. The reverse is true of certain kinds of economic activity; for example, warehouses which are frequently found along railroad tracks in the Negro section.

Conclusions -- Atlanta has some political awareness of its urban housing problems and has commissioned studies to develop criteria for a workable program for community improvement. Moreover, there are volunteer groups and non-profit agencies which are well suited and have expressed interest in helping to solve problems. Most important of all, surplus housing is available in significant quantity throughout the city.

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* For further discussion on this point see Phyllis Groom's report, Labor Review, October, 1966.

Despite the availability of vacancies in dispersed areas, the bulk of Negro migration is to deteriorating housing at the fringes of Negro areas. Change thus represents extension of the Negro ghetto or the creation of new Negro enclaves.

If the hypothesis that there must be a dissolution of the ghetto if the causes of socio-economic and housing problems are to be removed is valid, it follows that a bold program of corrective action may be needed to break housing barriers, and that the entire metropolitan area must be included in such a program. But before embarking on any remedial programs, policymakers and activists must have some understanding of the mechanics which keep Atlanta segregated, if they want the remedial programs to be effective. What part does violence play? Are Negroes afraid to move out of the ghetto? If so, why? For these and other questions, answers are needed.

BOMBS, VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION

Three fire bombs tossed into the home of a Negro family narrowly missed burning to death four small children who were rescued by their father. The exploding fire bomb was thrown through the bedroom window of the unsuspecting youngsters after their family moved into a previously all-white Atlanta neighborhood. (See Table 7 below)

That was just one of a rash of bombings that shook Atlanta as recently as five years ago. There have been more recent racially inspired bombings, but Atlanta generally has become more sophisticated in its controls and sanctions for segregated housing. Except in a few instances, Negroes now moving into racial "twilight zones" (that is what the white president of a large lending institution called a transition area when forced to talk about it with a builder in my presence) suffer less violent harrassment. Some suffer none. But some form of intimidation, along with white control of land, capital and municipal services, continue as leading determiners of where Negroes live in Atlanta.

The city's mayor is a racial moderate, and so is the chief of police. But Atlanta also has its Ku Klux Klan element. Chief Herbert Jenkins said he believes the backlog of information his department has on Klan members is an effective weapon against bombings. And leaders in politics, business and finance have opposed dynamiting in an effort to keep Atlanta from gaining the negative reputation of Birmingham, Alabama, sometimes called "Bombing-ham" by civil rights advocates because of the Alabama city's bloody record in the use of explosives against Negroes and Negro housing.

I was introduced to Atlanta's bombings more than a decade ago while working there as a newspaper reporter. I met the problem again in 1965 when small but noisy explosives were set off in front of my home in a white area shortly after my family moved back into the city after being absent for eight years. Approximately 30 Negro homes have been targets of Atlanta bombers[12] since 1956, with nearly two-thirds of that number coming in the first half of the decade.

Table 7. BOMBINGS IN TRANSITIONAL OR DISPUTED AREAS

Home of Dr. and Mrs. Carl Haynes (Negro), 501 Ranking St., N.E., in predominately white neighborhood dynamited 7-2-56. (Chattanooga Times, 7-3-56)

Unoccupied house at 1373(9) Hardee St., N.E., dynamited after being sold to Negroes in formerly all-white area. (Atlanta Daily World, 3-20-56)

Home of Roscoe Young (Negro) at 3392 Delmar Lane, N.E., damaged by dynamite blast in formerly all-white Adamsville section. Atlanta Constitution, 4-14-60)

D. C. Dunn, president of Adamsville Civic Club, said club leaders had been meeting with Negro real estate men to discuss bombings and other problems--trying to handle neighborhood transition through agreements and negotiations. (Atlanta Journal, 4-15-60)

Explosion ripped hole in the front lawn of (Negro) James T. omon's at 431 Holly St.,N.W. (Atlanta Constitution, 10-22-60)

Dynamite blast set off in front of (Negro) Frank Bacon's home at 435 Holly St., N.W., injured one person and damaged four houses. (Atlanta Constitution, 11-19-60)

Heavy charge of explosives set off at 2:20 a.m. outside English Ave., School (Negro grammer school) in a transitional neighborhood, heard as far away as 10 miles, shattered hundreds of windows in school and nearby homes. (Atlanta Journal, 12-12-60)

Eighteen explosions in past four years, most racially inspired, police report. (Atlanta Journal, 12-12-60)

Four small children rescued by father from being burned to death at home near Mableton after three bombs were tossed through the windows 2-6-61. (Atlanta Journal, 2-8-61)(Victims Negroes)

Home of Wash Daniel (Negro) on Pisgah Rd. about two miles from Mableton bombed 2-26-61. (Atlanta Constitution, 2-27-61)

Mrs. Juanita Davis's home near Mapleton bombed 2-27-61. (Negro) (Atlanta Constitution, 3-2-61)

Fire bomb failed to ignite, thrown on porch of Mrs. Callie B. Spears, 965 Rice St., N.W., 5-2-61. (Atlanta Journal 5-3-61)

Duplex (Negro) at 619 Ira St., S.W., bombed early 5-25-61. (Atlanta Journal, 5-25-61)

Dynamite explosion at Hollywood Grill & Grocery Store, 1822 Hollywood Rd., N.W., in fringe of Negro residential area early 6-4-61. (Atlanta Constitution, 7-5-61)

TABLE 8. SOME ATLANTA CROSS BURNINGS

At corner of Hobson and Maryland Sts., S.E., in a transitional neighborhood, 3-29-60. (Atlanta Daily World, 3-31-60)

On hill overlooking Perry Homes, a Negro housing project, 4-26-60. And five smaller crosses burned at the same time on the South Expressway between University Ave. and Lakewood, S.W. (Atlanta Constitution, 4-27-60)

Between two houses on Mortimer St., S.W., after they were sold to Negroes, (Atlanta Daily World, 8-12-60)

In front of the W.B. Crowe (white) home, 1416 Meridian St., S.E.. Believed meant for the residence of Mrs. Olivia Thomas (Negro) next door. (Atlanta Daily World, 8-12-60)

In front yard of vacant house in 1400 block of Woodbine Ave., S.E.

Nearly 20 cross burnings since 1-4-55--most fired on lawns of homes occupied by Negroes or in vacant lots in fringe areas. (Atlanta Journal, 12-12-60)

A dozen small crosses burned 5-18-61 along Johnson Rd., Perry Blvd., Clarissa Dr., Hollywood Rd., Pelham and Hightower Rds., in disputed sections or all-Negro sections of Northwest Atlanta. (Atlanta Constitution, 5-19-61)

In front of Mt. Zion AME Church in College Park, 12-19-61. (Atlanta Daily World, 12-21-61)

In front of the Edgar Teasley, Jr. (Negro) home, 681 Emily Place, N.W., in racially mixed neighborhood. (Atlanta Constitution 1-6-65)

Table 9. VARIOUS OTHER INTIMIDATION AND HOUSING PROTESTS

Fred Thomas (Negro) in "white" section at 1535 Jonesboro Rd., S.E., received threatening letter in the mail. (Atlanta Constitution, 3-30-56)

Baskle L. Griggs (white) found guilty of throwing rocks into home of Negroes at 346 Central Ave., S.W., on 5-11-59. (Atlanta Constitution, 6-27-57)

Moreland Heights Civic Club and others picketed several houses on Sanderson St. and Hardee St., N.W., protesting sale to Negroes. (Atlanta Journal, 3-17-58)

Table 9--(continued)

Fire damaged vacant house neighbors believed sold to Negroes on Stratford Dr., N. W. (Atlanta Journal, 8-14-59)

Ralph E. Hooks, Sr., 122 Holiday, N. W., reported threatening calls from neighbor after putting house up for sale to Negroes. (Atlanta Daily World, 6-10-60)

Fire damages house at 1408 Woodbine Ave., S. E. a few hours before Negro, Mrs. Charlie Mae Kelly was to move in. Arson. (Atlanta Daily World, 6-10-60)

White demonstrations in front of Negro home, 1500 Woodbine Ave., S. E., in formerly all-white area. One arrested. (Atlanta Constitution, 6-17-60)

Nine bomb threats in two years, reports revealed. (Atlanta Journal, 12-12-60)

At the request of Police Chief Herbert Jenkins, the city posted a reward of up to $500 for information leading to the arrest and conviction of persons responsible for wave of bombings. (Atlanta Journal, 7-7-61)

Three homes damaged, two extensively, at 966 and 970 (Negro) and 974 (white) Mauldin St., S. E., in a bombing late 7-27-61 in racially mixed neighborhood. (Atlanta Journal, 7-28-61)

Explosion in a disputed white-Negro neighborhood occurred in the 700 block of Kirkwood Avenue, S. E., late 9-13-61. (Atlanta Journal, 9-14-61)

"NON-VIOLENT" HARRASSMENT AND INTIMIDATION

Violent bombings represent only part of the intimidation and harrassment meted out to Negro families who jump racial housing barriers. Cross-burnings, telephone threats, and a variety of other techniques are used to keep housing boundaries intact. These negative acts against minority migrants increase in spurts as attempts increase to break out of the ghetto. Table 8 lists some of the cross burnings and Table 9 shows a sample of other acts designed to slow Negro migration.

Do the explosions and harrassment serve their purpose of blocking Negro penetration into white housing areas? The answer has to be qualified. They do not stop migration altogether, but do serve as a strong deterrent and delaying tactic. No one is anxious to suject his family to post-midnight blasts. But movement from the ghetto to the fringe area or to enclaves in white areas continue on a limited basis, often coming in spurts when whites make minor retreats. On the other hand, pressures may continue to be so great that some migrating Negro families may elect to sell newly-purchased homes back to whites, who often are able to raise a "kitty" from among those committed to segregation. Examples of the above are found in the Atlanta data.

LAWFUL MECHANISMS CONTROLLING NEGRO MIGRATION

Informal mechanisms such as were discussed in the preceding sections of this report are backed up by formal action of governmental agencies and courts and other institutions to keep Negroes living in their traditional districts. A Negro real estate man, for example, may find himself hauled into court or before a licensing commission for selling or buying a house outside the Negro ghetto, or a Negro homeowner may have to give up a house in a white area to avoid being jailed on some other charge.

Atlanta Negro L. C. Owens must have been dubious about his much propagandized "freedom to own property" after he bought a house at 31 Montgomery Street, Atlanta, from a white owner in 1960. He was arrested on a disorderly conduct-moving at night charge along with truck driver Frank Price, who was helping Owens to move into the white area. Municipal Judge J.E. Webb dismissed the charges after Owens agreed to seel the house back to the former owner, Harry Maico, white. The ban on night moving obviously was designed to keep Negroes from slipping unnoticed into some newly-purchased house in white areas under the cover of darkness. The ordinance appears to have had some selective enforcement with Negro block busters as main targets.

Perhaps the most widely publicised governmental act designed to keep Atlanta Negroes in their separate neighborhoods was the erection of a barricade, and closure of a street between a densely settled Negro community on one side and open land and housing for whites on the other. This effort to keep Negroes out of the Utoy-Peyton Forest, Cascade Heights and surrounding communities in southwest Atlanta already has been metioned in an earlier section of this report. Called everything from Berlin Wall to Warsaw Ghetto, the barricade was struck down by a court order and Negroes began to spill over into the once protected area. Atlanta's racially moderate mayor, Ivan Allen, who earlier had agreed to the barricade' erection, later acceded to the court edict and began to mend his fences among the Negro electorate that helped elect him, but not before revealing that his predecessor, former Mayor William B. Hartsfield, also a racial moderate, in prior years had closed streets to prevent the spread of the Negro ghetto. Hartsfield admitted

that he had achieved that goal by various ways, including street closures, but streets were not closed by ordinance as done under Allen's administration. Rather, aldermanic board resolutions were used to effect the closures. Hartsfield argued that he had made many mistakes while serving as mayor, but that he never made one that could be photographed.

The barricade ordinance lasted only a short time. It went on the books in late 1962 and was ruled illegal in early 1963. A more pervasive bill in January 1965 never became law. Georgia State Senator Culver Kidd of Milledgeville introduced an amendment to the state constitution similar to the widely publicised California amendment to prevent housing integration. The Kidd amendment would have been most keenly felt by Negroes in Atlanta where they possess the money and political power to force their way into some white communities.

As the power of Negroes continues to increase, some of the old corporate methods of containing them in the ghetto are beginning to fail. An example of this was the failure three years ago of an effort to build a Negro cemetary at the west end of West View cemetery for whites to block Negro entrance to Peyton Forest. West View cemetery had for years been used as a buffer zone to discourage Negroes from moving into West End, a fairly low grade deteriorating community.

One Negro real estate man who was among respondents discussing the use of public housing projects as buffers between Negro and white areas said, "The low-rent public housing at the edge of West End is the longest strip of public projects in the country, I believe; it is narrow and long, unlike the projects in most places, where they are on wide tracts of land so they may have proper play and parking areas." In arguing successfully against the 1963 plan that would have added a second cemetery to the West Side buffer strip, Negro leaders insisted that they would not cooperate with a plan to permit their dead to lie in an area where the living Negro could not reside.

LAND CONTROL

Who controls the land in the city of Atlanta? A general answer gleaned from Negro and white respondents places land control mainly in the hands of white financial institutions, white developers and real estate interests.* But Negroes do have some. Their growing purse makes them an important consideration, explained the president of the largest financial institution making loans for Atlanta Negro homes.

Asked if problems are encountered in acquiring land for minority use, an official of Empire Real Estate Board, a Negro professional organization, qualified his reply, answering,"Yes and No." Despite white control of almost all the land outside the ghetto, there is some open land for new Negro housing within the northwest Negro district. "Some years ago they (white land owners) wouldn't sell tracts way out to Negroes, but now there is less prohibitiveness," said the real estate official, adding, "99 per cent of Atlanta's Negro housing is built by white developers, but Negro brokers and salesmen usually are involved as agents."

Some 20-odd years ago Atlanta Negroes were tightly cramped. The westside ghetto was bounded by Simpson Street on the north near the only Negro golf course, Lincoln Country Club. Agreement to open for them a corridor to the west was hammered out in a meeting of the Negro real estate board and the housing committee of the Chamber of Commerce.

The agreement did not automatically resolve the Negro land problem. A white financial institution built frame houses for white veterans, blocking westward expansion of the Negro community. But Negroes eventually became "second owners" of these houses and gained access to more land farther west. Crestwood and some other subdivisions which became Negro areas initially had been plaited for whites but never developed for them.

There has since been the construction of a thousand 221-D-3 housing units for Negroes in Carol Heights,"but that land too was controlled by whites" who cooperated to make it available to Negroes, according to respondents.

* This question was asked the real estate brokers, developers and savings and loan officials during open-ended interviews.

"We (Negroes) have been lucky," said a Negro real estate broker, "the finance institutions have been more liberal here than in other cities... It takes a lot of money to develop dead land. You need a backlog of capital."

In contested areas a Negro may gain access to the land and still have trouble developing it. And lack of capital is not always the drawback. Government obstacles and negative community reactions may be responsible. A wealthy Negro physician, for example, purchased land at the fringe of Peyton Forest but was unable to develop it. He sold the land to a white developer specializing in the construction of homes for Negroes and the land was soon improved. In another case, a Negro real estate broker acquired close to a dozen lots farther out in the Peyton area. He has been unable to obtain easement to run sewers through adjacent white-owned property so the land goes unimproved.

Zoning practices also may be a factor working against change of existing Negro housing patterns. However, special land use permits sometimes serve to speed some changes. For example, they may operate to speed the cycle of a community already changing from white to Negro. It is not unusual for land owners to seek permits to intensify land use in a community once a few Negroes move in. The erection of multi-units and the changing of the character of the area by addition of light business and commercial building help speed the remaining whites on to suburban or other areas not threatened by change. Cooperation of whites and Negroes in the newly-integrated West Manor community recently caused the failure of an attempt to rezone land for more intense use in a transitional area. The land owners sought to change the zoning from single family residences so that an apartment building could be constructed. A white woman of the area who spoke at the July hearing said, "I don't want these apartments in; I want our neighborhood to be as nice as possible because I don't want to move out. I have a Negro family next door to me, but I will not move."

Whether there is differential enforcement of building code inspections between white and Negro developers is not easily documented. Whites do most of the developing in both Negro and white areas. Although no inspection bias was reported, one respondent pointed out that the city has no Negro building inspectors, and another voiced a suspicion that white developers of Negro housing might be permitted certain short cuts or borderline violations more frequently than Negro builders.

REMOVAL VERSUS RELOCATION

Slum clearance in the central part of northeast Atlanta generally has meant Negro removal. Federally financed urban renewal programs have made way for many desirable developments such as a new sprawling municipal auditorium in the process of being built in the northeast, and a multi-million dollar baseball stadium in a southeast Negro slum area. Urban renewal permits local options and controls that allow local institutions to build-in the mechanisms that maintain racial separation as the dominant pattern of Atlanta housing. So do the programs of Atlanta Housing Authority. One Negro has been appointed to the Atlanta Housing Authority, which has charge of low-rent public housing, but his presence has not changed the pattern of desegregation in public housing from mere tokenism.* For the two races the housing authority has separate Negro and white listings, and separate offices. In September only about 20 Negroes were being housed among whites in predominantly white housing projects, according to newspaper reports.

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*The politicians and institutions currently in power generally are given the prerogatives for appointing those who will administer and make various policies related to housing, and "token" Negro leaders -- those acceptable to whites but not necessarily representative of the Negro population -- are likely to be named to some policy boards. A person appointed but who fails to follow the general thinking of the appointing powers may find himself replaced or not reappointed.

Similarly, urban renewal relocation programs have placed few, if any, Negroes among whites. Even when all urban renewal relocations are considered, the rate is proportionately low compared to the vast numbers of families forced to move because of slum clearance. In some cases, reported the Atlanta Constitution, the programs have removed 500 or more persons from a one block alley. With regular residential lots of 100 to 200 feet wide, it would take more than six blocks to re-house them. Moreover, newer subdivisions with lots of that size are not likely to have small houses that will fit the pockets of former slum dwellers of modest means. Atlanta, in other words, has short supply of homes of standard quality for lower economic classes. To ease this problem all over the nation, "Comsat Corporation for Housing" was proposed in late 1966 by the U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) to build five million low cost units at a cost of $50 billion.

THE ROLE OF PRIVATE FINANCE

As already stated, it takes a good deal of capital "to develop dead land," more than Atlanta Negroes are able to muster independently of whites. White financial institutions, consequently, are depended upon by Negro real estate men and builders for making loans to their clients. This role causes white capital to play a heavy hand in determining where Negroes live. An arbitrary limit was placed on the amount that would be lent to a Negro, said a Negro attorney who moved to Atlanta in the early 1960's and sought money to build a sprawling $40,000 home. The lawyer, now a high government official, said the limit was $20,000.00. But the head of a lending institution said limits are based on considerations of both the borrowing individual and the location of the house he wants to build. In other words, bankers will not lend as much to build a house adjacent to a railroad track or next to a fertilizer plant.

When compared with other cities of the South, Atlanta has considerable Negro capital. But white-owned Atlanta Federal Savings and Loan Association is a leader in the Negro home loan market. Among the Negro finance institutions are Citizens Trust Co., a commercial bank with a home office and branch office; Mutual Federal Savings & Loan Association, a competitor for home loans, and an Auburn Avenue mortgage purchasing firm which buys at discount a proportionately small amount of second mortgages. Other more substantial Negro money is concentrated in Atlanta Life and North Carolina Mutual Life insurance companies. The Atlanta Life on occasion has authorized Citizen's Trust Co., as its agent, to lend large sums for Negro housing when white institutions were freezing credit to deter migration into disputed areas. Such practices have been instrumental in changing the lending practices of the white institutions, for after the first few Negroes move into a new area, white lenders reenter the market.

Traditionally, financing of houses for Negroes initially has proven difficult in areas where Negroes were not wanted. A representative of Empire Real Estate Board explained that when attempts are first made for a Negro to buy into a white community, a committee from the white area might call on the presidents of banks or savings and loan associations to request denial of loans to Negroes in the threatened area. Several other respondents said this kind of community pressure has been brought to bear on Atlanta lenders. But relationships between the white lender and Negro borrower remain good and business is resumed after crises subside.

In the final analysis, money talks, and both the heads of white lending institutions and Negro real estate interests agree on that. The case of a Negro physician trying to buy the first property to be sold to a non-white

in Peyton Forest demonstrates how the system works. What he needed for mortgage money was committed to him by the Atlanta Life, but the Negro firm was discouraged from doing so by key whites who said the purchase might cause a deterioration of the city's good race relations. "They had frozen the credit of everybody...The closing was set three different times before the purchase went through," recalled a Negro real estate man. But the Negro did buy and move into the disputed area.

Resisting the Negro invasion, the Southwest Citizens Association, organized in 1962 to hold the line, got together a war chest and bought some $200,000 worth of property from neighborhood whites who because of job transfers, or other reasons, wanted to sell and threatened to place their houses on the Negro market. The association, however, could not match the combined resources of the Negro insurance companies, banks and real estate firms. One delighted white owner in the area was able to bid up his property between the two groups from $65,000 to $105,000.

Although there was obvious cooperation and pooling to break the Utoy-Peyton barriers, Atlanta's Negro financiers are hardnosed, and perhaps more careful and selective of clients than some of the white institutions. Negro real estate is big business with probably a hundred Negro agents and brokers in Atlanta. But they must operate in cooperation and subordination to white capital and political power, else they perish. The loss of license is a continual threat to the Negro real estate man who gets too far out of line.

Big finance makes big decisions, not the least of which may be decisions on where Negroes may live in the city. And because the financial leadership is concentrated in the hands of a few elites, those big decisions may often

be made on the "back-nine" at a golf and country club, or over a cocktail at noon.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Life for Negroes in housing outside the ghetto often falls far short of the American dream because multi-racial neighborhoods may not be fully accepted. Indeed, some Negroes as demonstrated by this report, may become objects of violence and antagonism. Consequently, it is not surprising that more than a few Negroes are not pushing for housing in lily white neighborhoods. This is true, despite the relative advantages offered by most white communities in such things as better municipal services, better schools, and improved housing. But the long run advantages of dissolution of the ghetto have been well stated by many writers on the subject. In the foregoing pages, I have sought to isolate some of the mechanisms controlling, influencing or limiting the housing desegregation that many cite as an end of the American dream.

In Atlanta, where 93.6 per cent of the Negroes would have to be relocated in order to have them proportionally distributed throughout the city, strong deterrents to racial desegregation in housing have been bombings, cross burnings, and various other harrassment and intimidation. Meanwhile, the city has become 43 per cent Negro. On one hand, Negroes are migrating in the core area to housing that is deteriorating. Whites, on the other hand, are moving in increasing numbers to the suburbs where the housing is new. Bulldozing has increased the concentration of the rock-bottom poor, including welfare recipients, despite a sharp decrease in slum acreage. And some former slum land has been converted to commercial, and other uses that do not directly benefit the former occupants. Less land and housing are available for low income Negroes. The data on vacancies, which add up to about 5 per cent, suggests that there may be existing housing for relocating many of

those concentrated in slum areas, but racial prejudice militates against this.

Among mechanisms perpetuating the racial pattern in Atlanta are: control of the land by whites, economics in all. - their domination of housing development for Negroes, corporate barriers to building Negro housing outside the proscribed ghetto, differential zoning, biased application of land clearance and condemnation, and white control of the finance and capital needed for new housing development.

Also operating to maintain Atlanta's pattern of almost total separation of Negro and white housing has been the city's transportation and communication pattern. Access roads between Negro and white areas are limited and not direct. Making moves between the sections require extra time and expense, thereby deterring migration. (The fact that only two roads run between Gordon Road and Cascade on the city's west side is good evidence of this.)

The findings give added credence to the assumption that some Negroes are not anxious to live among whites and that they prefer the friendliness of the Negro ghetto. But their migration to deteriorating housing in areas that quickly become an extension of the Negro ghetto obviously is not solving the problems, for their tap root is segregation, the very thing that is being extended. The Negroes best suited for coping with the antagonism and violence directed at them in white areas are those who are not directly dependent upon whites for economical survival. All of this suggests the need for bold action programs if the circular pattern of housing segregation is to be broken. Programs directed toward the solution of housing problems will be the focus of further study and a final section of this report.

Outline in Report Recons for what a Southern City can do to establish desirable integrated housing

Welfare

NEGROES IN SOCIAL WORK IN THE SOUTH 1936-1949

Released July 1951

One of the valuable by-products of expanded public welfare services in the South in recent years is the increased employment of Negro social workers.

There are now a total of 186 Negro social workers employed by agencies in eleven Southern states, according to a survey released by the North Carolina Board of Public Welfare several months ago. Most of these--177, to be exact--are in public welfare work, with ~~only a~~ the remaining few in private agencies or in ~~other~~ publicly-supported social work jobs outside the welfare field. Six other professionally trained Negro social workers are now working in non-social work jobs.

The study, conducted by John Larkins, consultant on Negro work for the North Carolina Board, also indicated that Louisiana, North Carolina and Virginia employ more Negro social workers than other states. Mr. Larkins points out, however, that other sources indicate ~~that~~ that Georgia actually employs the largest number of Negro social workers. Mr. Larkins' figures, based on 396 questionnaires completed by social workers and administrators throughout the region, show the following number of Negro workers employed in each state:

State	No. workers
Alabama	5
Arkansas	3
Florida	17
Georgia	13
Kentucky	12
Louisiana	45
Mississippi	2
North Carolina	34
South Carolina	7
Tennessee	15
Virginia	35
Other states	7
Total	192

Some mention is made of the distribution of Negro social workers within each state. Negro social workers, like social workers in general, tend to concentrate in urban areas. Louisiana presents an extreme example of this concentration. Forty-four of the 45 workers are found in Orleans Parish, ~~with~~

The 34 Negro social workers in North Carolina, on the other hand, were scattered out in 16 counties. North Carolina, indidentally, had the largest number of workers employed in counties that are predominately rural.

To date, the type of jobs open to Negro social workers are limited, with opportunities for advancement beyond the case work level even more limited. Only 3% of the present workers, in fact, have attained supervisory or administrative positions. Three superintendents were found in Orleans Parish, La. and one in Norfolk, Va. City Department of Public Welfare. The Child Care Bureau of Virginia State Department of Welfare and Institutions also has a Negro supervisor and the North Carolina State Board of Public Welfare employs one administrator.

As the table below indicates, the great bulk of social workers are found at the case work level:

Type of job	No workers
Case work trainee	2
Case work assistant	5
Case worker	132
Child welfare	34
Probation counselor	4
Supervisor	5
Administration	2
Group work	1
Other	1

The majority of the workers covered in Mr. Larkins' study were in the $161-$240 per month salary range. Roughtly 3% fell below this range, receiving $141-$160 per month, and about 9% advanced to a higher range. Only 2% are paid more than $300 per month and none in this bracket worked in state, county or city welfare departments. The average (median) monthly salarly for all workers was $197.72 per month.

Considering training, experience and job tenure, salaries were not overly generous. An examination of the educational achievements showed that 18% held master's degrees and an additional 37% had bachelor's degrees plus some graduate work or other specialized social work training. ~~Just~~ 14% of the workers had not earned college degrees of any type. Over 20% had been employed in various social work jobs for ten years or more, and Mr. Larkins found a relatively low rate of job mobility.

Employment of Negro social workers has steadily increased ~~sixxxxxxx~~ with the general expansion of public welfare services in the South since 1935. New Deal measures, particularly the Social Security Act of 1935, provded both funds and impetus for broader publiclly financed social services, and more comprehensive assistance has called for more welfare depts with larger staffs.* ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxxx xx xxxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxx~~ It is true that Negroes were used at all levels frequently and during the emergency relief period of the early 1930's and that Negroes were the first to feel the impact when the scoial security legislation of 1935 brought about increased participation by state and local government.

add: Negro social workers worked in other parts of country before depression mostly in part organizations rather than part

**Shortage of trained workers, plus the fact that Negroes ~~xxxx~~ numbered greatly among the recipients of public assistance, led to the practice ~~xxx~~ of hiring Negro ~~xxxxx~~ welfare workers.

~~Conferences and correspondence with administrators ind.~~

For the most part administrators and supervisors who have ~~xxxxxxx~~ employed Negro social workers have found them satisfactory. It is generally accepted, ~~Mr. Larkin found, xxxx~~ where Negroes have been employed, Mr. Larkins found, that they had a better understanding of the problems of their group and were able to do more with them. The comment of a case work supervisor in a large county dept of publi welfare is typical, "They are good in the social work field as they have so much interest in the welfare of their people."

Reports also suggest that ~~departments employing Negro social workers~~ working relationships between Negro and white staff members have more often than not been good and that Negro workers contributed to effective community relationships. One administrator, whose department had employed Negro workers for 10 years noted that "There ~~xxxxxx~~ exists a wonderful relationship. There has been no friction." ~~xxx~~ "small no of

Standards for Child Health, Education, and Social Welfare. (Based on recommendations of the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy.) Publication No. 287. U.S. Children's Bureau, Federal Security Agency. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1942.

Standards for Children's Organization. Child Welfare League of America, 130 East 22nd Street, New York 10, 1941.

Standards for Day Care of Children of Working Mothers. Publication No. 284. U.S. Children's Bureau, Federal Security Agency. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1942.

*Standards of Foster Care for Children in Institutions. Child Welfare League of America, 130 East 22nd Street, New York 10, N.Y., 1937.

*Why Social Security? Publication No. 15. Social Security Administration, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D.C.

Another described a stiuation ~~recently~~ occurring in his agency that ~~The following report from an administrator~~ illustrates ~~successful~~ ~~successful~~ staff integration ~~in one welfare agency. "Negro social workers are well accepted by our entire staff for their ability and performance on the job.~~

"A vanancy now exists as supervisor of the Child Welfare Department. Our case workers were called for a conference and told that they would take turns serving as 'leader' for a month each until such time as a supervisor was appointed. the group of white case workers immediately suggested the appointment of a Negro workers as the first 'leader' because she has the best training and background of experience. She is now supervising both white and Negro child welfare workers on a temporary basis and doing an exceptional job." ~~Negro social workers are employed in relation to the percentage of Negro case load in the agency.~~"

Supervisors who had had unsatisfactory experience with Negro social workers seemed to mention personality, insufficient training and community relations most often as resons the workers were not successful in their jobs. One county director felt that"Most of the difficulties which arise in connection with Negro workers would be overcome by the employment of trained Negro workers." Training and adherance to professional standards are always important , but as Mr. Larkins points out, if the Negro worker brought into ax program as a "pioneer" is unable to create a satisfactory working relationship with the administraors, clients, Negro leadership and community in general, the possibility of continuing his employment or of addming more Negro workers is very slight.

A few supervisors felt that Negro social workers whom they had not found satisfactory were "too race-conscious" or not objective in their relationship with their clients. One noted that the unsatisfactory worker's clients requested to be reassigned to white workers on many occasions and seemed to believe--as ~~many~~ other supervisors still do--that the Negro clients lacked confidence in a worker of their own race.

Despite satisfactory service, administrators who were currently employing or had employed Negro social workers felt that the future possibilities of increasing the number of Negro workers did not seem encouraging. Chi f among the reasons they gave were: inadequate funds; limited case load of Negro clients not justifying an increase; community attitudes and reactions not receptive to the idea; and physical facilities not conducive to increase.

Some attempt was made to ascertain why workers had not been employed in areas where Negroes constitute a large per cent of the recipients of financial assistance, and other welfare services. Responses were as follows:

(1) Physical facil ties, i.e., office space, location of department, were not conducive to the employment of a Negro social worker 21%

(2) Community reactions, relations, and general attitudes would not be conducive to the employment of a Negro social worker 18%

(3) Geographic distribution of clients would make the employment of a Negro social worker too expensive 13%

(4) Appropriaions for administraion would not permit the employment of a Negro social worker.....8

(5) Preference for white social workers indica ed by Negro clients.....8

(6) No budgeted position that could have been filled by a Negro worker...7%

(7) A Negro social worker desired but had not been availalbe.....6%

~~Response from one director indicated that employment of Negroes as home demonstration agents and in supervisory positions in education in his county mde him feel that there would not be unfavorable reaction if a Negro were employed in the welfare department~~

Several responses illustrate the manner in which ~~The~~ community reaction to the employment of Negro workers ~~is of course geared to the degree that the community~~ is rela ed to community acceptance of public welfare services. For example, one administr tor stated, "As superintendent of public welfare, I k ow that we should have a Negro worker on our sa ff; however, I also know that in view of community attitu es regarding the public welfare program and in view of the racial

relationships, that it would be detrimental to the program and most hard for ~~the~~ a worker if one ware employed. In looking tinto the future, we thing that unless there is a continued monting friction between the races that within the next few years there are possibil ties of employing a Negro worker."

In some cases boards have discussed employing Negro social workers and are favorable toward it, but are afraid that the Negro workers would not be accepted by their clients or the white community.

Administrators were asked to list methods that might be used to improve employment opportunities for Negro social workers. Most of the responses listed such general factors as: developing total program so that general staff could be increased and a Negro worker employed; chaning community attitudes toward Negroes, wonking out specialzed programs, and increaed number of Negroes training in social work.

Several cited the influence of Negro leaders ~~xxxxxxxx~~ in ~~bringing the need for~~ a securing a Negro social worker in their own ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ TYpcical-- welfa e departments. A superintendent wrote, "The members of the Negro Civic Club came to the office and requested a worker. I consented and discussed the matter with the county commissioners, who approved it. As a result, a Negro worker was employed and has done an excellent job. I believe that representa ive Negro groups could do much to increase the employment of Negro social workers."

State personnel officers are in a strategic position to promote employment Of Negro workers. The personnel director of the Fla. State Welfare Board, for example, notifies all District Directors when a Negro social worker makes application for employment through the State Personnell Office or successfully passes the merit examination. As a result of this procedure, the employment of Negro social workers has been discussed in all twelve of the Florida administrative districts and the counties in these districts where large Negro populations are located. This method, according to many administraors and supervisors, is conducive to ~~the~~ focusing ~~of~~ more attention on the discussion employment of Negro social workers

than is found in other states included in the study. Mr; Larkins found also that the State Director of Personnel in Tennessee had been responsible for discussion and consideration of Negro personnel, and as a result of these discussions, the employment of several Negro workers was approved when additional funds became available.

Most often mentioned ~~specific~~ problems confronting the Negro social worker ~~included~~ limited opportunities and restrictions on advancements. ~~As one expressed by one Negro worker,~~ As one worker put it, "The basic major problems are not in securing employment in the public welfare program, but in securing the ultimate in professional promo ion on the job." Workers listed other problems related to their racial origin:

(1) racial discrimination
(2) lack of respect for the achievements and abilities of Negroes
(3) acceptance of supervision from individuals withless education and expreience
(4) inablibil ty to advance beyoje the casework level
(5) low salaries that accompnay cas work positions
(6) general community attitudes and conditions related toworking in public welfare in this region
(7) the absence of opportunities to participate in professional institutes, meetings, and organizations
(8) lack of support of Negro community leaders both in the securing of employment and after work was on the job
(9) absence of professional schools of social work in the region, resulting in many being unable to change their classifications by securing more education
(10) general attitudes of the other staff members, the community and clients were discouraging.

A-3 A study of infectious diseases in families

ABSTRACT:

Types of data: Observation of all illnessess occurring in a group of families.

Purposes: Characterization of illnesses clinically, epidemiologically, and, insofar as possible, by laboratory procedures. Differentiation of known entities and the study of their behavior. Investigation of possible entities of unknown etiology. Study of specific problems.

Population: A group of about 70 families from the Heights area of greater Cleveland. Each family has one or more young children.

Method of obtaining data: Weekly visits by a field worker, visits by a staff physician at times of illness, daily record of symptoms kept by mother, periodic physical examinations.

Stage of progress: Have completed 4 years of study and are about to publish on experience of first 3 years. ('47-'58)

ORGANIZATION(S): Department of Preventive Medicine, School of Medicine, Western Reserve University

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR(S):
Dingle, John H., M.D., Prof. of Prev. Med., WRU
Badger, George F., M.D., Prof. of Biostatistics, WRU
Feller, Alto E., M.D., Prof., Dept. of Microbiology, University of Virginia
Hodges, Richard G., M.D., Assoc. Clin. Prof. of Prev. Med., WRU
Jordan, William S., Jr., M.D., Asst. Prof. of Prev. Med., WRU
Rammelkamp, Charles H., Jr., M.D., Prof. of Med., WRU (at City Hospital)

PUBLICATION PLANS & REFS.: Plan to submit several papers to American Journal of of Hygiene, beginning in fall of 1952

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION: Dr. John H. Dingle, Director, Department of Preventive Medicine, School of Medicine, WRU, Cleveland 6, Ohio

From "Sources of Morbidity Data, Listing number 1, 1953"
(PHS Pub. No. 332)

A-4 Canadian Sickness Survey

ABSTRACT: The object of the Canadian Sickness Survey was to obtain estimates of the incidence and prevalence of illness and accidents, the amount of medical, nursing, and other health care received, and the volume of family expenditures for medicines, medical charges, hospital bills, prepayment plans, and other health services.

The survey method consisted of personal visits by trained lay interviewers to a sample of approximately 40,000 persons in about 10,000 households distributed throughout each of the 10 provinces. In designing the sample, extensive use was made of population, social and economic data obtained from the 1941 Census material. In most cases fourteen visits were made during a twelve-month period to each household in the sample. On the first visit, the interviewer, after introducing the survey, left a special calendar designed to help the informant keep a day-to-day record of current illness and expenditures for each member of the household. Three standard record forms were used by the interviewer: Household Record, an Individual Sickness Record and an Expenditures Form.

Analysis of the data is continuing. ('50-indef.)

ORGANIZATION(S): Provincial Depts. of Health; Dept. of National Health and Welfare; Dominion Bur. of Statistics, Dept. of Trade and Commerce

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR(S):

McEwen, W. L., M.D., Epidemiology Div., Dept. of Natl. Health and Welfare

Harris, Fraser, Director, Health and Welfare Div., Dominion Bur. of Statistics

Keyfitz, Nathan, Mathematical Advisor, Dominion Bur. of Statistics

Peart, Arthur F. W., M.D., Chief, Epidemiology Div., Dept. of Natl. Health and Welfare

Jackson, Frederick W., M.D., Director, Health Insurance Studies, Dept. of Natl. Health & Welfare

PUBLICATION PLANS & REFS.: Canadian Sickness Survey 1950-51. Special Compilation No. 1. Family expenditures for health services (national estimates). Dominion Bur. of Statistics and Dept. of Natl. Health and Welfare, Ottawa, Canada, 1953

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION: Dr. W. L. McEwen, Division of Epidemiology, Dept. of National Health and Welfare, 808 Jackson Bldg., Ottawa, Ont. Canada

A-5 Prevalence of chronic illness and disabilities as determined by a random sample survey of the population

ABSTRACT: Types of data to be collected and purpose: This survey will attempt to collect data on the prevalence of chronic ailments and debilitating conditions and the relationship of these to inability to participate in gainful employment, the amount and type of medical, nursing and other care needed and received, and how this occurs in the population as to race, age, occupation, etc. The purpose of these data will be to attempt to evaluate the size of the local problem as to the care of chronic and disabling diseases with particular reference to the need for chronic and convalescent hospital beds and services, rehabilitation, recreation, and for use by various industrial groups to help determine employment practices.

Population: The population under observation will be the City of Richmond, Virginia, which is made up primarily of locally born residents of whom two-thirds are white. The economic level of this population is probably average for the country or slightly higher. It is undoubtedly somewhat more stable than most.

Method of obtaining data: Data will be obtained by questionnaires filled out by actual interview. The interviewers will probably be graduate students in the Dept. of Sociology of the Univ. of Richmond. They will interview a cross section of the population, which will roughly be one percent of the total population. The sample will be chosen by a random method, the details of which have not as yet been determined.

Stage of progress: At present the Committee is working on the preparation of a questionnaire. No definite work dates have as yet been established. ('52-indef.)

ORGANIZATION(S): Health Division of the Richmond Area Community Council and its affiliated agencies; Richmond City Dept. of Public Health

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR(S): One has not yet been designated

PUBLICATION PLANS & REFS. None reported

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION: Dr. E. M. Holmes, Jr., Director, Department of Public Health, Richmond 19, Virginia

A-6 Survey of chronic illness in Mercer County (New Jersey)

ABSTRACT:

Purpose and types of data: The survey was made to determine the actual number of persons with chronic disease in Mercer County, and the measure of their needs. Data were gathered for age, race, sex, income status of the family, as well as causes of illness for the persons having a chronic disease. It was thus possible to establish a rate for chronic illness in the county.

Population: A sample of 500 households covering Trenton and the surrounding area of Mercer County was utilized. Every 117th household was visited, 335 households in the city itself and 165 in the outlying district. A total of 1,987 persons was interviewed.

Method of obtaining data: A schedule consisting of eleven questions designed to bring out the desired information was drawn up and printed on cards for the interviewers to use. Volunteer interviewers made calls in Trenton, while 5 nurses from the staff of the Visiting Nurse Association made the 165 calls outside.

Stage of progress: All the interviewing was done between April 10 and April 30, 1950. Analysis of the data, with recommendations for future action, has been published. ('49-'50)

ORGANIZATION(S): Commission on Chronic Illness; Health and Hospital Division of the Council of Social Agencies; N. J. State Dept. of Health

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR(S): Pessell, Johannes F., M.D., Chairman, Health and Hospital Div. of Council of Social Agencies

PUBLICATION PLANS & REFS.: Survey of chronic illness in Mercer County, New Jersey. July, 1950

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION: Dr. J. F. Pessell, Chairman, Health and Hospital Division, Council of Social Agencies, Trenton, N.J.

A-25 National Survey of Old-Age Insurance Beneficiaries

ABSTRACT: As part of the nation-wide survey made by the Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance, certain information was obtained on the number of weeks that the old-age beneficiary or the spouse had spent in a hospital or in bed at home during the survey year. Other information obtained related to living arrangements, benefits, employment, income, net worth, other financial data, identity and cooperativeness of informants.

The major objectives of the survey were to answer such questions as the following:

1. How nearly adequate are the retirement resources of beneficiaries to-day?
2. How are beneficiaries with inadequate retirement resources managing to get along?
3. To what extent did the increase in benefits improve the economic situation of the beneficiaries?
4. If the benefit formula is changed again, which beneficiary types and which benefit brackets should be given the greatest consideration?
5. What is the present economic situation of couples with non-entitled wives?
6. How do the resources of beneficiaries living in large cities differ from those in smaller localities?

The people interviewed were selected from a 1-percent national sample of old-age beneficiaries whose benefits were in force in 1950 and who were living in the fall of 1951 when the interviewing took place. The beneficiary was part of a "beneficiary group" for purposes of this survey; the "group" included not only the old-age beneficiary but also the spouse and unmarried children under age 18 living under one roof, even though the spouse or children were not entitled to benefits.

ORGANIZATION(S): Bur. of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance, Social Security Administration, Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare

PUBLICATION PLANS & REFS.: Reference Guide--National survey of old-age insurance beneficiaries. Social Security Administration, Baltimore (November) 1951

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION: Dr. Edna C. Wentworth, Chief, Beneficiary Studies Section, Division of Program Analysis, Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance, Social Security Administration, Baltimore 2, Md.

A-26 Survey of hospitalized illness, hospital utilization, and hospitalization insurance in the noninstitutional population of the United States 65 years and older

ABSTRACT: Types of data: For persons 65 years and older, the number of persons with one or more hospitalized illnesses (hospital experiences) in 1951, the number of admissions, and the number of days of hospital care in the year were obtained. Data were collected with reference to the insured status of the individuals--so that hospitalization and utilization rates of insured and uninsured persons can be compared. The data also yield distribution of persons and days of care by duration of hospital care and information on how the hospital bills of hospitalized aged persons were met.

Population under observation: The sample yields data applicable to the entire noninstitutional population (in this study, restricted to those 65 years and older as of March 1952). The data are presented by age, sex, color, urban-rural residence, and labor force status.

Method of obtaining the data: Through the cooperation of the Bureau of the Census, special questions were added to the Monthly Survey of the Labor Force, and the answers were obtained in household interviews.

Stage of progress: The results of the survey have been summarized in an article of the Social Security Bulletin. (Jan.-Dec., '52)

ORGANIZATION(S): Division of Research and Statistics, Social Security Administration, Federal Security Agency

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR(S): Falk, I.S., Ph.D., Director, and Brewster, Agnes W., Medical Economist, Division of Research and Statistics

PUBLICATION PLANS AND REFS.:
(1) Published as a Bureau Memorandum
(2) Falk, I.S. and Brewster, Agnes W.: Hospitalization insurance and hospital utilization among aged persons: March 1952 survey. Social Security Bull. 15: 3-13 (Nov.) 1952
(3) Data will be included in a source book on the subject to be published in 1953.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION: Dr. I.S. Falk, Director, Division of Research and Statistics, Social Security Administration, Washington 25, D. C.

From "Sources of Morbidity Data, Listing Number 1, 1953" (PHS Pub. No 332)

A-27 The effects of occupational retirement in the United States upon physical and mental morbidity and mortality

ABSTRACT: This is a longitudinal study for seven years, on a nationwide basis, which seeks to test the hypothesis that chronological, abrupt, mandatory, involuntary, and unplanned forms of retirement accelerate physical and mental morbidity and aggravate the symptoms of senescence among the gainfully employed upon their retirement. The research objective is to measure and to determine the reasons for differentials in morbidity and mortality between retirants and non-retirants. Retirants are being further specified and compared in terms of the following types of retirement: (a) voluntary versus involuntary, (b) gradual versus abrupt, (c) planned versus unplanned, (d) partial versus complete.

The pursuit of this objective began in 1951 with 2 pilot studies. The first was conducted in an industrial plant; the second was a community study. The plant questionnaire was designed for workers 60 years of age and over; the community questionnaire for a cross-section of those 60 years of age and over.

These pilot studies in turn are starting points for (1) a nationwide urban survey of a cross-section of 1,000 males and 200 females 60 years of age and over, (2) a rural survey in 6 counties in New York State, and, beginning in July, 1952, (3) a series of longitudinal "in-plant" studies of retirement all over the country. Here a selection scheme is being employed which takes into account variables such as geographical distribution, number of employees, type of economic activity, major occupations, retirement policy and union organization. Subjects are selected who are 64 years of age.

Results will be analyzed according to the different patterns of retirement or continued employment and according to the other variables hypothesized as affecting adjustment in retirement. By interviews, self-administered questionnaires, and physical examinations conducted by company physicians, a long-range check will be made on the morbidity and mortality as well as the adjustment of the different categories of subjects. Annual interviews and medical checkups will continue with those who survive until 70 years of age. During the seventh year of the study, when the subjects reach their 70th year of age, a comprehensive and developmental report will be made along with a final analysis of morbidity and mortality. ('51-'58)

ORGANIZATION(S): Social Science Research Centre, Dept. of Sociol. and Anthrop., Cornell Univ.

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR(S): Barron, Milton L., Ph. D., Asst. Prof. of Sociol., Cornell Univ.

PUBLICATION PLANS & REFS.: Barron, M. L.: Involuntary retirement and morbidity and mortality. Pub. Health Rep. 67: 128 (Feb.) 1952

Barron, M. L., Streib, G., and Suchman, E.: Research on the social disorganization of retirement. Amer. Sociological Review 17: 479-482 (Aug.) 1952

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION: Dr. Milton L. Barron, Asst. Prof., Dept. of Sociology, Morrill Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.

A-36 Survey on the economic aspects of prolonged non-occupational illness among employed persons

ABSTRACT: The study will establish how extensive a problem prolonged non-occupational illness is among employed persons in private industry throughout the country; whether any action is necessary; the types of action which might be taken; and the areas in which action is necessary. The study will determine the relation of the incidence and duration of prolonged illness to: (1) different occupational groups; (2) different income groups; (3) age; (4) sex; (5) various types of employee benefit plans and the coverages available under these plans; (6) medical facilities within employing establishment; (7) availability and use of medical facilities in the community.

At least 400,000 employees are to be surveyed (1% sample of the nation's private non-agricultural employment). Preceded by months of research in testing data and developing procedures, the study is now under way in over 100 establishments representing some 20 industries. They are currently reporting the illness experience of over 100,000 workers. All illnesses of more than four consecutive weeks are being examined, with the exception of pregnancy and workmen's compensation cases. The nature of the illness, the treatment being followed, the cost of the treatment, and how the cost is being met, are being investigated. ('52-indef.)

The Research Council will issue quarterly reports.

ORGANIZATION(S): Research Council for Economic Security

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR(S): Hirschfeld, Gerhard, M.D., Director, Res. Coun. for Economic Security
Werch, Leon, Director of Research

PUBLICATION PLANS & REFS.: Survey of prolonged non-occupational illness. Nature, extent and economic aspects among employed persons. Worksheet and instructions. Pub. No. 90, The Research Council for Economic Security, Chicago, 1952

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION: Dr. Gerhard Hirschfeld, Director, Research Council for Economic Security, 111 W. Jackson Blvd. Chicago 4, Ill.

Materials - Welfare

A-37 Morbidity in summer and winter as measured by physicians' services provided through a comprehensive prepayment plan in an industrial city

ABSTRACT: Types of data: Monthly prevalence rates for two months, February, 1949 and July, 1951, on patients seeing physicians, by 10 leading causes of morbidity (International List, 1948), by broad disease groups, age, and sex. Rates of calls by type of call (home, office, hospital, night), by age and sex.

Population: 75,000 subscribers and dependents in the Windsor Medical Services, Windsor, Ontario. (See A-43.) This population base comprises half of the City of Windsor.

Method of obtaining data: Examination of operating records.

Stage of progress: February, 1949 data completed; starting on July, 1951 data.

ORGANIZATION(S): Department of Clinical Preventive Medicine, Faculty of Medicine, University of Western Ontario

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR(S): Hobbs, G. E., M.D., Professor and Head, Dept. of Clinical Preventive Medicine, U.W.O.
Anderson, Odin W., Ph.D., Director of Research, Health Information Foundation
Smiley, John R., Research Assistant, Dept. of Clin. Prev. Med.

PUBLICATION PLANS & REFS.: Some articles are planned but publishers and dates are undetermined

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION: Dr. G. E. Hobbs, Head, Dept. of Clinical Preventive Medicine, Faculty of Medicine, University of Western Ontario, 346 South Street, London, Ontario

From "Sources of Morbidity Data, Listing No. 1, 1953" (PHS Pub. No. 332)

A-38 Collection, analysis, and publication of statistics on the sickness benefit program established by the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act

ABSTRACT: Types of data and purpose: Data are collected on the number of payments and amount of benefits, number and personal characteristics of beneficiaries, and frequency, duration, and type of sickness for which benefits are paid. The purpose of the study is to analyze the operations and effect of the sickness benefit program.

Population: The persons under observation are railroad employees with sufficient base-year earnings to qualify for benefits.

Method of obtaining data: Data are obtained currently from wage records, and from claim folders and payment records for a 10-percent sample of beneficiaries.

Stage of progress: Analytical data for each benefit year (July 1 – June 30) are available about 4 months after the end of the year.

Frequency rates obtained understate the true frequency of sickness substantially because of the effect of turnover in employment, payment of other social insurance benefits, paid sick leave, and damage settlements. ('48 – cont.)

ORGANIZATION(S): U. S. Railroad Retirement Board

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR(S): Matscheck, Walter, Director of Research
Elkin, Jack M., Assistant Director of Research, and Chief Statistician
Bixby, Alden, Chief, Unemployment and Sickness Benefit Analysis Section

PUBLICATION PLANS & REFS.: Data are published in the Board's Annual Report and Monthly Review

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION: Walter Matscheck, Director of Research, Railroad Retirement Board, 844 Rush Street, Chicago, Ill.

A-39 Utilization of physicians' services by enrollees of the Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York (HIP)

ABSTRACT: Purpose: The data are needed primarily to maintain a continuous record on the utilization of physicians' services to see if the rate of utilization is remaining below the level upon which premium charges and capitation payments to physicians are established. The data also serve to answer various other administrative questions and provide the basis for special studies on pediatric service; maternity care; medical care given to aged enrollees; differential rates of total utilization by medical group and by age and sex; the volume and kind of services rendered in various physician specialties, etc.

The basic unit of reporting is a visit to an HIP physician or a visit by the physician to the patient at home or in the hospital. The report includes a statement on the diagnosis and/or treatment. These visit reports (form "Med 10") are sent in each month by all physicians in the medical groups who saw any HIP patients. There are 30 of these medical groups scattered throughout the boroughs; they are composed of general family physicians and specialists.

In comparison to the general population, HIP has a considerable deficiency of young adults and the aged, a small excess of children of elementary and junior high school ages, and a larger excess of enrollees aged 35-44 years, of males particularly. ('47- cont.)

ORGANIZATION(S): Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR(S): Deardorff, Neva R., Ph.D., Director, Division of Research and Statistics, Health Insurance Plan

PUBLICATION PLANS & REFS.: The utilization of HIP enrollees of the services of medical groups--1951. Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York (February) 1953

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION: Dr. Neva R. Deardorff, Director, Division of Research and Statistics, Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York, 7 East 12th Street, New York 3, N. Y.

A-97 Studies of the epidemiology of enteric infections

ABSTRACT:

Types of data and purpose:

1. Environmental data and socioeconomic data: location and type of water source, type of excreta disposal, structural quality of the house, esthetic quality of the house and surroundings, and socioeconomic data for each family cultured or visited. Purpose is to determine environmental factors influencing spread of communicable diseases which may aid in establishing control procedures.
2. Culturing data: rectal swab cultures of children under 10 years of age, to determine the prevalence of Shigella and Salmonella organisms in the study area. Twenty-nine thousand five hundred cultures were obtained in the course of these investigations.
3. Morbidity data: For two years (1949-1950) morbidity survey data consisted of reported disease identities from 2,300 families, and for two years (1952 and 1953) symptoms of illness reported from 1,100 families were collected.

Population: Study blocks were selected in two cities (populations 15,000 and 10,000), and in nine rural towns (population 300 to 1,200) of southwest Georgia. These study blocks were selected from neighborhoods having the greatest proportion of children under 10 years of age. All households in these blocks were visited and children under 10 years were cultured. The number of this age group included was disproportionate to that expected in the normal population since it has the greatest incidence of infection and disease due to Shigella organisms.

Method of obtaining data: Each household was visited monthly and questioned by a lay enumerator as to illnesses experienced by each individual. Monthly rectal swab cultures were obtained independently by a nurse-team from all cooperative children under 10 in the study areas.

Stage of progress: The project was initiated January 1949 and field work completed December 1953. Analysis on the basis of culturing data is to be published. Analysis of morbidity is continuing.

ORGANIZATION(S): Public Health Service Communicable Disease Center, Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR(S): Stewart, W. H., M.D., Sr. Asst. Surgeon, National Heart Inst., National Institutes of Health
McCabe, Leland J., Jr., Sr. Asst. Sanitary Engineer, Communicable Disease Center
Hemphill, Emmarie C., Analyst (Health & Medical), Communicable Disease Center

PUBLICATION PLANS & REFS.:

(1) Stewart, William H. and DeCapito, Thelma: Salmonellosis in man and animals in southwest Georgia. Am. Jour. Tropical Medicine and Hygiene 2: 273-278 (March) 1953

(2) Stewart, William H.; McCabe, Leland J., Jr.; Hemphill, Emmarie C. and DeCapito, Thelma: The influence of the environment on the prevalence of Shigella infections (to be published in Am. Jour. Hygiene)

(3) Hemphill, Emmarie C. and Elton, John R.: A machine method of accounting for person-time experience during a long-term epidemiologic investigation (to be published in Public Health Reports)

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION: Dr. William H. Stewart, S. A. Surgeon, Grants and Training Branch, National Heart Institute, Bethesda 14, Maryland

From "Sources of Morbidity Data, Listing Number 2, 1954"
(PHS Pub. No. 399)

A-98 Study of the rate of growth and chemical composition of fingernails in health and disease

ABSTRACT: Types of data and purpose: This study represents an attempt, through establishment of standards for an apparently normal person, to determine if significant differences are observed in diseased states, with the possibility that nail growth might ultimately provide one index of health.

(1) Rate of growth of fingernails in apparently healthy subjects in an endeavor to determine "normal" growth rates and variations and effects of sex, age, race, occupation and intercurrent minor illness.
(2) Rate of growth of fingernails in patients with established diseases, for comparison with "normal" figures.
(3) Chemical analysis of nails for sulphur and nitrogen contents in apparent normal and diseased subjects.

Population: Apparently normal subjects, predominantly medical students and nursing students, with fewer subjects in the older and younger age groups; also patients in ante-partum clinic.

Method of obtaining data:

(1) History of personal health, habits and past illnesses
(2) Measurement of fingernail growth at intervals
(3) Health records and running accounts of health and habits
(4) Chemical analysis of fingernails

Stage of progress: Approximately 300 persons, predominantly "normal" control group, undergoing regular nail growth measurements. Methodology for chemical analysis being developed. ('53-'57)

ORGANIZATION(S): Department of Environmental Medicine and Community Health, State University of New York College of Medicine at New York City

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR(S): Hillman, Robert W., M.D., Assistant Professor, Dept. of Environmental Medicine and Community Health

PUBLICATION PLANS & REFS.: Indefinite

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION: Dr. Robert W. Hillman, Assistant Professor, State University of New York College of Medicine at New York City, 248 Baltic Street, Brooklyn 1, N. Y.

The following project with its major emphasis falling in the subject matter of another section also contains general morbidity results: P-4.

A-101 Butler County (Pennsylvania) Health Program Evaluation Study

ABSTRACT: Types of data and purpose: The purpose of this series of studies is to evaluate the activities of a newly created county health department. As a first step, a survey of 900 households in the county was conducted June 14 to July 15, 1954. This survey was aimed at obtaining basic demographic, social, economic, morbidity, disability and impairment, and health facilities use statistics for the county. Later studies will be directed at devising indices and obtaining the requisite data to measure the impact of the work of the health unit in the county.

Population: All persons in households resident in Butler County, Pennsylvania, on July 1, 1954.

Method of obtaining data: The survey completed on July 15 was based on personal interview of 900 households. Two clusters of an average size of three households apiece were selected at random from each of 150 geographic strata in a single stage through an area sampling technique.

Stage of progress: Analysis of the initial survey data is now in progress and plans for additional studies are under preparation. (Jan. '54-Dec. '56)

ORGANIZATION(S): Graduate School of Public Health, University of Pittsburgh

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR(S): Thompson, D. J., Ph.D., Assoc. Prof. of Biostatistics, Grad. Sch. of Public Health, Univ. of Pittsburgh
Graham, Saxon, Ph.D., Research Assoc. in Biostatistics, Grad. Sch. of Public Health, Univ. of Pittsburgh

PUBLICATION PLANS & REFS.: Findings will be published as work is completed.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION: Dr. Antonio Ciocco, Head, Dept. of Biostatistics, Graduate School of Public Health, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh 13, Pennsylvania

from "Sources of Morbidity Data, Listing Number 3, 1955" (PHS Pub. No. 459)

A-102 Health insurance coverage in the United States and its impact on the distribution of the cost of family personal health services--Project II

ABSTRACT: Types of data and purpose: To study the relationships of the total costs for personal health services of subscriber-households in selected health insurance plans with the portion of such costs covered by the health insurance plans; also for what services during a year the plans were used. (See A-63 of Clearinghouse Listing Number 2.)

As a second phase, the study will seek similar information, but more extensively and intensively within specific communities.

This is not primarily a morbidity survey, but a survey of medical costs and the effectiveness of health insurance.

Population: Probability sample of households enrolled in the Blue Cross and Blue Shield Plans in Boston, Massachusetts, and Birmingham, Alabama, and a private insurance company in Boston.

Method of obtaining data: Interviews of families in their homes.

Stage of progress: Tabulations are in progress. (Nov. '53-early summer '55)

ORGANIZATION(S): Health Information Foundation; National Opinion Research Center, University of Chicago

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR(S): Anderson, Odin W., Ph.D., Research Director, Health Information Foundation
Hart, Clyde W., Ph.D., Director, National Opinion Research Center, Univ. of Chicago

PUBLICATION PLANS & REFS.: There are no publication plans as yet, but the data will be published.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION: Dr. Odin W. Anderson, Research Director, Health Information Foundation, 420 Lexington Ave., New York 17, N. Y.

A-99 The Massachusetts Chronic Disease Survey of 1953

ABSTRACT:

Types of data and purpose: The data collected in this survey consisted of several types including: (1) hereditary history, (2) chronic disease history, (3) socioeconomic history, and (4) occupational history. For the publication given below, however, only the history on several chronic diseases was used in an effort to ascertain whether or not the incidence of chronic disease had increased or decreased since the statewide survey in Massachusetts in 1930.

Population: The areas and group under survey were predominantly rural, although several industries are located in the area and part of the population consisted of suburbanites who commute to the city of Worcester. These communities (Arlington, Nashoba, Waltham and Brookfield) were thought to be ideally suited to produce the type of information desired.

Method of obtaining data: The data were obtained by interview of the survey population.

Stage of progress at present: Project is completed. The collection of data began July 21, 1953, and in February 1954 the paper was sent in for publication.

ORGANIZATION(S): Division of Cancer and Other Chronic Diseases, Mass. Dept. of Public Health

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR(S): Lombard, Herbert L., M.D., Director, Division of Cancer and Other Chronic Diseases, Mass. Dept. of Public Health

PUBLICATION PLANS & REFS.: A paper was published in a bulletin of the Massachusetts Dept. of Public Health--Lombard, H. L., and Quinn, M. E.: The Chronic Disease Survey of 1953. Commonhealth 2: 1-6 (April) 1954

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION: Miss Margaret E. Quinn, Assistant Biometrician, Massachusetts Dept. of Public Health, 334 Boylston Street, Boston 16, Massachusetts

A-100 Effect of housing on health and social adjustment of Negro families

ABSTRACT:

Types of data:
(1) Morbidity
(2) Family living characteristics (sociological survey)
(3) Health practices
(4) Data designed to obtain an index of mental health

Population:
(1) 400 Negro families admitted to public housing from slum environment
(2) 600 control Negro families residing in slum

Method of obtaining data:
(1) Morbidity: by home visits bimonthly with interview plus a search of hospital records.
(2) Sociological survey: by home visits once yearly and by a search of social service records.

Stage of progress:
(1) The morbidity instrument is nearing the final draft.
(2) The social survey instrument is due for a pretest.

This will be a 3-year field survey commencing January 15, 1954. (March '53-March '58)

ORGANIZATION(S): Johns Hopkins School of Hygiene and Public Health

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR(S): Taback, Matthew, Sc.D., Research Associate, Johns Hopkins School of Hygiene and Public Health
Wilner, Daniel M., Ph.D., Assoc. Professor, Johns Hopkins School of Hygiene and Public Health

PUBLICATION PLANS & REFS.: The first report on the study will be given at the 1955 annual meeting of the American Public Health Association. Publication will follow in the American Journal of Public Health.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION: Dr. Matthew Taback, Director, Statistical Section, Baltimore City Health Dept., Baltimore, Maryland

A-107 Cultural factors effecting rural morbidity

ABSTRACT:

Types of data and purpose: This study is a logical development in our long-time plan for research in rural health; we believe we are making progress toward an understanding of the decision-making process with respect to the health problems of rural people.

The purpose of the study is to determine the effect of isolation and ecological remoteness on attitude toward sickness, and the awareness and use of organized health services. Level of living, education, income and employment of rural people are being investigated. These data and an inventory of health resources are being collected.

Population: County situations covering the range of least developed to most developed areas of rural living and representing widely different levels of living and of socioeconomic status are being studied. A random sample of from 5 to 10 percent of rural families in each county of study was selected.

Method of obtaining data: (1) Family interview, (2) interviews with public officials and officials of private agencies, including health practitioners.

Stage of progress: Exploratory work is completed in one county; in 1955, plans call for an extension into two or three additional counties. (July '54-'56)

ORGANIZATION(S): Agricultural Experiment Station, Univ. of Missouri Coll. of Agriculture

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR(S): McNamara, Robert L., Ph.D., Professor of Rural Sociology, Univ. of Mo. Coll. of Agric.
Lively, Charles E., Ph.D., Prof. and Chairman, Dept. of Rural Sociology, Univ. of Mo. Coll. of Agric.

PUBLICATION PLANS & REFS.: Research findings will be published as Missouri Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin in 1956.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION: Dr. Robert L. McNamara, Prof. of Rural Sociology, 231 Mumford Hall, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri

A-108 The Homestead (Pennsylvania) Health Survey

ABSTRACT: Basic data: Health status at time of interview, and since retirement; medical expenditures year prior to survey; medical needs; financial status; and sources of financial assistance.

Purpose: A more objective approach to negotiations of pension and social insurance programs in the steel industry.

Population: 564 retired persons from the Homestead Works, U. S. Steel Corp., representing approximately 8 percent of the total number of retired employees of the U. S. Steel Corp. & subsidiary companies who were in the United Steelworkers of America bargaining units and who were receiving pensions as of August 31, 1953, pursuant to the 1949 Insurance and Pension Agreement; plus 72 persons who died while receiving pensions and five persons with 15 or more years of service who were retired but were not receiving a steel pension because their public pension exceeded their gross steel pensions.

Method of obtaining data: By interview, by mail questionnaire, from death certificates.

Stage of progress: Completed. (June '53-Sept. '54)

ORGANIZATION(S): United Steelworkers of America; Dept. of Biostatistics, Graduate School of Public Health, University of Pittsburgh

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR(S): Plesher, Michael A., Ph.D., Staff Representative, United Steelworkers of America

PUBLICATION PLANS & REFS.: None as yet

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION: Dr. Michael Plesher, Staff Representative, United Steelworkers of America, 1500 Commonwealth Bldg., Pittsburgh 22, Pennsylvania

From "Sources of Morbidity Data, Listing number 3, 1955" (PHS Pub. No. 459)

A-109 A study to determine the potential need for a meal-serving program

ABSTRACT: Types of data and purpose: To determine the potential need for a meal-serving program, data are collected on living condition, income, source of income, food consumption (nutritionally evaluated), and eating habits, illnesses and hospitalizations, cost of illness, etc., of a sample of the urban aged population.

Population: 500 aged persons in a specific area of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Method of obtaining data: Interviews (schedule).

Stage of progress: Schedule pre-testing being completed. Final interviewing began in mid-March 1955. (Jan. '54-Dec. '55)

ORGANIZATION(S): The Lighthouse (a Red Feather Settlement House)

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR(S): Forman, Martin J., Instructor, University of Pennsylvania

PUBLICATION PLANS & REFS.: Spring of 1956--paper bound monograph--publisher not decided on. Also in the spring of 1956--planned articles in: Journal of Nutrition; Journal of Casework.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION: Martin J. Forman, Instructor, c/o Dept. of Sociology, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4, Pa.

A-110 Health hazards in the uranium mines and milling industry

ABSTRACT:

Types of data and purpose: Morbidity and mortality data on uranium miners are being compiled. Also being compiled are data from environmental studies on radiation levels in mines.

Population: A group in excess of 1,500 uranium miners has been established; also a group in excess of 600 mill workers. The groups have been established to be basically healthy.

Method of obtaining data: The groups have been interviewed, occupational histories obtained, and physical examinations performed.

Stage of progress: The groups are now being followed through personal contact, mail contact, and contact with personal physicians, and will continue to be followed indefinitely. ('50-'70 or '75)

It is not anticipated that any significant conclusions can be drawn in less than 15 to 20 years.

ORGANIZATION(S): Occupational Health Program, Div. of Special Health Services, Public Health Service, Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare; Field Investigations and Demonstrations Branch, National Cancer Institute; Division of Biology and Medicine, Atomic Energy Commission

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR(S): Holaday, Duncan A., Sanitary Engineer, Director, Chief, Occupational Health Field Station, Occupational Health Program, Div. of SHS
Egan, James W., Sr. Asst. Surgeon (R) and Field Investigator, National Cancer Institute

PUBLICATION PLANS & REFS.: None at present

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION: Duncan A. Holaday, Sanitary Engineer, Director, Chief, Occupational Health Field Station, Box 2537, Ft. Douglas Station, Salt Lake City, Utah

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HUMAN BIOLOGY, Vol. 26, No. 2, May 1954, pp. 143-155.

2. Ciocco, Antonio; Densen, Paul M.; and Horvitz, Daniel G.: On the association between health and social problems in the population. MILBANK MEMORIAL FUND QUARTERLY, Vol. 31, No. 3, pp. 265-290, July 1953.

3. Relationship between infant mortality and socioeconomic factors in urban areas. Marion E. Altenderfer and Beatrice Crowther. PUBLIC HEALTH REPORTS, Vol. 64, No. 11, pp. 331-339, March 18, 1949. Reprint 2923.

4. Relationship between per capita income and mortality, in the cities of 100,000 or more population. Marion E. Altenderfer. PUBLIC HEALTH REPORTS, Vol. 62, No. 48, pp. 1681-1691, Nov. 28, 1947. Reprint 2823.

5. Mortality rates and economic status in rural areas. Harold F. Dorn. PUBLIC HEALTH REPORTS, Vol. 55, No. 1, pp. 3-12, Jan. 5, 1940. Reprint 2126.

6. Chronic illness and socio-economic status. P. S. Lawrence. PUBLIC HEALTH REPORTS, Vol. 63, No. 47, pp. 1507-1521, Nov. 19, 1948. Reprint 2899.

7. Undetected tuberculosis in various economic groups. Robert J. Anderson, Philip E. Enterline, and Otis D. Turner. THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF TUBERCULOSIS, Vol. 70, No. 4, pp. 593-600, October 1954.

8. Joint Committee on the Economic Report, Staff of the Subcommittee on Low-Income Families: Characteristics of the low-income population and related Federal programs. 84th Congress, 1st Session. United States Government Printing Office, Washington, 1955. (See particularly Part 2, Section 4: Selected materials from National Family Survey of Medical Costs and Voluntary Health Insurance, Health Information Foundation, 1954.)